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THE

WORKS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM LAUD, D. D.

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

VOL. II.

CONFERENCE WITH FISHER.

OXFORD:

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

MDCCCXLIX.

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A

RELATION

OF

THE CONFERENCE

BETWEEN

WILLIAM LAUD,

LATE

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

AND

MR. FISHER THE JESUIT,

BY THE COMMAND OF KING JAMES,

OF EVER BLESSED MEMORY.

WITH

AN ANSWER

TO SUCH EXCEPTIONS AS A. C. TAKES AGAINST IT.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

OXFORD:

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MDCCCXLIX.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

PERSONAL and oral Conferences on the points disputed at the Reformation were not of rare occurrence. In form they were, perhaps, the legitimate successors of the disputations of the Schools; but gradually their technical and scientific shape merged into the more popular, but perhaps more interesting, written controversial discussion of modern times. Archbishop Laud's Conference, while it is one of the later instances of the ancient method, betrays by its subsequent adaptation to the shape of a regular treatise, that the influence and value of mere scholastic discussion was felt to have passed away. The Conferences, however, of which so many are on record during the first century of the Reformation, must be distinguished. Some were strictly scholastic acts, as those connected with the deprivation of Archbishop Cranmer, and Ridley's disputations at Oxford; some were formal discussions upon fixed propositions, such as those debated in Westminster Abbey, between the leading divines of the reformed doctrines and their opponents, in 1559; and some were of a more private nature, either for eliciting the truth on the part of the disputants, or for the sake of gaining or retaining a more distinguished convert or adherent to either side.

Among these may be mentioned: the disputations conducted by Feckenham, the last Abbot of Westminster, at the Savoy—at Sir William Cecil's—at Sir John Cheke's; the Conference between Redmayne and Wilks at Westminster, in 1551; the Conference between Campian the Jesuit, in 1581, assisted by Sherwin, against Nowel, Fulke, and others, in the Tower; the well-known discussion between Rainolds and Hart, in 1583, in the Tower; [Robert] Parsons' "Review of Ten public Disputations or Conferences, held within the compass of Four Years, under King Edward and Queen Mary, concerning some principal points in Religion;"[a] Fitz-Simon's dispute with Ussher, then only nineteen years of age, in Dublin Castle, in 1599. During the reign of King James, partly perhaps occasioned by that monarch's personal taste for theological argument, which was especially exhibited in one of the first transactions of his reign, the well-known Hampton Court Conference, many of these oral discussions were held. Walsingham disputed with Covel and other doctors of the Church of England, in 1604. Bagshaw and Stephens, on the Roman Catholic side, disputed before Lord Clifford, the English ambassador at Paris, against Fairclough, better known under the name of Featley, then Chaplain to the Embassy, in 1612. Smith, subsequently Bishop of Chalcedon, held a personal Conference with Featley, who was much engaged in these disputes. Featley and Goad disputed against Musket (*alias* Fisher), and Percy, commonly called "Fisher the Jesuit," in 1621. Featley also disputed against Everard, in 1626; and previously, at a Conference held at the house of Sir Humphrey Lynde, in 1623, assisted by Dr. White, he had been engaged in a

[a] Title-page of a work of Parsons, under the name of N[icholas] D[oleman.] St. Omer's, 1604.

similar personal discussion with Fisher and another Jesuit named Sweet.

These public controversies were not confined to the champions of the two Churches. During the Usurpation, the different sectaries often discussed their mutual differences in this way: Vavasor Powell and John Goodwin held a disputation in Coleman-street, London, in 1649; John Reading disputed publicly in Folkestone Church with Samuel Fisher, an Anabaptist, in 1650; Tombes the Anabaptist, and Baxter "disputed face to face, and their followers were like two armies," (Ant. Wood, in Life of Tombes;) Tombes also held a public dispute against Vaughan and Cragge, at Abergavenny, in 1653. This mode of controversy was recurred to by the Caroline divines, not only in the Civil War, but during the Usurpation, both at home and abroad. Gunning held two or three set disputations with a Roman Catholic priest, for the satisfaction of his patron, Sir Robert Shirley, according to Ant. Wood, who adds that "there was no considerable sect, but he held with them, some time or other, a set public disputation, in defence of the Church of England."[b] A public conference was held at Brussels, in 1649, between Morley, and D'Arcy, a Jesuit.

The occasion of one of the most celebrated of these Con-

[b] Accounts are extant of two of these conferences: 1. "A Contention for Truth; in two several public disputations, before thousands of people, in the Church of S. Clement Danes, without Temple Bar, on the 19 and 26 November, 1657, between Peter Gunning and Hen. Denn, on Infant Baptism, London, 1658."—2. "Schism Unmasked: or a late Conference between Mr. Peter Gunning and Mr. John Pierson [subsequently Bishop of Chester, and author of the celebrated work on the Creed], Ministers, and two disputants of the Romish persuasion. Paris, 1658." This publication came from the Roman Catholic side, and was edited by Spenser, a priest, (Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 313,) one of those engaged in the Conference, with whom was associated Dr. Lenthall, though other names have been given as those of the Roman Catholic disputants, viz. John White, and Johnson, alias Terret. (Cf. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, vol. iv. col. 144.)

ferences, that between Laud and Fisher, is connected with political as well as theological considerations.

The rise and fortunes of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, were so remarkable, that they invested not only with interest, but importance, every thing connected with his family. And during the reign of the Stuarts, the religious professions of those about the Court were matters of earnest solicitude, because of great political consequence, to the King. The mother of the Duke of Buckingham, Lady Villiers, though she had contracted a second marriage with Sir Thomas Compton, a private gentleman, had been created Countess of Buckingham, soon after her son had first received his title.[c] This lady was converted to the Roman Catholic communion, by Fisher the Jesuit. It does not appear exactly at what time she joined the Church of Rome. Laud, in his Diary, 1622, April 23, speaks of "the Countess of Buckingham, who about that time was wavering in point of religion;" and in the "History of the Troubles and Trial," &c. p. 226, he says that he "brought the Lady his [Buckingham's] mother to the Church again; but she was not so happy as to continue with us." At any rate, whether at this time the Countess of Buckingham had actually conformed to the Church of Rome, or whether she was then only in a doubtful state, her change in religion is to be attributed to the arguments of one "Fisher the Jesuit." Her influence with her son was so great, that it was a saying of the time, recounted by Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, with evident reference to her change in religion, that more intercession was made to the mother than to the son.[d]

Besides being subject to this influence on the side of his

[c] Clarendon. Book I.

[d] Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 953.

mother, the Duke of Buckingham had other inducements to favour the Roman Catholics; and it was at the time hoped, by a combination of domestic circumstances, to bring him over to that communion. His wife, Lady Katharine Manners, only daughter and heiress of Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, was also "bred"[e] a Roman Catholic. Echard says that she was for awhile persuaded by Dr. White to forsake this communion: but was quickly reclaimed by her mother-in-law, "a fiery Romanist." If this were the case, she had been previously brought to some partial, if not entire, communion with the Church of England as early as the year 1619, before her marriage with the Duke, then Marquis, of Buckingham in 1620, by Lord Keeper Williams (Hacket's Life of Williams). It seems, however, plain that in the year 1622, the Countess of Buckingham, the mother, was either openly or secretly a Roman Catholic; so was the Marchioness of Buckingham the wife; and of the Marquis himself, Archbishop Laud stated on his trial, ("Troubles and Trial," &c. p. 226,) "The Right Honourable the Lord Duke of Buckingham was almost lost from the Church of England between the continual unceasing labours of Fisher the Jesuit and the persuasions of the Lady his mother."

At this juncture it was, that Dr. White, as he intimates,[f] was invited by the Duke of Buckingham to undertake the settling of his mother: from internal evidence, however, it seems more probable that even in the first instance King James, alarmed for the religious profession of his favourite, suggested a conference as the means really of confirming the Marquis himself, ostensibly for the purpose of settling the Countess. Dr. Francis White, Rector of

[e] Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 42.

[f] Preface to his "Replie to Jesuit Fisher," &c.

St. Peter's, Cornhill, and one of the Royal Chaplains,[g] was selected on the side of the Church of England, and between him and Fisher the Jesuit a personal conference was held in the presence of the Marquis of Buckingham, the Marchioness of Buckingham, the Countess of Buckingham, and Lord Keeper Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, and subsequently Archbishop of York.[h] According to Fisher's own account, (vide infra, App. Nos. II. III. pp. xxiii.—xxvi.) a paper of his addressed to the Countess, came to some hands, unquestionably those of the Marquis, who gave it to Dr. White to answer and "oppugn it in a Conference."

Shortly afterwards a second Conference was held between the same parties, at which the King himself was present; who "having observed that our adversaries are cunning and subtle, in eluding our arguments brought against them, but of no strength, especially in particular questions, when they come to the κατασκευὴ and confirmation of their own tenet, was himself pleased to have nine questions of controversy propounded to the Jesuit, that he might in writing manifest the grounds and arguments whereupon the Popish faith in those points was builded." (White's Preface.)

Besides the King's dissatisfaction with the result of these first two Conferences, it appears that the Countess of Buckingham required from the English Divines, according to Fisher, more distinct argument on the doctrine of "a continual, infallible, visible Church." (Vide infra, Conference, &c. p. 2.) To meet this difficulty, the King himself imposed upon Dr. William Laud, then Bishop of S. David's, the duty of meeting Fisher in a Third Conference before the same

[g] Successively Dean of Carlisle in 1622; Bishop of Carlisle in 1626; of Norwich in 1628; and of Ely in 1631.

[h] Vide infra, p. xxvi. App. No. III. "A few but very honourable persons . . . L. K., L. M. B., L. B., and M. B."

parties. The allusions to this Conference, contained in Laud's Diary, are these:—

"1622. April 23. Being the Tuesday in Easter week, the King sent for me and set me into a course about the Countess of Buckingham, who about that time was wavering in point of religion.

"April 24. Dr. Francis White and I met about this.

"May 10. I went to the court to Greenwich, and came back in coach with the lord marquess Buckingham. My promise then to give his lordship the discourse he spake to me for.

"May 19. I delivered my lord marquess Buckingham the paper concerning the difference between the Church of England and Rome, in point of salvation, &c.

"May 23. My first speech with the Countess of Buckingham.

"May 24. The conference between Mr. Fisher, a Jesuit, and myself, before the lord marquess Buckingham, and the Countess, his mother. I had much speech with her after.

"June 9. Being Whit-Sunday, my lord marquess Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a near respect to me. The particulars are not for paper.

"June 15. I became C. to my lord of Buckingham."

Strict secrecy on the particulars of these several Conferences had been enjoined on the parties concerned in them; but according to Dr. White, Fisher had "dispersed hundreds of papers on the subject of the Third Conference to his own praise and our disgrace, for had we been school-boys of thirteen years old, he could not have made a reverend Bishop and myself seem more childish and unskilful than he did." (Preface.) White, however, though he "at first proposed to have published in print a narration of his two disputations," (ibid.) yet thought it desirable to wait for Fisher's written answer to the nine points proposed as the chief errors of the Church of Rome, by King James. These subjects were thus enumerated in "His Majesty's note delivered unto Mr. Fisher." "Some of the principal points which withheld my joining unto the Church of Rome, except she reform herself, or be able to give me satisfaction, are these: 1. The Worship of Images. 2. The Prayings and offering Oblations to the B. V. M. 3. Worshipping and Invocation of Saints

and Angels. 4. The Liturgy and private Prayers in an unknown tongue. 5. Repetitions of Pater Nosters, Aves, and Creeds, especially affixing a kind of merit to the number of them. 6. The doctrine of Transubstantiation. 7. Communion under one kind, and the abetting it by concomitancy. 8. Works of Supererogation, especially with reference unto the Treasure of the Church. 9. The opinion of Deposing Kings, giving away their kingdoms by papal power, whether directly or indirectly." (The Answer unto the Nine Points, &c. p. 2.) To eight of these questions Fisher returned an answer in manuscript, declining a reply to the last "with a rhetorical declamation," (White, Preface,) stating that the rules of his order forbad his interference with state affairs. "But before the nine questions he placeth a large disputation (provided no doubt aforehand, and expecting only a prosperous wind of occasion, to send it abroad,) touching the Rule of Faith, concerning Scripture and Tradition, the Notes of the Church, &c. Then, to counterpoise the King's Nine Articles, he chargeth our Church with nine remarkable errors, as he accounteth them." (White, Preface.)

In the meantime, Bishop Laud, as early as Michaelmas 1622, had prepared his Relation of the Third Conference, with especial reference to what he calls Fisher's "papers full of partiality to his cause, and more full of calumny against the Bishop." (Preface to R. B.'s Answer to Mr. Fisher's Relation, &c.) It does not appear at what time Fisher delivered his answer to the nine points to the King:[i] but it was not till April 10, 1624, that White was ready with his "Replie to Jesuit Fisher's Answere to certain Questions propounded by his most gracious Majestie King James:

[i] Hen. More, (Hist. Provinc. Anglic. Soc. Jesu. p. 382,) says that Fisher "finished his answer in a month, but that it was some time before it reached the King."

Hereunto is annexed a Conference of the right R. B. of St. David's with the same Jesuit." For the publication of Dr. White's work Bishop Laud's own account of the Conference, already prepared, was delayed; which appeared at length only as an accompaniment to the larger work of Dr. White, and was published under the initials R[ichard] B[aily] the Bishop's chaplain, and with the title, "An Answere to Mr. Fisher's Relation of a Third Conference betweene a certaine B. (as he stiles him) and himselfe. The Conference was very private, till Mr. Fisher spread certaine papers of it, which in many respects deserved an Answere. Which is here given by R. B. Chapleine to the B. that was imployed in the Conference. London, Printed by Adam Islip. 1624."

It was, however, Bishop Laud's own work, as he subsequently acknowledged, and constitutes, in this shape, the first edition, or rather the original sketch, of the volume now placed in the reader's hands. How the work came to be afterwards enlarged and published in an independent form, and in his own name, after the author's translation to Canterbury, Archbishop Laud himself fully explains in his Dedication of it to King Charles, pp. iii.—xviii. of the present Edition.

On the side of the Church of England, then, Dr. White's share of the joint Reply to Fisher may be considered as a complement to the argument which, according to the King's judgment, the oral conferences had only partially worked out; while Bishop Laud's Relation was designed rather to meet the antecedent question urged by Lady Buckingham, and embraced in Fisher's preliminary "Disputation touching the Rule of Faith, Scripture, and Tradition, the Notes of the Church, &c."

It appears to be beyond doubt, that Fisher's "Short Relation of the Conference," and his "Answer to the Nine Points," were at present only in manuscript. Both Dr. White and Bishop Laud, in their respective Answers, in the joint publication of 1624, recite the whole of Fisher's manuscript papers, section by section, replying to each argument and assertion. Fisher had now to reply, which he did under the pseud-initials A. C. to Laud's account of the Conference; while at the same time appeared, either from him or an associate, a "Rejoinder to White's Reply," under the initials J. F. But the chronological order of the works in which the controversy proceeded, may be best understood by the following synopsis :—

I. Fisher's Answer to the Nine Points, &c. presented to the King privately in MS. It was without notes.

II. Fisher's own Short Relation of the Conference, circulated privately, but largely, in MS. This was also without notes.

III. White's "Reply to Jesuit Fisher's Answer, &c. together with Laud's Account of the Third Conference; under the initials R. B. London, 1624." This joint production incorporates Fisher's two MS. works, (I. II.) which are printed in their respective parts, in different type from the body of the work.

IV. The "Answer unto the Nine Points, &c. and the Rejoinder unto the Reply of Dr. Francis White, Minister. 1625." This incorporates No. I. and has many notes added by way of answer to White's part of No. III. Prefixed to this volume is found "The true picture of the said Minister, or censure of his writings." And the whole collection then has the title-page of 1626. This volume is rare: but copies are to be found of it. H. More (ubi sup.) intimates that

the notes are not Fisher's, "Quo factum est ut denuo revisa prodierint [viz. Fisher's 'Answer to the Nine Points'] in lucem docto cum commentario *Joannis Floydi*," [k] and Dodd, (Ch. History, vol. ii. p. 106, cf. vol. iii. p. 394,) by merely translating Alegambe (Biblioth. Scriptor. Soc. Jesu), without transcribing the exact titles, seems to attribute the whole work both to Fisher and Floyd in their respective lives; though Alegambe himself, writing in Latin, had, with greater accuracy, given the "Rejoinder to White's Reply" to Floyd. The truth seems to be, that the whole of the first part of the work, "The Picture of Dr. White," together with the Prefaces and the "Rejoinder to White's Reply," are Floyd's; the original MS. of Fisher, presented to the king, the "Answer unto the Nine Points," No. I. being for the second time reprinted, as it had already been in "White's Reply," and being now fully annotated and enlarged by Floyd. As, therefore, White and Laud were associated in No. III., so Fisher and Floyd were associated in this volume. In catalogues it is usually attributed to Fisher; and the identity of the initials J. F[isher] and J. F[loyd], which are attached to the Epistle Dedicatory, will at once account for the mistake; but not only is H. More's statement positive as to Floyd's larger share in the work, a statement corroborated by Dodd's less direct testimony, but the Dedication to King Charles constantly uses the term "we," with a plain reference to an associated authorship. It appears, then, that as regards No. III., the joint work of White and Laud, Floyd was entrusted to "rejoin" to White, while Fisher reserved himself for an encounter with Laud, which he engaged in by publishing—

[k] Floyd was the writer of the book "Contra Novatores" "Deus et Rex. St. Omer's, 1620." (Vide infra, p. 272, note d.)

V. Fisher's "True Relations of sundry Conferences, &c." 1626, incorporating No. II. with notes added by way of special answer to Laud's part of No. III. This is a very rare work, which does not occur either in the Bodleian Library or in the British Museum; and for the loan of the only copy which the present Editor has heard of, he is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Routh, the venerable President of S. Mary Magdalene College, Oxford. The whole of its introduction may be read consecutively from p. xix. to p. xl. of the present volume (Appendix, Nos. I. II. III. IV.) Thenceforward the body of A. C.'s work is included in Laud's own Relation, in which it is reprinted and answered paragraph by paragraph. It is not mentioned in the list of Fisher's works in the Biblioth. Scriptor. Soc. Jesu, nor by Dodd, who follows that collection. Besides this, viz. A. C.'s account of the Conference between Dr. Francis White and Mr. John Fisher, A. C.'s collected volume of 1626 contains two other controversial pamphlets; one, "An Answer to a Pamphlet, intituled: The Fisher catched in his own Net, &c. 1623," pp. 86, (this refers to the discussion held between Fisher and Sweet against Drs. White and Featley, at the house of Sir Humphrey Lynde, in 1623;) and the other, "A Reply to D. White and D. Featley. The First Part, &c. The Second Part, &c. 1625," pp. 181. The title-page of the whole volume is given below, p. xix. It does not appear to have been widely circulated, being printed at St. Omer's (?), and Laud (vide infra, p. vii.) observes that he did not meet with it till "some years after" its publication.

VI. The present work, Laud's "Relation of the Conference, &c. 1639." To this appeared some specific answers; viz.

VII. "A Replie to a Relation of the Conference between William Laude and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite. By a Witnesse of

Jesus Christ. Imprinted, anno 1640." This is a puritan work of singular dulness and intense bitterness: it is very rare.

VIII. "Questions propounded for Resolution of unlearned Pretenders in matters of Religion, to the doctors of the prelatical pretended Reformed Church of England, &c. Paris, [London?] 1657." In the additions to Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (ed. Bliss,) vol. iv. p. 144, this work is styled, an "answer to Dr. Laud's work." Its author was John Spenser, a Jesuit. (Cf. Dodd's Ch. History, vol. ii. p. 313, and v. supra, p. [vii], note [b].)

IX. "Labyrinthus Cantuariensis: or Dr. Laud's Labyrinth, &c. Paris [?]: Printed by John Billaine, 1658." It purports to be by T. C. [arvell] a Jesuit, whose real name was Thorold. He was of a good Lincolnshire family, and died in London, 1664. Stillingfleet says that the date is fictitious, and that the book did not really appear till 1663. Thorold had two immediate answers: viz.

X. "Of the Necessity of Reformation, &c. occasioned by some late virulent books written by Papists: but especially by that intituled Labyrinthus Cantuariensis. By Meric Casaubon. London, 1664."

XI. "A Rational Account of the grounds of Protestant Religion, &c. being a Vindication of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference from the pretended answer of T. C. By Edward Stillingfleet. 1664." This forms the fourth volume of Stillingfleet's works in the collected edition of 1709-10.

John Serjeant, now very aged, who had been the antagonist of Archbishop Bramhall, took part in the dispute at this time, (cf. p. 84, note [t]): and Stillingfleet replied to him. Abraham Woodhead also engaged in it. It appears therefore that the direct discussion of the famous "Conference

between Laud and Fisher" ranged over a period of exactly forty years.

"Fisher the Jesuit," of the Conferences—A. C., of the replies to White and Laud—was only a name assumed by a person named Piersey, Piers, Percy, or Persy, for his name is spelled variously, of whom the following facts are recorded in the Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, (ed. Alegambe et Sotwell, Romæ, 1676)—in Dodd's Ch. History—and in H. More, (Hist. Soc. Jesu.) He was born in the county of Durham, (Dodd and Wood say in Yorkshire)—and was converted at about the age of fourteen, by the influence of a Roman Catholic woman with whom he had been placed in lodgings by his family, in order to avail himself of the instruction of an elder brother,—educated at Rheims, and subsequently in the English College at Rome. He entered the Jesuit College at Tournay, and while meditating a journey to England in 1596, was seized at Flushing by some English soldiers, and sent prisoner to England, where he was almost immediately thrown into Bridewell. He was frequently imprisoned; but was at length released at the request of Queen Henrietta Maria. He died in London of a cancer, after two years' illness, being then above seventy years of age; the date of his death is not exactly recorded; but he was alive in 1641. (Cf. Dodd's Church History, vol. iii. p. 394.)

But little more is recorded than these leading events of his life. When summoned to the Three Conferences, he was a "prisoner for the Catholique faith." One of his great successes was the temporary conversion of Chillingworth, which is ascribed to him by Dodd,—or rather Hugh Tootle, writing under that name—(Church History, vol. iii. p. 101. Cf. Des Maizeaux' Life of Chillingworth, p. 6; and Ant. Wood, sub nom.). Not only did he conduct the controversy

between himself and Drs. White and Laud, and the nearly contemporaneous dispute at the house of Sir H. Lynde, but in 1623 we find him in a controversy with Henry Rogers, who wrote "An Answer to Mr. Fisher the Jesuit his Five Propositions concerning Luther," &c. 1623. To this Fisher replied, and Rogers subsequently answered, in the "Protestant Church existent," &c. 1638. In 1625 (cf. Prynne's Hidden Workes of Darkness, &c. p. 71) "Piercy's" name occurs first in the writ of pardon, dated 4 May, and issued in favour of twenty Priests and Jesuits, a few days after King Charles's marriage with Henrietta Maria. It was made a subject of accusation against Archbishop Laud on his trial, that he had connived at Fisher's release from imprisonment; and that on more than one occasion he had discountenanced his arrest.

A tedious and circumstantial account of this matter is inserted by Prynne, with his usual prolixity and malignity, in Canterburie's Doome, pp. 451—453. It certainly does appear, and much to the Archbishop's credit, that in March, 1634-5, he was instrumental in getting, at least, a commutation of Fisher's punishment. Under the existing laws against seminary priests, it was felony for one of the Jesuits to be found in England. Fisher had been arrested by Cook and Gray, the messengers, and "after his examination before the Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Secretary Cooke went to the King, to know his pleasure what should be done with him; who returning to the Board, the Archbishop delivered the King's pleasure, to this effect:—'Master Fisher, kneel down upon your knees, every morning and every evening, and pray for the King for granting you your life; and, to be short, Master Fisher, his Majesty's pleasure is, that you shall be forthwith banished this kingdom, and all other his

Majesty's dominions, and you shall remain prisoner in the Gate House, until you put in good security before the King's attorney, Sir John Banks, never to return again.' Whereunto Fisher replied: If he had a hundred lives, he would come hither again, or elsewhere, if his superior so commanded him; and utterly refused to put in any security."[1] (Canterburie's Doome, p. 452.) Prynne goes on to say that in consequence he was committed to the Gate House, but was found at liberty in Holborn four months after. This must have been in consequence of Secretary Windebanke's general policy of releasing all the Roman Catholic prisoners: a catalogue of the Priests discharged by him, to the number of seventy-seven, is produced by Prynne in the "Hidden Workes of Darkness," &c. p. 124, in which we find: "20.—John Piers, alias Fisher, with two sureties in 500*l.* to appear upon twenty days' warning: bond dat. 12 August, 1635." Fisher is also alluded to in a letter from Phillips the Queen's Confessor, addressed to M. Mountague in France: "You may expect some company with you ere long. Crofts, Suckling, Piercy, Jermaine are gone." (Hidden Workes, &c. p. 215.) His works, as catalogued in the Bibliotheca Script. Soc. Jesu, and in Dodd's Church History, are—

1. A Treatise of Faith. London, 1600. With Notes, St. Omer's, 1614.
2. A Defence of his Treatise of Faith, against Wotton and White. St. Omer's, 1612.
3. A Challenge to Protestants, &c. St. Omer's, 1612.
4. An Answer to Nine Points of Controversy, &c., with the Censure of Mr. White's Reply. 4to. 1625.

It has already been shown how little of this last work is Fisher's.

[1] H. More (v. supra) adds to this dialogue.

It remains to give some more particular account of Archbishop Laud's work, now reprinted. Of the first edition, or rather original sketch, appended to Dr. White's work, sufficient notice has been taken.

The second edition, or in point of fact the *first* edition of the complete work itself, was published in 1639, in small folio; its title-page has been fac-similed for the present volume; and follows the Editor's preface. It was the only edition published during the author's life.

The third edition is "A Relation of the Conference between William Laud, late Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite, By the Command of King James, of ever-blessed Memory. With an Answer to such Exceptions as A. C. takes against it. The Third Edition Revised: with a Table annexed. London: Printed by J. C. for Tho. Bassett, T. Dring, and J. Leigh, at the George, the White-Lion, and the Bell in Fleet-street. MDCLXXIII."

The title-page of the fourth edition, printed in red and black, is "A Relation of the Conference between William Laud, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit, by the Command of King James of ever Blessed Memory. With an Answer to such Exceptions as A. C. takes against it. The Fourth Edition revised: with a Table annexed. IMPRIMATUR. C. Alston, R. P. D. Hen. Episc. Lond. a Sacris Domesticis. Jan. 25. $168\frac{5}{6}$. London, Printed by Ralph Holt for Thomas Bassett, Thomas Dring in Fleet Street, and John Leigh, MDCLXXXVI."

A reprint, making the fifth edition, was published "Oxford, at the University Press. 1839." The present edition, therefore, is the sixth.

The text of the posthumous editions of 1673 and 1686 (the latter being a reprint, with very trifling variations of the

former) differs in very many, and sometimes important, particulars from that of 1639. In most, but not in all, cases the text of the later editions is an improvement on the original: but the present Editor did not feel himself at liberty to discard the text as left by the author in 1639: especially as the third edition claims to be, and is, "Revised: with a Table annexed;" and it is by no means clear how far all the additions to, or variations from, the edition of 1639 received the author's sanction. That some of the corrections,—for example, the passage at p. 284,—contain Archbishop Laud's own second, and matured, thoughts is tolerably plain: and the reason of such additions it is not difficult to trace, as they correct errors in fact, of that sort which an author alone was likely to detect: but on the other hand, certain variations—such as corrections in style—seem rather to betray the editor than the author. While therefore it has been thought preferable on the whole to retain the author's own text as the basis of the present edition, all the changes introduced in the subsequent editions will be found noted in the margin. In some instances, however, the text of 1673, &c. has been adopted, but in these cases the original reading is also retained in the margin or in notes.

It may be probably conjectured that the edition of 1673 was prepared for the press by the same Dr. Richard Baily, Archbishop Laud's Chaplain, in whose name the first edition of the "Relation of the Conference" appeared. Dr. Baily had married a niece of Laud's, Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. William Robinson, the Archbishop's half-brother; and it appears by a clause in the Archbishop's will, to which he was appointed executor, that he stood high in his confidence, and may be regarded as the person to whom all corrections of his works were committed. It is:—

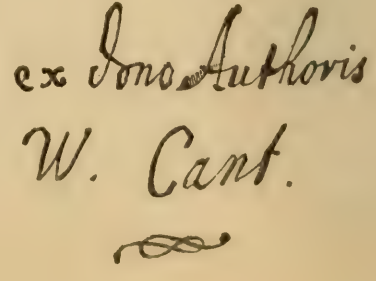
"*Item.*—I doe lay upon Dr. Baylye, above named, the care of all my papers and paper-bookes, if they can scape the violence of the time. . . . All which papers and paper-bookes I give unto him alsoe. But with this charge, that hee burne all which hee thinkes not fitt to use himself, that my weaknes whatever it bee, bee not any man's scorne; and my dilligence I am sure cannott bee. As for my Sermons, I leave them likewise to Dr. Baylye's care; all that are faire written, and have this mark (7) before them, I have revised; and yet I will not have any of them printed, unles they be perused either by Dr. Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, or Dr. Wrenn, Lord Bishop of Ely, or Dr. Steward, Dean of St. Paules, my reverend friends, nor yet then unles the times will beare them. . . . And I do heartily pray my Executor to take care that my booke written against Mr. Fisher the Jesuite, may be translated into Lattin and sent abroad, that the Christian world may see and judge of my religion. And I give unto him that translates it, for his paines, 100*l.*" [m]

When it is said that Dr. Baily was the probable editor of the edition of 1673, it is meant that it was probably revised for the press by him; for he died, Dean of Salisbury and

[m] A copy of Laud's will is given in Wharton's Remains, vol. i. p. 454, but it is neither complete nor accurate. The above extract, which is not given by Wharton, has been transcribed from the original will in Doctors' Commons. The clause respecting the Sermons will enable us to account for what, when the previous volume (the Sermons) of this collected edition of Laud's works was published, seemed difficult to understand, viz.: why only *seven* out of all those which he was known to have preached, were printed in the collected edition of 1651; and why the seventh Sermon, preached in 1631, was published in 1645, shortly after the Archbishop's death. Doubtless both publications are due to Dr. Baily's estimate of the responsibility laid on him by the Archbishop's will; though it is not easy to understand the especial suitableness of the years 1645 (the date of publication of the Seventh Sermon) and 1651 (the date of the collected volume)—"nor yet then unless the times will bear them"—to such works as Laud's Sermons.

President of S. John's College, in 1667. The only addition which this edition of 1673 professes to make to the Author's own edition, is the "Table annexed." But it is certain that, though uncommon, copies of the edition of 1639 occur with "A Table of the principall Contents," word for word the same as in the posthumous editions. One such copy is in the present Editor's possession. The subject has a slight interest; because a presentation copy[n] of the edition of 1639, from Laud to Lord Derby, and now in the possession of the Rev. W. Maskell, in the original binding, has no such Index; and it has been said that this Index, or Table, betrays a bias somewhat inconsistent with the substance of the work. But from a comparison of the two "Tables," it is plain that they are composed from different founts of type; and consequently that the Index to the edition of 1639, is not a mere adaptation to its own paging of that of the edition of 1673; though it seems doubtful whether it is contemporaneous with the authentic publication of the work in Laud's life-time.

The present Editor must be considered responsible for the headings of the pages, in which he has tried to give accurately the sense of the author; though, from the great difficulty of compressing an argument or statement into a few words, he fears that if he has not sometimes missed the sense, he has occasionally been led into forced and even ungrammatical expressions.



[n] *Fac-simile* of Laud's autograph, on the title-page of this copy.

The other additions of the present Editor are marked with brackets; and, as in the preceding volume, the citations from the Fathers have been verified and given in full.

It will be found that the present edition incorporates the whole of Fisher's own Relation of the First Conference, as well as of the Third, to which Laud's Relation is a reply; a work, as has already been observed, of exceeding rarity. The present edition reprints, for the first time from this source, the whole of the long notes which A. C. added to his printed Relation, as a controversial reply to Laud's short and original account of the Conference published under Dr. Baily's name. These notes are not, like Fisher's original manuscript Relation, incorporated in the Archbishop's account of the Conference, and they are never cited by Laud except in a fragmentary form, always sparingly, and sometimes with slight but unintentional inaccuracy. In the present edition, as in A. C.'s printed Relation, they follow upon his text, and, together with those other portions of that work which Laud omitted, are enclosed in [ ].

The initials used in this work are,

B. Bishop Laud.

F. Fisher the Jesuit.

D. W. Dr. Francis White.

L. K. Lord Keeper Williams, Bishop of Lincoln.

A. C. The initials adopted by Fisher in his "True Relations of Sundry Conferences," &c. and especially in his answer to Bishop Laud's first printed account of his Conference.

Upon the value and importance of the present celebrated work, it were superfluous in this place to enlarge. But in no edition of it should it remain unnoticed, that so high was

the value which King Charles set upon it, that he epitomized it with his own hand, (Life, prefixed to King Charles' Works, Perrinchief, p. 115; Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs, &c. p. 82;) and that he advised his daughter Elizabeth to read, and at the same time gave her with his own hands, Bishop Andrewes' Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Laud against Fisher. (Thom. Herbert's Life, apud Ant. Wood; Dugdale's Short View of the Late Troubles, &c. p. 382; Harris's Lives, vol. ii. p. 74, note.) Of the spirit in which it was composed, it is a sufficient defence to remember, that it was actually made a charge against the Archbishop on his trial, (Canterburie's Doome, p. 457,) that in his Epistle Dedicatory to the King, (vide infra, p. x.) he averred that "he had not given him [Fisher] or his so much as coarse language." And of its matter, it may be enough to cite the Author's own account of his controversial principles. "Secondly, my book against Fisher hath been charged against me; where the argument must lie thus: I have endeavoured to advance Popery, because I have written against it. And with what strength I have written, I leave to posterity to judge, when the envy which now overloads me shall be buried with me. This I will say with S. Gregory Nazianzen, (whose success at Constantinople was not much unlike mine here, save that his life was not sought,) 'I never laboured for peace to the wrong and detriment of Christian verity,' (Orat. 32,) nor I hope ever shall. [And let the Church of England look to it; for in great humility I crave to write this (though there was no time to speak it): That the Church of England must leave the way it is now going, and come back to that way of defence which I have followed in my book, or she shall never be able to justify her separation from the Church of Rome.]" (Troubles and Trial, &c. p. 418.)

Finally, What Laud's own dying judgment of his endeavours in this Conference was, may be estimated by the clause in his will, quoted above: but it seems scarcely becoming to do other than to prefix, by way of motto to it, the admission of one of the Archbishop's bitterest enemies, Sir Edward Deering, who observed that "his own book against the Jesuit will be his lasting epitaph." (Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 504.)

WILLIAM SCOTT.

Hoxton,
October 23, 1849.

The references have been made to the following editions. When a reference occurs but once, the edition in such case is specified with the quotation itself.

Æneas Sylvius, apud Fascic. Rerum, &c., q. v.
Albertus Magnus, Ratisbon., Op., fol. Basil. 1506.
Alliaco, Pet. de, Card. Cameracens. inter Opera Jo. Gerson., q. v.
Almain, Jacob., in Sentent. fol. Lugd. 1527.
———— Opuscula, fol. s. a. Par. [1517?]
Alphonsus a Castro, Op., fol. Paris. 1571.
Aquinas, S. Thom., Op., fol. Paris. 1615.
———— Opuscula, ed. Morelles, Antv. 1612.
Aristoteles, Op., ed. Bekker. 8vo. Oxon. 1837.
Assemanni, Cod. Liturgic. Eccl. Univ. 4to. Romæ, 1749–67.
Athanasius, S., Op., ed. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1698.
Augustinus, S., Op., ed. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1679—1700.
Azorius, Lorcitan. Institut. Moral. fol. Paris. 1616. et Colon. 1613.
Bandinus, de Trinitate, &c. Lovan. 1557.
Baronius, Annales, fol. Romæ, 1607.
Basilius, S., Op., ed. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1721–30.
Becanus, Mart., Op., fol. Paris. 1633.
———— Opuscula, fol. Mogunt. 1610.
Bellarminus, Card., Op., fol. Col. Agrip. 1619.
Bernardus, S., Op., fol. Par. 1551.
Bibliotheca Patrum, Max. fol. Lugd. 1677.
Biel, Gabr., in Canon. Miss. fol. Cleyn, Lugdun. 1514.
———— in Sentent. Cleyn. Lugd. 1519.
———— Suppl. in IV. Sentent. fol. Par. 1521.
Boëtius, de Consol. Philos. Basil. 1570.
Bonaventura, Card., Op., fol. Mogunt. 1609.
Bossuet, Œuvres de, 8vo. Versailles, 1817.
Bullarium Magn. &c. fol. Luxemburg. 1727, &c.
Cajetan., Card., Op., fol. Lugd. 1662.
Calvinus, Op., fol. Amst. 1667.
Calvisius, Chron. fol. Francof. 1685.
Canus Melchior, de Locis Theolog. 8vo. Lovan. 1569.
Cappellus de Appell. Eccl. African. 8vo. Paris. 1622.
Caranza, Barthol., Summa Conciliorum, 12mo. Duaci, 1679.
Cassander, Op., fol. Paris. 1616.
Catharinus, Ambros. in Epist. D. Pauli, fol. Paris. 1566.
Cave, Historia Literaria, fol. Oxon. 1740—43.
Chemnitz, Examen Conc. Trident. fol. Genev. 1614.
Cicero, Op., Ernesti, Londin. 1819.
Codex Veteris Eccles., apud Justelli Biblioth. Canon. ed. fol. Paris. 1661.

Conciliorum Collectio, Binnii, fol. Paris. 1636.
———————— Labbe et Cossart. fol. Paris. 1671–72.
————, Summa a Barthol. Caranza, Duaci, 1679.
Corpus Juris Civilis, ed. Van Leeuwen. fol. Amstel. 1663.
Corpus Juris Canonici, ed. Pithœi, fol. Paris. 1687.
Critici Sacri, &c. fol. Londin. 1660.
Cyprianus, S., Op., ed. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1726.
———————— Op., fol. Paris. 1616.
Cyrillus Alexandr. S., Op., ed. Aubert, fol. Paris. 1638.
Cyrillus Hierosolym., S.,Op., fol. Paris. 1640.
Damascenus, S. Joan., Op., Lequien, fol. Paris. 1712.
De Dominis Ant. Archiep. Spalat. A Manifestation of the Motives, &c. London, 1616.
———————— id. (Latin) Paris. 1623.
De Marca, de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, fol. Paris. 1669.
Decretalia (Greg. IX.) cum Gloss., fol. ed. Taurini, 1621.
Dionysius Carthusianus, (Dionys. a Rickel de Leewis,) Enarrationes in IV. Evang. fol. ed. Paris. 1542.
Durandus, Ep. Mimatens., in Sententias, fol. Paris. 1508.
Ecclesiast. Hist. Scriptores, ed. Reading., fol. Cantabrig. 1720.
Echard's Hist. of England, fol. London, 1707.
Epiphanius, S., Op., ed. Petav. fol. Paris. 1622.
Erasmus, Adag. Chiliad. fol. Colon. 1612.
Espencæus, Op., fol. Paris. 1619.
Eucher, (Emond,) Op., 4to. Col. 1701.
Euchologion Græcor. Goar. fol. Paris. 1647.
Eusebius Cæsariensis, (Pamphili) Hist. Eccles. apud Hist. Eccles. Scriptores, q. v.
Fasciculus Rerum, &c. per Gratium, fol. Colon. 1535.
Ferus, Enarr. in Act. fol. Colon. 1567.
Field, Of the Church, fol. Oxford, 1635.
Gandavensis, Henr. (Goethals) Summa, &c. fol. Ferrariæ, 1646.
Gerhardus, Op., 4to. Tubingæ, 1776.
Gerson., Joh., Op., ed. Dupin. Par. 1706.
Goldastus, Monarchia S. Romani Imperii, fol. Francof. 1614.
Gorranus in Evangel. Comment. fol. Antverp. 1617.
Gregorius Magnus, S., Op., ed. Benedict. fol. Par. 1705.
———————— Nazianzenus, S., Op., ed. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1778—1840.
———————— ed. Billii, fol. Paris. 1630.
———————— Thaumaturg., S., ed. Paris. 1622.
———————— de Valentia, Comment. Theolog. in Summ. S. Thom. Aquin. in Op., fol. Paris. 1609.
Hieronymus, S., Op., ed. Benedict. Paris. fol. 1693—1706.
Hilarius Pictav., S., Op., ed. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1693.
Holkot in Sentent. fol. Lugd. 1497.
Hooker, Richard, Works, ed. Keble, 8vo. Oxford, 1836.
Ignatius, S. apud Patres Apostol., q. v.
Irenæus, S., Op., ed. Benedict. fol. Paris, 1710.
———————— ed. Grabe. fol. Oxon, 1702.
Isidor. Hispalens. S., Op., ed. Lorenzanæ, 4to. Romæ, 1802.
Isidor. Pelusiot., S., Op., fol. Paris. 1638.
Jansenius,Concord. Evang. fol. Lovan. 1571.
Junius, Op., fol. Genev. 1613.
Justin Martyr, S., Op., ed. Thirlby, Londin. 1722.
Lactantius, Op., ed. Lebrun, Paris. 1748.
Leo Magnus, S., Op., ed. Ballerini, fol. Venet. 1753.
Llamas, Summ. Ecclesiast. Mogunt. 1605.
Lombard, P., Magist. Sentent., Op., 8vo. Paris. 1575.
Lucanus de Bell. Phars. Variorum, Londin. 1818.
Maldonatus, Comment. fol. Mussiponti, 1596.
Martyr, Pet., Loc. Comm. Genev. 1624.
Maurus, Rabanus, Op., fol. Colon. 1626.
Minutius Felix, Octavius, 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1672.
Mirandula, Joann. Pic., Op., fol. Basil. 1496.
Nauclerus, Chronicon, fol. Colon. 1564.
Novatianus de Trinitate, ad calcem Op. Tertulliani, q. v.
Ockam, cf. Goldastus.
Optatus Milevitanus, S., de Schism. Donatist. ed. Dupin. fol. Paris. 1700.
Origenes, Op., ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1733–59.
———————— Op., Erasm. Interpret. ed. Frobenii, Basil. 1545.

Patres Apostolici, ed. Cotelerius, fol. Amst. 1724.
Paul Sarpi, Hist. Conc. Trident. (vers. Lat.) fol. Aug. Trinobant. 1620.
Paulinus, Nolan, S., Op., fol. Paris. 1685.
Pighius, Albert., Hierarch. Eccles. fol. Colon. 1538.
Platina de Vitis Pontificum, fol. Colon. 1568.
Plautus, Op., Ernesti, Lipsiæ, 1760.
Prosper, S., Aquitan. Op., ed. Antelmn. fol. Paris. 1711.
Ramus, Schol. Math. Basil. 1569.
Rogers on the Articles, &c. London, 1585 and 1639.
Ruffinus, Expositio Symboli, apud S. Cyprianum, q. v.
Sa Emmanuel, Lusitan. Aphorism. Colon. 1615.
Salmeron, Comment. &c. fol. Colon. 1614.
Sanchez de Matrimonio, fol. Antwerp. 1626.
Scotus, Duns, Doctor Subtil., Op., fol. Lugd. 1639.
Seneca, Op., fol. Paris. 1607.
Simancas, de Cathol. Instit. fol. Romæ, 1575.
Sixtus Senensis, Biblioth. Sanct. fol. Paris. 1610.
Socrates, Hist. Eccles. apud Hist. Eccles. Scriptor., q. v.
Stapleton, Thom., Op., fol. Paris. 1620.
Stella, Enarr. in S. Luc. fol. Antverp. 1622.
Suarez, Op., fol. Colon. 1614. fol. Venet. 1747.
——— Comment. ac Disput. in Summ. S. Thom. Aquin. fol. Mogunt. 1619.
Synesius, Cyren. Op., ed. Petav. ad calcem S. Cyril. Hierosol. fol. Paris. 1640.
Tena, Comment. fol. Londin. 1661.
Tertullianus, Op., cum Novatiano de Trin. ed. Rigalt. fol. Paris. 1673.
Theodoretus, Op., Sirmondi, fol. Par. 1642.
Theodoretus, Eccl. Hist. apud Hist. Eccles. Scriptores, q. v.
Theophylactus, Comment. in Evang. fol. Par. 1635.
———————— Comment. in Epist. ed. Lindsell. Londin. 1636.
Tollet, Cardinal. in S. Johann. fol. Lugd. 1615.
Tostatus, Op., fol. Col. Agrip. 1613.
Tractatus Juris Utriusque, &c. fol. Venet. 1584.
Turrecremata, Summ. de Eccles. Lugd. 1496.
Vasquez, Comment. in Summ. S. Thom. Aquin. fol. Antv. 1621.
Vincentius Lirinensis, 12mo. Colon. 1585.
Waldensis, Thomas, Doctrinal. Fidei, fol. Paris. 1532.
Whitaker, Op., Aurel. Allobrog. et Genev. fol. 1610.
Wittembergenses Theologi, &c. fol. Witebergæ, 1584.
Zanchius, Op., fol. ed. Crispini, 1619.

ERRATA.

In *Fisher's Relation*, &c. :—

Page 27, line 1, *for* distinction of faith, *read* distinction of points of faith.
— 30, — 30, *for* cannot be to [so] firm, *read* cannot be firm.
— 132, — 19, *for* so rudely, *read* formerly.
— — — 24, *for* the first thing known, *read* the first thing foreknown.
— 149, — 37, &c. *for* for *contra id*, *read* for if *contra id*.
— — — 39, 40, *for* insolent madness. What then? Is it, &c., *read* insolent madness; what then is it, &c.
— — — 56, *for* to Rome, to, *read* to come to.
— 240, — 6, *for* do justify, *read* do not like.

[The above faults occur with some others in Fisher's own book: but they are corrected in a Table of Errata which escaped the present Editor until far advanced in his own volume.]

In *Laud* :—

Page 10, notes, col. 2, line 23, *for* Bonifacium, *read* ad Bonifacium.
— 12, in marg. line penult.
— — notes, col. 2, line penult. } *for* 1663, *read* 1673.
— 16, do. do.
— 91, notes, col. 2, line 12, *for* Hipponem—regium, *read* Hipponem-Regium.
— 152, notes col. 1, line 9, *for* 1629, *read* 1529.
— 240, at the end of the head-line, *for* period, *place* comma.
— 288, notes, col. 2, line 13, *for* Stapletoni, *read* Hardingi.
— 300, notes, col. 2, line 8, *for* de Vit., *read* de Vio.
— 336, notes, col. 1, line 12, *dele* period *after* vi.

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A RELATION OF The Conference

BETWEENE

WILLIAM LAWD,

Then, L^rd. Biſhop of S^t. DAVIDS;

NOW,

Lord Arch-Biſhop of CANTERBVRY:

And Mr. Fiſher *the Jeſuite, by the Command of*
KING JAMES of ever
Bleſſed Memorie.

With an Anſwer to ſuch Exceptions as
A. C. *takes againſt it.*

By the ſayd Moſt Reverend Father in GOD,
WILLIAM,
Lord Arch-Biſhop of CANTERBURY.

LONDON,
Printed by *Richard Badger*, Printer to the PRINCE
HIS HIGHNES.
MDCXXXIX.

The cause why this discourse was written, was this: I was, at the time of these Conferences with Master Fisher, Bishop of S. David's; and not only directed, but commanded, by my blessed master, King James, to this Conference with him. He, when we met,[b] began with a great protestation of seeking the truth only, and that for itself. And certainly, truth, especially in religion, is so to be sought, or not to be found. He that seeks it with a Roman bias, or any other,[c] will run counter when he comes near it, and not find it, though he come within kenning of it. And therefore I did most heartily wish, I could have found the Jesuit upon that fair way he protested to go. After the Conference ended, I went, whither my duty called me, to my diocese; not suspecting any thing should be made public, that was both commanded and acted in private. For W. I., the publisher of the Relation of the First Conference with D. White, the late reverend and learned Bishop of Ely, confesses plainly: "That Master Fisher was straitly charged upon his allegiance, from his Majesty that then was, not to set out, or publish what passed in some of these Conferences, till he gave licence, and until M. Fisher and they might meet, and agree, and confirm under their hands, what was said on both sides."[d] He says farther, "That M. Fisher went to D. White's house, to know what he would say about the Relation, which he had set out."[e] So then, belike M. Fisher had set out the Relation of that Conference before he went to D. White to speak about it. And this notwithstanding the King's restraint upon him, upon his allegiance. Yet to D. White it is said he went, but to what other end than to put a scorn upon him, I cannot see. For he went to his house to know "what he would say about that Relation of the Conference, which he had set out before." In my absence from London, M. Fisher used me as well. For with the same care of his allegiance, and no more, "He spread

[b] May 24, 1622.

[c] One of these biases, is an aversion from all such truth as fits not our ends. And a luce veritatis aversus, [et] ob hoc luci veritatis adversus (fit), &c.—S. Augustin. cont. Adversarium Legis et Prophet. lib. ii. [cap. 7. Op., tom. viii col. 593. D.] And it is an easy transition, for a man that is averse from, to become adverse to, the truth.

[d] In his [1] Epistle to the reader. ["The Preface of W. I., the publisher of these Relations," is added in the appendix to this Dedication, No. I. v. infra, pp. xxi—xxiii.]

[e] Ibid.

[1] [the epistle .... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

abroad papers of this Conference, full enough of partiality to his cause, and more full of calumny against me."[f] Hereupon I was in a manner forced to give M. Fisher's Relation of the Conference, an answer, and to publish it. Though for some reasons, and those then approved by authority, it was thought fit I should set it out in my chaplain's name, R. B., and not in my own. To which I readily submitted.

There was a cause also, why at the first, the Discourse upon this Conference stayed so long, before it could endure to be pressed. For the Conference was in May, 1622.[g] And M. Fisher's paper was scattered and made common, so common, that a copy was brought to me, being none of his special friends, before Michaelmas. And yet this Discourse was not printed till April, 1624. Now that you may know how this happened, I shall say for myself, It was not my idleness, nor my unwillingness to right both myself and the cause, against the Jesuit, and the paper which he had spread, that occasioned this delay. For I had then most honourable witnesses, and have some yet living, that this Discourse,

[f] These words were in my former epistle, [*i.e.* in the short Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to Laud's first account of the Conference, published under the name of R. B.] and A. C. checks at them, in defence of the Jesuit, and says: "That the Jesuit did not at all, so much as in speech, and much less in papers, publish this or either of the other two Conferences [which he had] with D. White, until he was forced unto it by false reports, given out [about them] to his private disgrace and the prejudice of the Catholic cause. Nor then did he spread papers abroad, but only delivered a very few copies to special friends, and this not with intent to calumniate the Bishop, &c." — A. C. in his preface before his "Relation of this Conference[between a certain B. and M. Fisher, defended against the said B.'s Chaplain." A. C. p. 37. This preface to the Relation, is added in the appendix to this Dedication, No. IV. v. infra, p. xxxix.] Truly, I knew of no reports then given out to the prejudice of the Jesuit's either person or cause. I was in a corner of the kingdom, where I heard little. But howsoever, here is a most plain confession by A. C. of that which he struggles to deny. He says, "He did not spread papers." What then? What? why "he did but deliver copies." Why, but doth not he that delivers copies, for instance, of a libel, spread it? Yea, "but he delivered but a very few copies."—[ibid. p. 38.] Be it so; I do not say how many he spread. He confesses the Jesuit delivered some, though very few; and he that delivers any, spreads it abroad. For what can he tell, when the copies are once out of his power, how many may copy them out, and spread them farther? Yea, "but he delivered them to special friends." —[ibid. p. 38.] Be it so too: the more special friends they were to him, the less indifferent would they be to me, perhaps my more special enemies. Yea, but all this was "without an intent to calumniate me."—[ibid. p. 38.] Well, be that so too. But if I be calumniated thereby, his intention will not help it. And whether the copies, which he delivered, have not in them calumny against me, I leave to the indifferent reader of this Discourse to judge.

[g] [Vide supra, note [b].]

such as it was when A. C. nibbled at it, was finished long before I could persuade myself to let it come into public view. And this was caused partly by my own backwardness to deal with these men, whom I have ever observed to be great pretenders for truth and unity, but yet such as will admit neither, unless they and their faction may prevail in all; as if no reformation had been necessary. And partly because there were about the same time, three Conferences held with Fisher. Of these this was the third; and could not therefore conveniently come abroad into the world, till the two former were ready to lead the way, which till that time they were not.

And this is in part the reason also, why this tract crept into the end of a larger work. For since that work contained in a manner the substance of all that passed in the two former Conferences, and that this third, in divers points, concurred with them and depended on them, I could not think it substantive enough to stand alone. But besides this affinity between the Conferences, I was willing to have it pass as silently as it might, at the end of another work, and so perhaps little to be looked after, because I could not hold it worthy, nor can I yet, of that great duty and service which I owe to my dear mother the Church of England.

There is a cause also, why it looks now abroad again with alteration and addition. And it is fit I should give your Majesty an account of that too. This tract was first printed in the year 1624. And in the year 1626, another Jesuit, or the same, under the name of A. C., printed a Relation of this Conference,[h] and therein took exceptions to some particulars, and endeavoured to confute some things delivered therein by me. Now being in years, and unwilling to die in the Jesuit's debt, I have in this Second Edition done as much for him, and somewhat more. For he did but skip up and down, and labour to pick a hole here and there, where he thought he might fasten; and where it was too hard for

[h] [A. C.'s "Relation of the Conference," viz. the First Conference, between himself and White, is added in the appendix to this Dedication, No. III. His "Relation of the Conference," viz. the Third Conference, between Fisher (i.e. himself, A. C.) and Laud, and which appeared in the same volume with his "Relation of the First Conference," is incorporated in the body of the present edition.]

him, let it alone. But I have gone thorough with him; and I hope, given him a full confutation; or at least such a bone to gnaw, as may shake his teeth, if he look not to it. And of my addition to this Discourse, this is the cause; but of my alteration of some things in it, this. A. C. his curiosity to winnow me, made me in a more curious manner fall to sifting of myself, and that which had formerly passed my pen. And though (I bless God for it,) I found no cause to alter any thing that belonged either to the substance or course of the Conference: yet somewhat I did find which needed better and clearer expression, and that I have altered, well knowing I must expect curious observers on all hands.

Now, why this additional answer to the Relation of A. C. came no sooner forth, hath a cause too, and I shall truly represent it. A. C.'s Relation of the Conference was set out, 1626. I knew not of it in some years after; for it was printed among divers other things of like nature, either by M. Fisher himself, or his friend A. C. When I saw it, I read it over carefully, and found myself not a little wronged in it; but the Church of England, and indeed the cause of religion, much more. I was before this time, by your Majesty's great grace and undeserved favour, made Dean of your Majesty's Chapel Royal, and a Councillor of State; and hereby, as the occasions of those times were, made too much a stranger to my books. Yet for all my busy employments, it was still in my thoughts to give A. C. an answer. But then I fell into a most dangerous fever; and though it pleased God, beyond all hope, to restore me to health, yet long I was before I recovered such strength, as might enable me to undertake such a service.[i] And since that time, how I have been detained, and in a manner forced upon other many, various, and great occasions, your Majesty knows best. And how of late I have been used by the scandalous and scurrilous pens of some bitter men, (whom

[i] [Laud was sworn in Dean of the Chapel Royal, Octob. 16, 1626, and Privy Councillor, April 29, 1627. The illness to which Laud alludes, is mentioned in his Diary, 1629. "Aug. 14. I fell sick upon the way towards the Court, at Woodstock; I took up my lodging at my ancient friend's house, Mr. Francis Windebank. There I lay in a most grievous burning fever, till Monday, Sept. 7, on which day I had my last fit. I was brought so low, that I was not able to return towards my own house at London, till Tuesday, Octob. 29."]

I heartily beseech God to forgive,) the world knows; little leisure and less encouragement given me to answer a Jesuit, or set upon other services, while I am under the prophet's
Ps. l. 19,20. affliction; between the "mouth that speaks wickedness, and the tongue that sets forth deceit, and slander me as thick, as if I were not their own mother's son."[k] In the midst of these libellous outcries against me, some divines of great note and worth in the Church, came to me one by one, and no one knowing of the other's coming, (as to me they protested,) and persuaded with me to reprint this Conference in my own name. This they thought would vindicate my reputation, were it generally known to be mine. I confess, I looked round about these men and their motion; and at last, my thoughts working much upon themselves, I began to persuade myself that I had been too long diverted from this necessary work; and that perhaps there might be *in voce hominum, tuba Dei,* "in the still voice of men, the loud trumpet of God," which sounds many ways, sometimes to the ears, and sometimes to the hearts of men, and by means which they think not of. And as S. Augustine speaks, "A word of God there is, *quod nunquam tacet, sed non semper auditur,* 'which though it be never silent, yet is not always heard.'"[l] That it is never silent, is His great mercy; and that it is not always heard, is not the least of our misery. Upon this motion I took time to deliberate, and had scarce time for that, much less for the work; yet at last, to every of these men I gave this answer: That M. Fisher, or A. C. for him, had been busy with my former Discourse, and that I would never reprint that, unless I might gain time enough to answer that which A. C. had charged afresh both upon me and the cause. While my thoughts were thus at work, your Majesty fell upon the same thing, and was graciously pleased not to command, but

[k] [This passage refers to the libels of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, who were censured in the Star-Chamber, June 14, 1637.]

[l] [Sed quid mirum? Verbum Dei nunquam tacet; sed non semper auditur.]—S. Augustin. Serm. [li. de concord. Matth. et Luc. olim Serm.] lxiii. de diversis, cap. 10. [Op., tom. v. col. 291. C.] He speaks of Christ, disputing in the temple with the elders of the Jews. And they heard Christ, the essential Word of the Father, with admiration to astonishment, yet believed Him not. S. Luke ii. 47. And the Word then spake to them, by a means they thought not of, namely, *per Filium Dei in puero,* "by the Son of God Himself, under the veil of our human nature."

to wish, me to reprint this Conference, and in mine own name; and this openly, at the Council-table, in Michaelmas Term, 1637.[m] I did not hold it fit to deny, having in all the course of my service obeyed your Majesty's honourable and just motions as commands; but craved leave to show, what little leisure I had to do it, and what inconveniences might attend upon it. When this did not serve to excuse me, I humbly submitted to that, which I hope was God's motion in your Majesty's. And having thus laid all that concerns this Discourse, before your gracious and most sacred Majesty, I most humbly present you with the book itself; which as I heartily pray you to protect, so do I wholly submit it to the Church of England, with my prayers for her prosperity, and my wishes that I were able to do her better service.

I have thus acquainted your Majesty with all occasions which both formerly and now again have led this Tract into the light; in all which I am a faithful relater of all passages, but am not very well satisfied who is now my adversary. M. Fisher was at the Conference. Since that I find A. C. at the print: and whether these be two or but one Jesuit, I know not, since scarce one amongst them goes under one name. But for my own part, and the error is not great, if I mistake, I think they are one, and that one, M. Fisher. That which induces me to think so is, first, the great inwardness of A. C. with M. Fisher, which is so great as may well be thought to neighbour upon identity. Secondly, the style of A. C. is so like M. Fisher's that I doubt it was but one and the same hand that moved the pen. Thirdly, A. C. says expressly, "That the Jesuit himself made the Relation of the first Conference with D. White:" and in the title-

A. C. p. 67.

[m] [It seems not improbable, that King Charles might have made this request on the occasion which is thus alluded to by Laud in his Diary: "1637. Octob. 22, Sunday.—A great noise about the perverting of the Lady Newport. Speech of it at the Council. My free speech there to the King, concerning the increase of the Roman party, the freedom at Durham House, the carriage of Mr. Walter Montague and Sir Toby Matthews. The Queen acquainted with all I said, that very night, and highly displeased with me, and so continues." This Lady Newport (Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 337.) was "a kinswoman of the Duke of Buckingham;" the Queen's chapel was at Somerset (then called Durham) House; and Montague, a son of the Earl of Manchester, and Matthews, eldest son of the Archbishop of York, were two of the most distinguished persons who had conformed to the Church of Rome.]

page of the work that Relation as well as this is said to be made by A. C. and published by W. I. Therefore A. C. and the Jesuit are one and the same person, or else one of these places hath no truth in it.

Now, if it be M. Fisher himself, under the name of A. C., then what needs these words: "The Jesuit could be content to let pass the Chaplain's censure as one of his ordinary persecutions for the Catholic faith, but A. C. thought it necessary for the common cause to defend the sincerity and truth of his relation, and the truth of some of the chief heads contained in it?"[n] In which speech, give me leave to observe to your sacred Majesty how grievously you suffer him and his fellows to be persecuted for the Catholic faith, when your poor subject and servant cannot set out a true copy of a Conference held with the Jesuit, *jussu superiorum*, but by and by the man is "persecuted." God forbid I should ever offer to persuade a persecution in any kind, or practise it in the least: for, to my remembrance, I have not given him or his so much as coarse language. But, on the other side, God forbid, too, that your Majesty should let both laws and discipline sleep for fear of the name of persecution; and, in the meantime, let M. Fisher and his fellows angle in all parts of your dominions for your subjects. If in your grace and goodness you will spare their persons, yet I humbly beseech you see to it, that they be not suffered to lay either their wheels, or bait their hooks, or cast their nets in every stream, lest that tentation grow both too general and too strong. I know they have many devices to work their ends; but if they will needs be fishing, let them use none but lawful nets.[o] Let us have no dissolving

[n] Preface to the Relation of this Conference by A. C. [v. infra, p. xxxix.]

[o] And S. Augustine is very full against the use of *mala retia*, "unlawful nets;" and saith the fishermen themselves have greatest cause to take heed of them. [Ut si intra retia Domini bona piscis malus esset, non tamen pisces Domini sui malis retibus irretiret; hoc est, ut si haberet in Ecclesia vitam malam, non tamen illic institueret doctrinam malam . . . Hæc sunt mala retia, quæ cavere debent præcipue piscatores: si tamen illa evangelica similitudine piscatores episcopi, vel inferioris ordinis ecclesiarum præpositi, intelligendi sunt: quia dictum est, Venite, et faciam vos piscatores hominum. Retibus enim bonis capi possunt pisces et boni et mali; retibus autem malis capi non possunt pisces boni. Quoniam in doctrina bona et bonus potest esse qui audit et facit, et malus qui audit et non facit: in doctrina vero mala, et qui eam veram putat, quamvis ei non obtemperet, malus est; et qui obtemperat, pejor est.]—S. Augustin. lib. de Fide et Operibus, cap. xvii. [Op., tom. vi. col. 183. F.]

of oaths of allegiance; no deposing, no killing of kings; no blowing up of states to settle *quod volumus*, that which fain they would have in the Church; with many other nets as dangerous as these; for if their profession of religion were as good as they pretend it is, if they cannot compass it by good means I am sure they ought not to attempt it by bad; for, if they will "do evil that good may come thereof," the Apostle tells me "their damnation is just." Rom. iii. 8.

Now, as I would humbly beseech your Majesty to keep a serious watch upon these fishermen, which pretend S. Peter, but fish not with his net; so would I not have you neglect another sort of anglers in a shallower water; for they have some ill nets too; and if they may spread them when and where they will, God knows what may become of it. These have not so strong a back abroad as the Romanists have, but that is no argument to suffer them to increase. They may grow to equal strength with number; and factious people at home, of what sect or fond opinion soever they be, are not to be neglected, partly because they are so near—and it is ever a dangerous fire that begins in the bed-straw—and partly because all those domestic evils which threaten a rent in Church or State, are with far more safety prevented by wisdom than punished by justice. And would men consider it right, they are far more beholding to that man that keeps them from falling than to him that takes them up, though it be to set the arm or the leg that is broken in the fall.

In this Discourse I have no aim to displease any, nor any hope to please all. If I can help on to truth in the Church, and the peace of the Church together, I shall be glad, be it in any measure. Nor shall I spare to speak necessary truth out of too much love of peace; nor thrust on unnecessary truth to the breach of that peace which once broken is not so easily soldered again. And if for necessary truth's sake only, any man will be offended, nay take, nay snatch at that offence which is not given, I know no fence for that. It is truth, and I must tell it: it is the Gospel, and I must preach it. And far safer it is in this case to bear anger from men than a "woe" from God. And where the foundations of faith are shaken, be it by superstition or profaneness, he that puts 1 Cor. ix. 16.

not to his hand, as firmly as he can, to support them, is too wary, and hath more care of himself than of the cause of Christ; and it is a wariness that brings more danger in the end than it shuns; for the Angel of the Lord issued out a
Judg. v. 23. curse against "the inhabitants of Meroz, because they came not to help the Lord, to help the Lord against the mighty." I know it is a great ease to let every thing be as it will, and every man believe and do as he list; but whether governors in State or Church do their duty therewhile, is easily seen,
Judg. xvii. 6. since this is an effect of "no king in Israel."

The Church of Christ upon earth may be compared to a hive of bees, and that can be nowhere so steadily placed in this world but it will be in some danger; and men that care neither for the hive nor the bees have yet a great mind to the honey; and having once tasted the sweet of the Church's maintenance, swallow that for honey which one day will be more bitter than gall in their bowels. Now, the King and the Priest, more than any other, are bound to look to the integrity of the Church in doctrine and manners, and that in the first place; for that is by far the best honey in the hive. But, in the second place, they must be careful of the Church's maintenance too, else the bees shall make honey for others, and have none left for their own necessary sustenance, and then all is lost; for we see it in daily and common use, that the honey is not taken from the bees, but they are destroyed first. Now, in this great and busy work, the King and the Priest must not fear to put their hands to the hive, though they be sure to be stung; and stung by the bees whose hive and house they preserve. It was King
Ps. cxviii. 12. David's case, God grant it be never yours. "They came about me," saith the Psalm, "like bees."[p] This was hard usage enough, yet some profit, some honey, might thus be gotten in the end. And that is the King's case. But when it comes to the Priest, the case is altered; they come about him like wasps, or like hornets rather—all sting and no honey there;—and all this many times for no offence, nay, sometimes for service done them, would they see it. But
Rev. xxii. 12. you know Who said, "Behold I come shortly, and My reward

[p] Apum [vero] similitudine vesanum ardorem notat: [quia etsi] in illis [animalibus] non tantum est roboris, mira tamen [est] excandescentia.—Calvin. in Psalm. cxviii. [12. Op., tom. iii. p. 434. col. 2.]

is with Me, to give to every man according as his works shall be." And He Himself is so "exceeding great a reward," as that the manifold stings which are in the world, howsoever they smart here, are nothing when they are pressed out with that "exceeding weight of glory" which shall be revealed. Gen. xv. 1. Rom. viii. 18.

Now, one thing more let me be bold to observe to your Majesty in particular, concerning your great charge, the Church of England. It is in a hard condition. She professes the ancient Catholic faith, and yet the Romanist condemns her of novelty in her doctrine; she practices Church government as it hath been in use in all ages and all places where the Church of Christ hath taken any rooting, both in and ever since the Apostles' times, and yet the Separatist condemns her for Antichristianism in her discipline. The plain truth is, she is between these two factions, as between two millstones, and unless your Majesty look to it, to whose trust she is committed, she will be ground to powder, to an irreparable both dishonour and loss to this kingdom. And it is very remarkable that while both these press hard upon the Church of England, both of them cry out upon "persecution;" like froward children, which scratch and kick and bite, and yet cry out all the while, as if themselves were killed. Now, to the Romanist I shall say this:—The errors of the Church of Rome are grown now, many of them, very old; and when errors are grown by age and continuance to strength, they which speak for the truth, though it be far older, are ordinarily challenged for the bringers in of "new opinions." And there is no greater absurdity stirring this day in Christendom than that the reformation of an old corrupted Church, will we nill we, must be taken for the building of a new. And were not this so, we should never be troubled with that idle and impertinent question of theirs: "Where was your Church before Luther?" for it was just there, where theirs is now. One and the same Church still, no doubt of that; one in substance, but not one in condition of state and purity: their part of the same Church remaining in corruption, and our part of the same Church under reformation.[q] The same Naaman, and he

[q] "There is no other difference between us and Rome than betwixt a Church miserably corrupted, and happily purged," &c.—Joseph Hall, Bishop

a Syrian still; but leprous with them, and cleansed with us;—the same man still. And for the Separatist, and him that lays his grounds for separation or change of discipline, though all he says, or can say, be in truth of divinity, and among learned men, little better than ridiculous, yet since these "fond opinions" have gained some ground among your people, to such among them as are wilfully set to "follow their blind guides" through thick and thin, till "they fall into the ditch together," I shall say nothing. But for so many of them as mean well, and are only misled by artifice and cunning; concerning them I shall say thus much only:—They are bells of passing good metal, and tuneable enough of themselves and in their own disposition; and a world of pity it is that they are rung so miserably out of tune as they are, by them which have gotten power in and over their consciences. And for this there is yet remedy enough; but how long there will be, I know not.

Matt. xv. 14.

Much talking there is—bragging, your Majesty may call it—on both sides; and when they are in their ruff they both exceed all moderation and truth too,—so far till both lips

of Exeter, in his "Apologetical Advertisement to the Reader," [appended to "The Old Religion," &c. the Third Edition,] p. 192. [194. ed. London, 1630.] approved by Thomas Morton, Bishop then of Coventry and Lichfield, now of Duresme, in the Letters printed by [Hall,] the Bishop of Exeter, in his Treatise called, "The Reconciler," [i. e. "An Epistle pacificatory of the seeming differences of opinion concerning the trueness and visibility of the Roman Church:"] p. 68. [ed. London, 1629. Bishop Morton's words are: "And now remembering the accordance your Lordship hath with others touching the argument of your book, I must needs reflect upon myself; who have long since defended the same point, in the defence of many others."]—And Dr. Field, Of the Church, Appendix to the Third Part, chap. ii. [p. 880], where he cites Calvin to the same purpose; (Instit. lib. iv. cap. 2. § 11.) [..."I will first show that all our best and most renowned divines did ever acknowledge as much as I have written. 2. That the Roman Church is not the same now as it was when Luther began. And, 3. That we have not departed from the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, but only from the faction that was in it. Touching the first, M. Luther confesseth (lib. contr. Anabapt. ubi infra, p. 314. note [f],) that much good, nay, that all good, and the very marrow and kernel of faith, piety, and Christian belief was, by the happy providence of God, preserved even in the midst of all the confusions of the papacy. M. Calvin in like sort showeth that the true Church remained under the papacy: Cum Dominus fœdus suum, saith he, in Gallia, Italia, Germania, Hispania et Anglia deposuerit; ubi illæ provinciæ Antichristi tyrannide oppressæ sunt, quo tamen fœdus suum inviolabile maneret, Baptismum primo illic conservavit, fœderis testimonium, qui ejus ore consecratus, invita humana impietate, vim suam retinet. Deinde sua providentia effecit, ut alia quoque reliquiæ exstarent, ne Ecclesia prorsus interiret; &c.—Calvin. Op., tom. viii. p. 281. col. 1.]

and pens open for all the world like a purse without money; nothing comes out of this, and that which is worth nothing out of them. And yet this nothing is made so great, as if the salvation of souls—that great work of the Redeemer of the world, the Son of God—could not be effected without it. And while the one faction cries up the Church above the Scripture, and the other the Scripture to the neglect and contempt of the Church, which the Scripture itself teaches men both to honour and obey; they have so far endangered the belief of the one, and the authority of the other, as that neither hath its due from a great part of men; whereas, according to Christ's institution, the Scripture, where it is plain, should guide the Church; and the Church, where there is doubt or difficulty, should expound the Scripture; yet so, as neither the Scripture should be forced, nor the Church so bound up, as that upon just and farther evidence she may not revise that which in any case hath slipped by her. What success this great distemper, caused by the collision of two such factions, may have, I know not, I cannot prophesy. This I know, that the use which wise men should make of other men's falls, is not to fall with them; and the use which pious and religious men should make of these great flaws in Christianity, is not to join with them that make them, nor to help to dislocate those main bones in the body which being once put out of joint will not easily be set again. And though I cannot prophesy, yet I fear that atheism and irreligion gather strength while the truth is thus weakened by an unworthy way of contending for it. And while they thus contend, neither part consider that they are in a way to induce upon themselves and others that contrary extreme which they seem most both to fear and oppose.

Besides, this I have ever observed, that many rigid professors have turned Roman Catholics, and in that turn have been more Jesuited than any other: and such Romanists as have changed from them have for the most part quite leaped over the mean, and been as rigid the other way as extremity itself. And this, if there be not both grace and wisdom to govern it, is a very natural motion: for a man is apt to think he can never run far enough from that which he once begins

to hate, and doth not consider therewhile, that where religion corrupted is the thing he hates, a fallacy may easily be put upon him; for he ought to hate the corruption which depraves religion, and to run from it; but from no part of religion itself, which he ought to love and reverence, ought he to depart. And this I have observed farther, that no one thing hath made conscientious men more wavering in their own minds, or more apt and easy to be drawn aside from the sincerity of religion professed in the Church of England, than the want of uniform and decent order in too many churches of the kingdom; and the Romanists have been apt to say, The houses of God could not be suffered to lie so nastily, as in some places they have done, were the true worship of God observed in them, or did the people think that such it were. It is true, the inward worship of the heart is the great service of God, and no service acceptable without it; but the external worship of God in His Church is the great witness to the world, that our heart stands right in that service of God. Take this away, or bring it into contempt, and what light is there left "to shine before men, that they may see our devotion, and glorify our Father which is in heaven?" And to deal clearly with your Majesty, these thoughts are they, and no other, which have made me labour so much as I have done for decency and an orderly settlement of the external worship of God in the Church; for of that which is inward there can be no witness among men, nor no example for men. Now, no external action in the world can be uniform without some ceremonies; and these in religion, the ancienter they be the better, so they may fit time and place. Too many overburden the service of God, and too few leave it naked. And scarce anything hath hurt religion more in these broken times than an opinion in too many men, that because Rome had thrust some unnecessary and many superstitious ceremonies upon the Church, therefore the Reformation must have none at all; not considering therewhile, that ceremonies are the hedge that fence the substance of religion from all the indignities which profaneness and sacrilege too commonly put upon it. And a great weakness it is, not to see the strength which ceremonies,—things weak enough in themselves, God knows,—add even

[Matt. v. 16.]

to religion itself; but a far greater to see it and yet to cry them down all and without choice, by which their most hated adversaries climbed up, and could not cry up themselves and their cause as they do but by them. And divines, of all the rest, might learn and teach this wisdom if they would, since they see all other professions which help to bear down their ceremonies, keep up their own therewhile, and that to the highest.

I have been too bold to detain your Majesty so long; but my grief to see Christendom bleeding in dissension, and, which is worse, triumphing in her own blood, and most angry with them that would study her peace, hath thus transported me; for truly it cannot but grieve any man that hath bowels to see "all men seeking," but as S. Paul foretold, Phil. ii. 21. "their own things, and not the things which are Jesus Christ's:" *sua*, "their own" surely; for the Gospel of Christ hath nothing to do with them: and to see religion so much, so zealously pretended and called upon, made but the stalking-horse to shoot at other fowl upon which their aim is set; in the meantime, as if all were truth and holiness itself, no salvation must be possible, did it lie at their mercy, but in the communion of the one, and in the conventicles of the other; as if either of these now were, as the Donatists of old reputed themselves, the only men in whom Christ at His coming to judgment should find faith. No, saith S. Augustine, and so I say with him, *Da veniam, non credimus*, "Pardon us, I pray, we cannot believe it."[r] The Catholic Church of Christ is neither Rome, nor a conventicle. Out of that there is no salvation, I easily confess it. But out of Rome there is, and out of a conventicle too; salvation is not shut up into such a narrow conclave. In this ensuing Discourse, therefore, I have endeavoured to lay open those wider gates of the Catholic Church confined to no age, time, or place; nor knowing any bounds but that "faith which was once"— Jude 3.

[r] [Sed nempe hoc est totum, quod nobis persuadere conaris, solos remansisse Rogatistas, qui catholici recte appellandi sint, ex observatione præceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium sacramentorum; et vos esse solos, in quibus inveniat fidem, cum venerit, Filius hominis. Da veniam, non credimus.]—S. Augustin. [ad Vincentium Rogatistam,] Epist. [xciii. olim] xlviii. [cap. 7. Op., tom. ii. col. 240. F.]

and but once for all—"delivered to the saints." And in my pursuit of this way, I have searched after, and delivered with a single heart, that truth which I profess. In the publishing whereof I have obeyed your Majesty, discharged my duty to my power to the Church of England, "given account of the hope that is in me," and so testified to the world that faith in which I have lived, and by God's blessing and favour purpose to die; but, till death, shall most unfeignedly remain

1 Pet. iii. 15.

Your Majesty's

Most faithful Subject,

And

Most humble and obliged Servant,

W. CANT.

TRVE

RELATIONS

OF SVNDRY

Conferences had between certaine Proteſtant *Doctours*, and a IESVITE called *M. Fiſher* (then Priſoner in *London* for the Catholique Fayth:) togeather with Defences of the ſame.

IN WHICH

Is ſhewed, that there hath alwayes beene, ſince Chriſt, a Viſible Church, *and in it a* Viſible Succeſſion *of Doctours & Paſtours, teaching the vnchanged Doctrine of Fayth, left by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in all points neceſſary to Saluation.*

AND THAT

Not Proteſtants, but only Roman Catholiques haue had, and can ſhew ſuch a *Viſible Church;* and in it ſuch a *Succeſſion* of Paſtours and Doctours, of whome men may ſecurely learne what points of Fayth are neceſſary to Saluation.

By A. C.

I beſeech you, Brethren, marke them which cauſe diuiſions and offences, contrary to the Doctrine you haue learned, & auoyd them. Rom. 16. *v.* 17.

Permiſſu Superiorum. M. DC. XXVI.

[APPENDIX. No. I.]

The Preface of the Publisher of these Relations.

GENTLE READER,—I have thought good to present to thy view these Relations, together with the Defences of them; not doubting but if thou peruse and ponder them well, they will turn to thy benefit more ways than one. First, supposing thou never heardest anything of these Conferences but in general, or perhaps hast heard particulars falsely related by some who are partially affected, or misinformed; thou mayest by this my labour be certified of the truth, and hereby enabled to do a work of charity, in freeing others from ignorance and error, and contradicting such false rumours as thou mayest chance to understand to have been spread abroad, whether in speech or in print, about this matter.

Secondly, If thou be not thyself already resolved aright in matter of faith necessary to salvation, thou mayest gain no small help towards a sound settling of thy mind; first, in the true knowledge and belief of that one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is mentioned in the Apostles', and the Nicene, Creed; and by means of it, in every other article and point of that true Catholic faith, which S. Athanasius in his Creed signifieth to be so necessary to salvation, that "whosoever doth not hold it entire," that is, in all points, "and inviolate," that is, in the true, unchanged, and incorrupted sense, in which Christ and his Apostles left it, as a sacred *depositum* to be kept always in the Church, "without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."

Thirdly, If thou be already rightly resolved, thou mayest receive confirmation in thy faith, and consolation, in considering how plainly it is proved that there is no other Church, nor consequently faith, which can, with any probable colour, be pretended to be truly Christian and Catholic, besides that which always was, and yet is, the Roman, or united with the Roman Church and faith.

Lastly, Having once thy mind thus settled and confirmed in the right Roman Christian Catholic faith, and thereby freed from wavering in uncertainty and doubtfulness about any particular point of faith, thou needest not spend time in endless disputes about controversies of faith, nor be always reading and learning, as many curious people be now-a-days, and never coming to settled and well-grounded knowledge or belief of all points of faith; but mayest bestow thy time, as S. Peter counselleth those who be faithful Christians, when he saith, "Employ- 2 Pet. i.

ing all care, minister ye in your faith, virtue," by which you may live conformably to that faith; "and in virtue, knowledge," by which you may discern practically good from ill; "and in knowledge, abstinence" from all that is ill; "and in abstinence, patience," in regard there will not want some pain to be suffered, while you labour to abstain from ill; "and in patience, piety," or devotion, out of which will spring spiritual comfort, enabling you to endure patiently all kind of pain; "and in piety, love of the fraternity," or brotherhood and unity of the whole Church; (not suffering yourselves, with a preposterous piety of private feeling devotion, to hate or separate from the common doctrine, sacrifice, sacraments, service, rites, or ceremonies of the Catholic Church;) "and in love of the fraternity, charity," or love of God; which charity, if it be well grounded and rooted in your heart, it will doubtless move
2 Pet. i. you "to labour," as the same S. Peter further adviseth, "by good works," and not by only faith or apprehension that your sins be forgiven, or that you be just, or the children of God, or of the number of the elect, "to make sure your vocation and election; which doing you
Ibid. shall not," as the same Apostle promiseth, "sin at any time; and there shall be ministered unto you abundantly, an entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Some may perhaps marvel why these Relations come out so late, it being now long since the adversaries have given out false reports, both in speeches and print. For answer hereof, it must be considered, that besides the ordinary difficulties which Catholics in England have, either to write for want of convenient place, time, commodity of books, and conferring with others, or to print, there have been some special extraordinary impediments which have hindered the same. As, namely, that M. Fisher was straitly charged, upon his allegiance, from his Majesty that then was living, not to set out or publish what passed in some of these Conferences, until he gave licence; which made both M. Fisher and his friends to forbear, hoping (as was promised by him who delivered
L. K. his Majesty's message), that D. White and others were not to publish anything, until they, meeting with M. Fisher, should treat and agree, and under their hands confirm what was said on both sides; which his Majesty perusing, would grant licence to publish. The which meeting M. Fisher expected a long while, and once went to D. White's house, to know what he would say about the Relation which he had set out; but found him unwilling to make any such treaty and agreement, nor would himself set out in print or writing what he thought to be the true Relation, as knowing by likelihood that he could not set out the truth without disadvantage of his cause, or not without impairing, or at least not advancing, his own credit so much as he desired.

If any marvel why in these Relations so little is said of the second day's Conference with D. White, the reason is, because in a manner all the speech of that meeting was between his Majesty and M. Fisher, who beareth that dutiful respect to his Sovereign, that he will not permit anything said by him to be published now after his death, which he

had so specially forbidden to be published in the time of his life. For if this cause had not been, it had been also now published as well as the rest; there being nothing in it which M. Fisher should be ashamed of, or by which any prejudice might come to the Catholic cause: for if there had been any such matter, D. White (who in general terms doth in his preface seek to disgrace M. Fisher, saying, "he vanished away with disgrace,") would not have omitted to set down in particular some, at least one, blameworthy argument or answer. But of this, as also of D. Featly's endeavouring to disgrace M. Fisher, by objecting falsely-supposed untruths, contradictions, &c., more is to be said in another place; and therefore, not being willing to hold thee, gentle reader, any longer from the consideration of the first occasion of all this business, I commit thee to the protection of Almighty God.

Thy hearty well-wisher and servant in Christ,

W. I.

[APPENDIX. No. II.]

The Occasion of a certain Conference had between D. Francis White *and* M. John Fisher.

The occasion of this Conference was a certain written paper, given by M. Fisher to an honourable lady, who desired something to be briefly written, to prove the Catholic Roman Church and faith to be the only right.

The copy of this Paper is as followeth:—

First, It is certain that there is one, and but one true, divine, infallible faith, without which none can please God or attain salvation. Ephes. iv. Heb. xi. [p. 2.]

2. This one true, divine, infallible faith, is wholly grounded upon the authority of God's word; and in this it differeth not only from all human sciences bred by a clear sight or evident demonstration, and from human opinion proceeding from probable arguments or conjectures, and from human faith built upon the authority of Pythagoras' *ipse dixit*, or the word of any other man; but also from all other divine knowledge had, either by clear vision of the Divine Essence which saints have in heaven, or by clear revelation of divine mysteries, which some principal persons, to wit, patriarchs and prophets and apostles, had on earth; and also from that theological discursive knowledge, which learned men attain unto by the use of their natural wit, in deducing conclusions, partly out of the foundations of supernatural faith, partly [p. 3.] out of principles of natural reason: from all these kinds of knowledge, I say, that one true, divine and infallible faith differeth, in that it is grounded wholly upon the authority of the word of God, as human fallible faith is grounded upon the authority of the word of man.

3. This word of God, upon which divine infallible faith is grounded, is not only the word of God increate, or the prime verity, but also the word created, or revelation proceeding from that prime verity, by which the truth of Christian mysteries, by Christ, who is true God, was first made manifest to the Apostles and other His disciples; partly by the exterior preaching of his own mouth, but chiefly by the inward revelation of His eternal heavenly Father, and by the inspiration of the Holy
[p. 4.] Ghost. Secondly, it was made known to others living in those days, partly by outward preaching, partly by the writings of the aforesaid Apostles and disciples, to whom Christ gave lawful mission and com-
Matt. xxviii. John xvi. Luke x. mission to teach, saying, "Teach all nations;" promising that Himself would be with them all days, unto the end of the world; and that His Holy Spirit should assist them and teach them, and consequently make them able to teach others, all truth, in such sort as whosoever should hear them should hear Christ Himself, and so should be made *docibiles Dei*, and as the prophet foretold, *docti a Domino*, and as S. Paul speaketh of some, *epistola Christi*, "'the epistle of Christ,' written not with ink, but with the Spirit of God." Whence appeareth, that not only the word increate, but also the word created, may be truly said to be the foundation of our faith; and not only that word which was immediately inspired by the
[p. 5.] heavenly Father, or by the Holy Ghost, in the hearts of the Apostles and other disciples who lived in our Saviour's days; but also the word as well preached as written by the Apostles, and also that word which, by the preaching and writing of the Apostles, was by the Holy Ghost imprinted in the hearts of the immediate hearers, who were thereupon said to be the epistles of Christ, as I have already noted.

4. This word of God, which I call created, to distinguish it from the word increate, being partly preached, partly written, partly inspired or imprinted in manner aforesaid, was not to cease at the death of the Apostles and disciples and their immediate hearers, but by the appoint-
1 Tim. ii. ment of God, "who would have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth," was to be derived to posterity; not by new
[p. 6.] immediate revelations or enthusiasms, nor by sending angels to all particular men, but by a continuated succession of visible doctors, and pastors, and lawfully sent preachers in all ages, who, partly by transcripts of what was written first by the Apostles, but chiefly by vocal preaching of the same doctrine, without change, which the pastors of every age successively one from another received of their predecessors, as they who lived in the age next to the Apostles' days received it from the Apostles, as a sacred *depositum*, to be kept and preserved in the Church, maugre all the assaults of hell-gates, which, according to Christ's promise, shall never prevail against the Church. Whence followeth, that not only for 400 or 500 or 600 years, but in all ages since Christ, there was, is, and shall be, the true word of God preached by visible doctors, pastors, and lawfully sent preachers, so guided by Christ and
[p. 7.] his Holy Spirit, that by them people of every age were, are, and shall be sufficiently instructed in true, divine, infallible faith, in all things

necessary to salvation; to the intent that they may not be little ones, wavering, nor carried about "with every wind of new doctrine," which Ephes. iv. being contrary to the old and first received, must needs be false.

5. Whereas by this which is already said, (which if need be may be more fully proved,) it appeareth, first, that there is one true, divine, infallible faith, necessary to salvation. Secondly, that this faith is wholly grounded upon the word of God. Thirdly, that this word of God is not only the word increate, but also the word created, either inwardly inspired or outwardly preached, or written and continued, without change, in one or other continued succession of visible pastors, doctors, and lawfully sent preachers, rightly teaching, by the direction of Christ and [p. 8.] His Holy Spirit, the said word of God: whereas, I say, all this doth most evidently appear by this which is already said.

That I may prove the Roman Church only, and those who consent and agree in doctrine of faith with it, to have that one true, divine, infallible faith which is necessary to salvation,

Thus I dispute:

If it be needful that there should be one or other continual succession of visible pastors, in which and by which the unchanged word of God, upon which true, divine, infallible faith is grounded, is preserved and preached; and no other succession besides that of the Roman Church, and others which agree in faith with it, can be showed (as if any such were, may be showed) out of approved histories, or other ancient monuments; then, without doubt, the Roman Church only, and such as agree with it in faith, have that true, divine, infallible faith [p. 9] which is necessary to salvation.

But there must be one or other such succession of visible pastors; and no other can be showed out of approved histories or ancient monuments, besides that of the Roman Church only, and such others as agree with it in faith. *Ergo,*

The Roman Church only, and such others as agree with it in faith, hath true, divine, infallible faith, necessary to salvation.

The consequence of the major cannot with reason be denied, and if it be, it shall be proved.

The minor hath two parts. The first whereof is plain, by that which is already said, and if need be, it shall be more fully proved out of holy Scriptures.

The second part may be made manifest, first out of histories, secondly out of the confession of Protestants. [p. 10.]

The second Argument.

If the Roman Church had the right faith, and never changed any substantial part of faith; then it followeth, that it hath now that one true, divine, infallible faith which is necessary to salvation.

But the Roman Church once had the right faith, and never changed any substantial part of faith. *Ergo,*

The Roman Church now hath the right faith, and consequently Protestants, so far as they disagree with it, have not the right soul-saving faith.

The major is evident.

The minor hath two parts. The first is clear out of S. Paul, Rom. i., and is confessed by Protestants.

The second part I prove thus: If the Roman Church changed any substantial part of faith, then there may be showed the point changed,
[p. 11.] the person which was the author of that change, the time when and place where the change was made; and others may be named who, persisting in the ancient faith, continued opposition against the innovation and change, as may be showed in other like and less changes, and namely in Luther's and Calvin's change.

But these circumstances cannot be showed. *Ergo*, No change.

If my adversaries name any point which they affirm to have been changed, 1. This will not suffice, unless they name the other circumstances of the author, time, place, and who, persisting in the former unchanged faith, opposed and continued opposition against it, as against a novelty and heresy, as we can do in other changes, and namely in that which was by Luther and Calvin.

[p. 12.] 2. These points, which they say were changed after the first six hundred years, may be showed them to have been held by more ancient approved authors in the same sense in which they are held by the Roman Church; which doth argue, that there was no such change made.

[APPENDIX. No. III.]

[p. 13.] *A brief Relation of what passed between* D. White *and* M. Fisher, *about the foresaid written Paper.*

This foresaid paper passing from one to another, came to some hands who gave it to D. Francis White to answer, and to prepare himself to oppugn it in a Conference with M. Fisher, who, when he wrote it and gave it to the Lady, did not think or suspect that any such great matter should have been made of it as after proved. M. D. White having (as he confessed after to M. Fisher) had this paper about ten days in his hands, studying what to say to it, came as he was appointed to the place of meeting; and M. Fisher, being then a prisoner, was also sent for. At the hour and place prefixed, both the one and the other, as they were bidden, sat down below a few, but very honourable persons, whose names I will only, as M. Fisher first did, express in these ensuing letters, L. K., L. M. B., L. B., and M. B. Then D. White drew out a copy of the aforesaid written paper, and asked M. Fisher whether he wrote it. Unto which M. Fisher answered, "I wrote such a thing, and if it be a true copy I will defend it."

[p. 14.] Then D. White read the first point of the said paper, in which was said, "There is one, and but one true divine faith," &c. "This," saith D. White, "is true, if faith be understood explicit or implicit." Which to be the true sense, M. Fisher assented.

Then D. White read the second point, in which was said, "That this true divine faith was wholly grounded upon the word of God," &c. This also D. White yielded to be true.

Then D. White read the third point, in which was said, "That this word of God, upon which faith was grounded, is not only the word increate, but also the word created, to wit, the divine revelation made manifest, partly by Christ's outward preaching, partly by the Holy Ghost's inward inspiration in the hearts of the Apostles," &c.

This point also D. White allowed, but knowing what followed in the fourth point, he asked M. Fisher whether he thought that the Holy Ghost was equally in others as in the Apostles? M. Fisher said, that the inspiration of the Holy Ghost was promised and given both to the Apostles and others, yet not in the same degree, nor in the same full measure; but the Apostles, as being after Christ the prime foundations of the Church, had the Holy Ghost in such high degree and full measure, that they could and did write canonical Scriptures. Others that were pastors and doctors had it in an inferior degree, yet so as by it they were enabled to teach infallibly, and without change, the substance of all points needful to salvation; especially when in a general council, after discussion of the matter, they did conclude as the Apostles and seniors did, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis*, "It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and us." The people also had a measure of the same Spirit, sufficient to enable them to conceive rightly and to believe [p. 15.] stedfastly the teaching of their pastors.

D. White did not disallow the substance of this answer, but only made a verbal objection, saying, "The Apostles had inspiration, pastors and people only illumination."

M. Fisher answered, that both Apostles and pastors had inspiration and illumination, in regard the motion of the Holy Ghost, as received in the understanding, is called "illumination," and as received in the will, it is called "inspiration."

L. K. bade them leave that verbal controversy, and proceed in the matter. D. White excepted against that part of the paper wherein was said, That the word of God was partly written, partly unwritten; and would have nothing to be the word of God but what is written in Scripture.

M. Fisher, to justify that part of the paper, first alleged that text of S. Paul, "Hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by our word or epistle." Secondly, he made these two ensuing arguments, to prove that more is to be believed by divine faith than is written in Scripture.

It is necessary to believe, by divine faith, that Genesis, Exodus, and other particular books, are canonical and divine Scripture.

But this to be so, is not assuredly known by the only word written. *Ergo*, &c.

Moreover, Protestants hold and believe this proposition: Nothing is to be believed by Christian faith, but what is contained in Scripture.

But this proposition is not contained in the word written. *Ergo*, Something is believed even by Protestants, which is not contained in the written word; and therefore they must admit for a ground of faith
[p. 16.] some word of God not written.

D. White answered, Although at that time when S. Paul wrote the text alleged, some part of God's word was not written, yet afterwards all needful to be believed was written. This D. White said, but did not, nor cannot prove, especially out of any part of the written word.

D. White alleged this text, *Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata, utilis est*, &c. But, as M. Fisher then told him, this text doth not prove the point which is to be proved. For this text doth not say, that all which is divinely inspired was written; or that Genesis, Exodus, and other particular books, are divinely inspired; or that nothing is to be believed which is not contained in Scripture; but only saith, "That all, or every Scripture divinely inspired, is profitable."

D. White said: "Scripture is not only said simply to be profitable, but to be profitable to argue, to teach, to correct, to instruct, that the man of God may be perfect; and therefore being profitable to all these offices, it may be said to be sufficient."

M. Fisher replied: "Although wood be profitable to make the substance of the house, to make wainscoat, to make tables and stools, and other furniture; yet hence doth not follow, that wood alone is sufficient to build and furnish a house." I will not say that here D. White was at a *nonplus*, because I understand that word *nonplus* doth not please him; but the truth is, that to this D. White did make no answer. And for my part, I profess I do not see what answer he could have made to the purpose, and worthy of that honourable and understanding audience.

D. White, therefore, without saying anything to this instance, seemed
[p. 17.] to be weary, and giving the paper to M. Fisher, bade him read on.

M. Fisher, taking the paper, read the fourth point, in which was said, "That the word of God manifested to the Apostles, and by them to their immediate hearers, was not to cease at their death, but was to be continued and propagated without change, in and by one or other company of visible pastors, doctors, and lawfully sent preachers, successively in all ages," &c. All which to be true being at last granted, or not denied by D. White, M. Fisher proposed the first of the two arguments set down in the aforesaid paper, viz.—

If there must be in all ages one or other continual succession of visible pastors, doctors, and lawfully sent preachers, by whom the unchanged word of God, upon which faith is grounded, was preserved and preached in all ages since Christ; and no other is visible, or can be showed, besides those of the Roman Church, and such as agree in faith with them: then, none but the pastors of the Roman Church, and such as agree in faith with them, have that one infallible, divine, unchanged faith, which is necessary to salvation.

But there must be such a visible succession, and none such can be showed different in faith from the pastors of the Roman Church. *Ergo*,

Only the pastors of the Roman Church, and such as agree in faith with them, preserve and teach that one infallible, divine, unchanged faith, which is necessary to salvation.

D. White answered, That it was sufficient to show a succession of visible pastors teaching unchanged doctrine in all points fundamental, although not in points not fundamental.

M. Fisher replied, saying, first, that if time permitted, he could prove all points of divine faith to be fundamental, (supposing they were [p. 18.] points generally held, or defined by full authority of the Church); to which purpose he did recite the beginning of this sentence of S. Augustine: *Ferendus est disputator errans in aliis quæstionibus non diligenter digestis, nondum plena Ecclesiæ authoritate firmatis; ibi ferendus est error: non tantum progredi debet, ut* [*etiam*] *ipsum fundamentum quatere moliatur.*[a] In which S. Augustine insinuateth, that to err in any questions defined by full authority of the Church, is to shake the foundation of faith, or to err in points fundamental. But M. Fisher not having the book at hand, and fearing to be tedious in arguing upon a text which he had not ready to show, passed on; and, secondly, required D. White to give him a catalogue of all points fundamental, or a definition or description, (well proved out of Scripture, and in which all Protestants will agree,) by which one may discern which be and which be not points fundamental.

D. White rejected this demand, as thinking it unreasonable to require of him a catalogue, or definition, or description of points fundamental, out of Scripture, in which all Protestants will agree. But, considering in what sense D. White did understand this distinction of points fundamental and not fundamental, (to wit, that none could be saved who did not believe all points fundamental rightly, and that none should be damned for not believing other points, unless he did wilfully against his conscience deny or not believe them,) M. Fisher's demand was both reasonable and most necessary; for since all Protestants agree in holding it necessary to be certain of their salvation, and that none can be saved who do not believe all points fundamental; and that in these points, one must not content himself with implicit faith, but must [p. 19.] expressly know them; it is most necessary that all Protestants should out of Scripture (which they pretend to be their only rule of faith) find, and conclude with unanimous consent certainly, what is, and what is not, a fundamental point of faith necessary to salvation. For while some hold more, some less to be fundamental, and none of them giveth (out of Scripture) a sufficient rule by which it may be discerned which is, and which is not fundamental, how can each particular Protestant rest assured, that he believeth expressly all points fundamental, or so much as is necessary and sufficient to make him assured of salvation?

[a] [S. Augustin. Serm. ccxciv. olim Serm. xiv. de verbis Apostoli, cap. 21. in fin. Op., tom. v. col. 1194. A.]

But to return to the Relation. D. White, having rejected M. Fisher's demand, requiring a catalogue, definition, or description out of Scripture, in which all Protestants will agree, said, That all those points were fundamental which were contained in the Creed of the Apostles.

M. Fisher might have asked him divers questions upon this answer. 1. What text of Scripture taught him, that all the points contained in the Apostles' Creed were fundamental in the sense aforesaid? Or, that this Creed was composed by the Apostles as a summary of faith, containing points needful (at least *necessitate præcepti*) to be expressly believed by all men? The Church indeed so teacheth, but the Scripture hath not any text which doth expressly say so, or whence by necessary consequence so much may be gathered; and therefore, according to Protestant principles, (permitting nothing to be believed but only Scripture,) the Apostles' Creed ought not to be believed as a rule of any point of faith, and much less a rule containing all principal and fundamental points of faith.

[p. 20.] 2. M. Fisher might have asked, Whether only the words of the Creed are needful to be held as a sufficient foundation of faith, or the Catholic sense? If only the words, then the Arians and other condemned heretics may be said to have held all the fundamental points sufficient to salvation; which is contrary to the judgment of antiquity, and is most absurd. If the Catholic sense, then the question must be, Who must be judge to determine which is the Catholic sense; and whether it be not most reasonable and necessary, that the Catholic Church itself, rather than any particular man, or sect of men, should teach the true sense? when, especially, the Holy Ghost was promised to the Catholic Church, (and not to any particular man, or sect of men, differing in doctrine from it,) to teach it all truth.

John xiv. and xvi.

3. M. Fisher might have asked, Whether all points fundamental were expressed in the Creed or not? If they be not, by what other rule shall one know what is a point fundamental? If all which is fundamental be expressed in the Creed, then to believe only Scripture, or to believe that there is any Scripture at all, is not fundamental or necessary to salvation; but to believe the Catholic Church, and consequently the truth of all such doctrines of faith which she generally teacheth or defineth in her general councils, is fundamental. So, as we may say with S. Athanasius, "Whosoever will be saved, must believe the Catholic faith," (that is, the faith taught by the Catholic Church,) and this not only in part or in a corrupt sense, but in all points and in Catholic sense. For as the same S. Athanasius saith, "Unless one believe the said Catholic faith" (*integram inviolatamque*) "entire and inviolate, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." All these questions M. Fisher might have asked, but he at that present only asked, Whether all articles of the Creed were held by D. White to be fundamental?

[p. 21.]

To which question D. White answered, That all was fundamental.

M. Fisher asked, Whether the article of Christ's descending into hell were fundamental?

D. White said, Yes.

Why then, said M. Fisher, did M. Rogers affirm, "That the Church of England is not yet resolved what is the right sense of that article?"[b]

It was answered, that M. Rogers was a private man. M. Fisher replied, That his book in the title professeth to be set out by public authority. To which M. Fisher might have added, That the book so set out by public authority, beareth title of the Catholic or universal Doctrine of the Church of England; by which addition is showed a difference betwixt this book of M. Rogers, and some others which were objected to be set out by licence of the Catholic side: for these our books are only licensed to come out in the name of such or such a private author, and as books declaring his private opinions; but this of M. Rogers was authorized, and graced with the title of the Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England, and therefore ought by Protestants to be more respected than other private men's books.

M. Fisher, not thinking it necessary to press this difference, returned again to D. White's first answer to the main argument, in which he having said, That it was sufficient to show a visible succession of such as held points fundamental, did implicitly grant it necessary, that a succession should be showed of such visible pastors as did hold all points, which at least himself held to be fundamental, or necessary to salvation. [p. 22.] Whereupon M. Fisher bade D. White name a continual company, or succession of visible Protestants, (different from the Roman Church which they call Papists,) holding all points which he accounted fundamental.

D. White expressly granted, That he could not show such a visible succession of pastors and doctors, (differing in doctrine from the Roman Church,) who held all points which he accounted fundamental. Which his ingenuous confession I desire the reader to note, applying it to the argument which M. Fisher proposed, showing that only the Roman Church hath had such a succession. For if, as the argument urgeth, one such succession hath been, and none differing in doctrine from the Roman can be showed by D. White, (being accounted a prime Protestant controversialist, who may teach such as D. Featly, as was lately professed by D. Featly himself,) we may absolutely conclude, that no such visible succession was of Protestants, so far as they differ in doctrine from the Roman Church; and consequently till they assign some other, (which they can never do,) they must acknowledge the Roman to be the only Church, or at least a Church which hath had a visible succession, teaching the unchanged faith of Christ in all ages, in all points, at least fundamental: which being acknowledged, worthily might M. Fisher ask (as he did ask) D. White, Why Protestants made a schism from the Roman Church? and, Why Protestants did persecute Roman Catholics, contrary to the custom of the ancient Fathers, who still kept unity with other Churches, although in their opinion holding errors,

[b] Rogers in his Doctrine of the Church of England, Art. 3. [vide infra, Sect. xii. No. 1. p. 51, &c.]

[p. 23.] until the Catholic Church by full authority defined them to be errors in faith, and that after such definition of the Church (which was yet never made against the Roman Church), they would still obstinately persist in error? as appeareth in S. Cyprian's case. To these demands made by M. Fisher, D. White answered: We do not persecute you for religion. About which answer I desire the gentle reader to observe, that M. Fisher asked two questions: 1. Why Protestants made a schism from the Roman Church? 2. Why Protestants did persecute Roman Catholics?

To the first of these questions, being about schism, D. White answered not a word, and yet this was the most important question, sufficient to show Protestants to be in a damnable state, unless they repent and return to unity with the Roman Church. For on the one side, it cannot be denied but that schism, or separation of oneself from Church unity, is a most damnable sin, which cannot be made lawful for any cause, nor cannot without repentance and returning to unity be washed away, even with martyrdom itself, as the ancient Fathers confess. And on the other side it is evident (and even confessed by some Protestants), that Protestants did separate themselves from the Roman Church, which is confessed to be the mother Church, and which cannot be showed to have separated itself from a former Church yet extant, as the true Church of Christ must always be visibly extant. Neither can there be showed any other reason why Protestants did make and continue this their separation, than were or might have been alleged by heretics and schismatics of ancient times, separating themselves from the Catholic
[p. 24.] Roman Church: for setting aside all temporal respects, which doubtless were (but were very insufficient and unworthy) causes why some did first, and do yet continue this separation; there cannot be imagined any pretended cause which may not be reduced to these two heads: to wit, corruption of manners, or corruption of doctrine. Corruption of manners is not a just cause to make one leave the faith, sacraments, and rites of the Church, our Saviour having sufficiently forewarned what is
Matt. xxiii. to be done in this case, when he said, "Upon the chair of Moses the Scribes and Pharisees have sitten; all, therefore, that they say unto you observe and do, but according to their works do not." For by this is showed, that the separation which in other places of Scripture is commanded, is not meant so, as if it were to be made by neglecting or contradicting the doctrine of lawfully authorized pastors, or by corporally absenting oneself from communicating with them in necessary sacraments and Church rites, but only spiritually, to depart from the imitation of their ill manners. The second, to wit, corruption of doctrine, pertaining to the common faith of the Catholic Church, neither did nor can happen to the whole visible Church: Christ having promised, that the Holy Ghost shall be always with it to teach it all truth; and that hell-gates shall never so prevail against it as to overthrow in it the foundation of all goodness, to wit, true faith. And for other errors, in such questions as are not determined by full authority of the said Catholic

Church, S. Augustine's rule is to be observed, when he saith,[c] *Ferendus est disputator errans:* neither must one for the error of a few leave the society and communion of all; neither must one or a few, presuming upon their own private reading and interpreting of Scripture, or [p. 25.] their private spirit (which is or may be the common pretext of all heretics), censure and condemn the doctrine or practice of the universal Catholic Church to be erroneous: which to do is, by S. Bernard's sentence, "intolerable pride," and in S. Augustine's judgment, "insolent madness."

The beginning, therefore, and continuance of the schism and separation of the Protestants from the Catholic Roman Church, (in which even, as Calvin confesseth,[d] there was made a discession and departure from the whole world,) is very damnable, and altogether inexcusable. Which, perhaps, was the cause why D. White passed over that part of the question (touching this schism) with silence, and only answered, as is above said, to the other part, saying, "We do not persecute you for religion."

To which answer M. Fisher replied, saying, You do us wrong, for myself being a prisoner was never taxed with any state matter, but do suffer for religion. L. M. B. made another answer, saying, You of your side did first persecute Protestants.

M. Fisher answered, That we Catholics hold all points in which Protestants differ from us in doctrine of faith, to be fundamental, and necessary to be believed, or at least not denied, and so may have cause to punish them who deny or contradict. But Protestants, who believe Catholics to hold right in all points which themselves esteem fundamental, have no reason to persecute us for supposed errors in points not fundamental, which Protestants do not account damnable. For better clearing whereof, M. Fisher asked D. White, Whether he thought error in a point not fundamental, to be damnable? [p. 26.]

D. White said, No, unless one hold it against his conscience.

M. Fisher asked, How one could hold an error against his conscience? meaning that one could not inwardly in his conscience believe that to be true, which he knew in his conscience to be an error.

D. White answered, That by perversity of will he might hold an error against the known truth. Which answer is true, if he mean that one who knoweth the truth at this instant, may after, by perversity of will, incline the understanding to hold the contrary error. But that at the same instant he should know the truth actually, and yet actually hold in the same instant the contrary error in his conscience, or inward knowledge, is more than I think any philosopher can explicate. For this were to know and not know, and to believe two contraries—truth and error—about the same object, in the same subject, the inward conscience, at one and the same instant; which is impossible.

M. B. marvelling at D. White's answer, asked him again the same

[c] Aug. de verb. Apost. Ser. 14. [vide infra, Sect. x. No. 1. p. 31, &c.]

[d] Calvin. l. Ep. epist. 141. [vide infra, p. 358. note q.]

question, saying, May one be saved that holdeth error in points of faith not fundamental, supposing he hold not against his conscience?

D. White said, Yes.

Those, saith M. B., who, suffering for conscience, hold error in faith against their conscience, are worthy to be damned.

M. Fisher having observed, that D. White had insinuated that one might be damned for holding error in points of faith not fundamental, in case he hold them against his conscience, said, If it be damnable to
[p. 27.] hold errors in points not fundamental, in case one hold them wilfully against his conscience, *a fortiori*, it is damnable to hold the like errors wilfully and obstinately against the known judgment and conscience of the Church. For, as S. Bernard saith,[e] *Quæ major superbia, quam ut unus homo judicium suum præferat toti congregationi?* "What greater pride, than that one man should prefer his judgment (or conscience) before the judgment (and conscience) of the whole Church?"

D. White said, He remembered that sentence of S. Bernard; but it is not remembered that he gave any good answer, either to that sentence or to the argument confirmed by it. Neither indeed can he give any good answer, in regard it is certain, that the judgment and conscience of the whole Church, (or congregation of so many faithful, wise, learned, and virtuous men, assisted by the promised Spirit of truth,) is incomparably more to be respected, and preferred before the judgment and conscience of any private man; as appeareth by that of Christ our Saviour, who, without excepting any who pretendeth to follow his conscience, and without distinguishing the matter in which he pretendeth to follow it into points fundamental and not fundamental, absolutely
Matt. xviii. affirmeth, "He that will not hear" (that is, believe and obey) "the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen and publican."

Hence Protestants, who prefer their private judgment and conscience before the judgment and conscience of the Catholic Church, in interpreting Scriptures or otherwise, may learn in what state they remain, so long as they do thus, being by the censure of S. Bernard extremely "proud," and in the judgment of S. Augustine, insolently "mad,"
[p. 28.] and by the sentence of Christ himself, to be accounted no better than "heathens and publicans."

It seemeth that D. White did not deeply ponder this point, or else was willing to pass over it, as a cat over hot coals; and so he betook himself to oppugn another part of M. Fisher's paper, in which is said that "No company of visible pastors delivering unchanged doctrine, could be showed in all ages, besides those of the Roman Church."

D. White denied this to be true, and, notwithstanding he had before said that he could not show any company differing in doctrine from the Roman Church, holding in all ages all fundamental points, said, that both the Greek Church and the Protestant Church had such a succession of visible pastors: which two sayings, how D. White would reconcile, pertaineth to him to declare.

[e] Bern. Serm. de Resurrect. [vide supra, Sect. xxi. No. 4. p. 153.]

M. Fisher replied, and told him that the Greek Church changed and erred in a point of faith, to wit, about the Holy Ghost. A like or greater change he might, and in likelihood would have told him to have been in many points held by the Protestant Church, if he had not been interrupted by L. K., who asked, "Whether, notwithstanding that error of the Greek Church, ignorant men might not be saved?"

M. Fisher answered to L. K.'s question, saying, Some ignorant men may be excused from actual sin in holding that error, as, through invincible ignorance, one holding some error against the Holy Trinity itself may be excused; yet for other actual sins they might be damned, for want of means necessary for remission of them. This answer was meant by M. Fisher of such ignorant men who, although by invincible ignorance excused from the actual sin of positive infidelity, heresy, and schism, wanted true supernatural faith, hope, and charity, [p. 29.] out of which an act of true contrition springeth; or wanted the true and lawful use of the sacrament of penance and priestly absolution; which being needful to obtain pardon of sin, may easily be wanting to such people as commit other sins against the light of nature, or against those good motions of grace, which now and then Almighty God giveth to all sorts, who consequently (through this their own fault) are not illuminated with true supernatural faith, but are permitted still to remain in infidelity, or heresy, or schism, or in a negative disposition of want of all faith, devotion, and desire of union with God and such good men who truly serve God in his true Church: of which sort of ignorant people, it is to be doubted there be but too many in all, especially infidel, heretical, or schismatical countries. But hence doth not follow, neither did M. Fisher ever mean to affirm, that all ignorant Grecians, Protestants, or of any other sort of schismatics, heretics, or infidels, are damned: for if, on the one side, this their ignorance be invincible, so as to excuse them from the actual sin of their schism, heresy, and infidelity; and on the other side, they by Almighty God's special grace be preserved from other actual mortal sin, and by the same grace be excited extraordinarily to faith, hope, charity, and to true contrition for all sin, they may be saved. But this being extraordinary, no man ought ordinarily presume or rely on it, especially so as to neglect the ordinary means, known to be in the unity of the Catholic Roman Church.

After this D. White excepted against another point of M. Fisher's paper, in which was said, "That the Roman Church had still held un- [p. 30.] changed doctrine of faith in all points," &c. And for instances of change made, he objected "transubstantiation, images, communion under one kind, sacrament of penance," &c. These points he slightly began to touch, but did not, as the paper required, name when, and by whom the change was made in these points, but said, It was not needful to show these circumstances. As for example, saith he, the Pharisees held error in saying, that the gold of the altar was more holy than the altar, which was a change in doctrine, and yet you cannot show when, and by whom this change was made.

To this M. Fisher answered, That although he could not on the sudden tell when, and by whom this change was made, yet he did not doubt but that with study he might find it out. And so indeed he might have named the author of the sect of Pharisees, who first brought in that error, and the time when that sect began, which is enough. For we do not press Protestants to tell the very day or hour in which every one of our supposed errors were brought in; but to name the first author of any erroneous doctrine, or of any sect of men who were specially noted for teaching such a peculiar doctrine, and about what year or age that sect of men first began; and who they were, who then noted them to teach such doctrine, contrary to the formerly received faith of the universal Church; as must be, and is usually noted, when especially any such notorious matters as those which D. White objected, were by any man, or any sect of men, taught contrary to the formerly received faith of the universal Church.

Sith, therefore, the aforesaid circumstances are usually noted in other
[p. 31.] such kind of changes, and that it is morally impossible that such great changes, and so universally spread over the world, should be made either in an instant or in succession of time, and that not one or other writer would have made mention of the change, and when, where, and by whom it was made, as they do of all other such matters, D. White (who objected such great changes of doctrine to have been made in the Roman Church, accusing hereby grievously her, which confessedly was once the true mother Church), is obliged and bound not only to prove this his accusation, by showing the foresaid circumstances in good authors, if he will not be accounted an unnatural and false calumniator of his true mother Church; but he must also show another continually visible Church, which never did admit any such changes in doctrine of faith, if he will not impiously deny the truth of the prophecies and promises of Scripture, whereby we learn that hell-gates shall not prevail against the Church, and that Christ Himself, and His Holy Spirit, will always be with the Church, teaching it, and consequently enabling it to teach us all truth, and making it the pillar and ground of truth, and consequently free from all error in matters of faith.

But D. White can never prove his accusation by showing out of good authors the aforesaid circumstances of the change of the Roman Church in doctrine of faith, nor can show any other continually visible Church, which did not admit change in doctrine of faith. Let him therefore consider, whether it be not better to recall his false unnatural accusation of his mother the Roman Church, being sorry for it, with purpose hereafter humbly to hear, believe, obey, and follow her doctrine and direc-
[p. 32.] tion, rather than to incur not only the foresaid censure of men, but also of Christ Himself, who saith, "He that will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen and publican," that is, cast out of the favour of God and all good men, both in this present life, and also, if he do not in time repent, in the future eternal life.

These be the chief points which I have gathered out [of] M. Fisher's

first Relation, which he showed to D. White with an intent that he should put him in mind if anything were not remembered or misremembered: but the Doctor at that time did not, nor could truly say, that anything was falsely related; only he said,—1. That himself did not remember a point or two, which both M. Fisher and M. B. did perfectly remember to have been so as is here related. 2. He said that something more was said than is related; which M. Fisher did not deny, but was willing to add anything that D. White could put him in mind of, or that himself should after remember: and so being put in remembrance made by D. White, to wit, Whereas M. Fisher, upon some occasion or other, had said, That although a general council might err in the premises, yet not in the conclusion; D. White objected, saying, That in all sciences the conclusion is no more certain than the premises, and therefore if the premises in a general council be fallible, the conclusion cannot be infallible. To which M. Fisher answered, saying, Although in sciences which depend only upon the light of nature, the conclusion cannot be more certain than the premises; yet in a general council, assisted by the Holy Ghost, in the final conclusion or definitive sentence, the conclusion is always infallible, although sometimes the premises be fallible.

And M. Fisher had great reason to answer in this manner. Indeed, [p. 33.] if to define a matter of faith were to conclude the same by way of discourse out of principles, as the argument doth suppose, then if councils might err in the premises, they might likewise err in their conclusion and definitive sentence. But this supposition is false, infallibility in defining coming from a divine assistance, not to infer one thing out of another by way of connexion and consequence, but to decree and declare what is conform to the word of God, by way of authority, binding the Church so to believe. And so this definition is ever infallible, though all the arguments the council brings by way of discourse in proof of the definition, either before or after the same is made, be not still demonstrative.

Another objection M. Fisher hath since that time remembered, to wit, that D. White alleged something out of Abulensis, in Matt. vii. 19, which M. Fisher deferred to make answer unto, until he might see the author himself, having had experience enough how falsely many ministers cite authors, and how false their note-books be. Now M. Fisher hath seen the book, and findeth the words cited by D. White to contain two parts; one as contrary to D. White as the other seemeth contrary to M. Fisher; and that the whole discourse of Abulensis in that place showeth, that even that part which seemeth contrary to M. Fisher, doth nothing prejudice M. Fisher's cause, as will appear to any that will duly ponder all that is there said of the authority of the Church, in defining what books be and what be not canonical. For Abulensis expressly declareth, "that all, and only those books are to be accounted canonical, which the Church doth define to be canonical:" and the reason why he did (in his private opinion) think one or two books not [p. 34.] to be canonical, which we do now hold for canonical, is, for that the

Church had not then so clearly defined them to be canonical, as it hath done since Abulensis wrote that passage: as there are divers other books held for canonical, even by Protestants, which have not been so esteemed by some of the ancient Fathers, in regard the Church had not then so clearly defined them to be canonical, as it hath done in after times.

A third objection was made by D. White about "the worship of images," which D. White would needs affirm to be an "innovation, and gross error of Papists:" which M. Fisher denied, and said that the worship (meaning the same worship which is due to the prototypon) is not given by us to the image itself. This objection D. White urged no further the first day, but the next day of meeting he urged those words of Bellarmine, *Datur veneratio ipsi imagini.* M. Fisher answered, That Bellarmine did not mean that the same worship which was due to the prototypon, was given to the image itself, but an inferior degree of worship, and that also for the prototypon's sake.

Then D. White betook himself to Suares, saying that Suares did hold that the same worship which was given to the prototypon, was given to the image. M. Fisher answering said, You do not understand our authors: for, said M. Fisher, they that seem to give most, give the least to images; for those that say that one and the same worship is given to the image and that which is represented by it, hold the image to be incapable of any part of worship, and so the whole to pertain to the thing. Whereas others who distinguish one honour to be due to the thing, and another far inferior to be given to the image, give something,
[p. 35.] as M. Fisher explicated in the example of the respect one beareth to the picture of his friend, which although it be not capable of that friendly respect and affection which by looking upon it he exciteth in himself towards his friend represented by it, yet it is capable of an inferior degree of respect, as to be set in a more worthy and eminent place, &c., than it should be if it were the picture of some other who were not one's friend.

These be the chief passages of this Conference between D. White and M. Fisher, so far as hath come to my notice, who have used so much diligence in inquiring the truth of this matter, as I have no doubt but for substance I have not omitted anything that may much import, considering what the occasion and subject of the Conference was; to wit, that paper written by M. Fisher, in which he proved the Roman Church, and those who agree in faith with it, to be that company of whom every one must learn what is the truth, in all points and questions of faith necessary to salvation: which paper not being substantially confuted, as it was not by anything said by D White or any other at that time or after, D. White is yet obliged to make a better answer, if he mean to give satisfaction either to Catholics or Protestants in this most important point of a perpetually visible Church, of which all sorts must learn true, divine, infallible faith, necessary to salvation.

[APPENDIX. No. IV.]

A Relation of the Conference between a certain B. *and* M. Fisher, *defended against the said* B. *his Chaplain.* [p. 37.]

THE PREFACE.

Gentle Reader,—I think it needful to let thee understand, that whereas the Chaplain of a certain B. saith, (in the preface of his Answer to a Relation of what passed between the said B. and M. Fisher,) "That the Jesuit spread abroad papers of this Conference, which were full of partiality to his cause, more full of calumny against the B.;" the truth is, that the Jesuit did not at all, so much as in speech, and much less [p. 38.] in papers, publish this or either of the other two Conferences which he had with D. White, until he was forced unto it by false reports given out about them, to his private disgrace, and to the prejudice of the Catholic cause. Neither then did he spread papers abroad, but only delivered a very few copies to special friends; and this not with intent to calumniate either the B. or the Doctor, or to make the papers common, but to enable his friends to answer and countermand such false reports as they had heard or might hear. Which being so, I do not see how the Chaplain can free himself from the faults of partiality and calumny, whereof he doth accuse the Jesuit, unless he do (by some other proofs better than his own or his master's bare affirmation) prove that the Jesuit spread such papers; showing also particularly wherein he did relate partially to his cause, and calumniously against the B. I say [p. 39.] "relate," in regard I do not at this present promise to examine exactly all doctrines insinuated in the Jesuit's Relation, and impugned by the Chaplain (as neither having sufficient leisure, nor commodity of books requisite for such a work); but the Relation to have been sincere and true, free from partiality, more free from calumny, I undertake to defend. For which purpose I think best to set down the Jesuit's Relation (for the most part as I find it in the Chaplain's printed copy) in greater letters, and in a lesser letter the Chaplain's chiefest exceptions, and my answer unto them.

I think the Jesuit himself, for his own particular respect, could be content to let pass this partial and calumnious censure of his Relation, suffering it patiently as one of the ordinary persecutions which he and others at this day endure for the Catholic faith, and for that peculiar [p. 40.] order of life which he professeth, under the name of the Society of Jesus; comforting himself with the example of Christ's Apostles, "who Acts v. 41. rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer contumely for the name of Jesus." In this respect, I say, I suppose the Jesuit himself could be content, that nothing were said to the Chaplain's censure. But considering the hurt which may come to the common cause by his unjust disgrace, I have thought it necessary to defend the sincerity and

truth of his Relation, and some of the chief heads of doctrine contained in it, to the intent that hereby men may be moved better to trust what he hath written heretofore, or may write hereafter, in defence of the Catholic faith and Church; and less trust his adversaries, who without just cause do so much endeavour to calumniate his person or writings.

[p. 41.] M. Fisher's *Relation of the Conference between a certain* B. *and himself.*

The occasion of this Conference was, &c.

A

RELATION OF THE CONFERENCE

BETWEEN

WILLIAM LAUD,

THEN LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, NOW LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

AND

MR. FISHER THE JESUIT,

BY THE COMMAND OF KING JAMES OF EVER BLESSED MEMORY:

WITH AN ANSWER TO SUCH EXCEPTIONS AS A. C. TAKES AGAINST IT.

SECTION I.

[A. C. p. 41.[a]]

F. The occasion of this conference was, . . .

B. The occasion of this third conference you should know sufficiently. You were an actor in it, as well as in two other. Whether you have related the two former truly, appears by Doctor White, the late Reverend Lord Bishop of Ely, his relation,[b] or exposition of them. I was present at none, but this third; of which I here give the church an

[a] [The title of this work of Fisher (so called) is: TRUE RELATIONS OF SUNDRY Conferences had between certain Protestant *Doctours*, and a JESUITE called *M. Fisher*, (then Prisoner in *London*, for the Catholique Fayth:) togeather with Defences of the same. IN WHICH *is shewed, that there hath alwayes beene, since Christ, a* Visible Church, *and in it a* Visible Succession *of Doctours and Pastours, teaching the unchanged Doctrine of Fayth, left by Christ and his Apostles, in all points necessary to Salvation.* AND THAT, Not Protestants, but only Roman Catholiques have had, and can show such a *Visible Church*: and in it such a *Succession* of Pastours and Doctours, of whome men may securely learne what points of Fayth are necessary to Salvation. By A. C. *I beseech you, Brethren, marke them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the Doctrine you have learned, and avoyd them.* Rom. xvi. 17. Permissu Superiorum. MDCXXVI]

[b] [The title of this work is: A Replie to Jesuit FISHER'S answere to certain questions propounded by his most gratious Matie King JAMES. By Francis WHITE, D. of Div. Deane of Carlile. Chaplaine to his Matie. Hereunto is annexed a Conference of the right R. B. of St. David's with the same Jesuit. *Ciprianus de Lapsis.* Nec Ecclesiæ jungitur qui ab Evangelio separatur. LONDON: Printed by Adam Islip. 1624.]

CONFERENCE WITH FISHER.

account. But of this third, whether that were the cause which you allege, I cannot tell. You say,

[A.C. p. 41.]

[1] [a...A.C.]

[2] [nothing ... A.C.]

[3] [any, *caret* A.C.]

℣. [for that] it was observed, that in the[1] second conference [with D. White,] all the speech was about particular matters; [and] little or none[2] about a continual, infallible, visible Church, which was the chief and only point in which a certain lady required satisfaction; as having formerly settled in her mind, that it was not for her, or any[3] other unlearned persons, to take upon them to judge* of particulars, without depending upon the judgment of the true Church.

* [To wit, absolutely, and to rely upon their private judgment, so as to adventure salvation upon it alone, or chiefly.—A. C. marg. note to p. 41.]

§ 2. ℬ. The opinion of that honourable person in this, was never opened to me. And it is very fit the people should look to the judgment of the Church, before they be too busy with particulars. But yet neither scripture, nor any good authority, denies them some moderate use of their own understanding and judgment, especially in things familiar and evident; which even ordinary[c] capacities may as easily

1 Cor. x. 15.

[c] [Quis enim non intelligat, quod impassibilis sit divinitas, passibilis vero sit humana fragilitas? Cum ergo tam ex eo quod Deus est, quam etiam ex illo quod homo est Christus, intelligatur esse permixtus et esse sociatus. Verbum enim caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis,] quis non sine ullo magistro, aut interprete ex se [sese] facile cognoscat, [non illud in Christo mortuum esse quod Deus est, sed illud in illo mortuum esse quod homo est?]—Novat. de Trin. c. 23.—[c. xx. p. 719. C. ad calcem Op. Tertull.] (et loquitur [sc. Novatianus] de mysterio Passionis Christi.)—Dijudicare est mensurare, etc. Unde et mens dicitur a metiendo. [¶ 4. Præterea, Damascen. dicit quod ex imaginatione fit opinio, deinde mens dijudicans opinionem sive vera sit, sive falsa, dijudicat veritatem. Unde et mens dicitur a metiendo. De quibus igitur judicatum est jam et determinatum, vere dicitur intellectus.] Tho. [Aquin. Summ.] pars 1. Q[uæst]. 79. A[rt]. 9. ad 4. [p. 145.]—To what end, then, is a mind and an understanding given a man, if he may not apply it to measure truth? Et διάνοια [dicitur] ἀπὸ τοῦ διανοεῖν, i. e. ab eo quod consideret, ac discernat.—Damasc. l. ii. Fid. Orth. c. 22. Quia [ait Damasc.] discernit inter verum et falsum. [ἐκ δὲ φαντασίας γίνεται δόξα· εἶτα ἡ διάνοια ἀνακρίνασα τὴν δόξαν, εἴτε ἀληθής ἐστιν, εἴτε ψευδής, κρίνει τὸ ἀληθές· ὅθεν καὶ διάνοια λέγεται ἀπὸ τοῦ διανοεῖν, καὶ διακρίνειν.—S. Joann. Damascen. de Fid. Orthodox. lib. ii. cap. 22. Op., tom. i. p. 187. B. ed. Lequien. Paris. 1712.]

And A. C. himself, p. 41, [v. supra,] denies not all judgment to private men; but says, "they are not so to rely absolutely upon their private judgment, as to adventure salvation upon it alone, or chiefly;" which no man will deny.

understand, as read. And therefore some particulars a Christian may judge without depending. SECTIONS II. & III.

F. This lady, therefore, having heard it granted in the first conference, That there must be a continual, visible company ever since Christ, teaching unchanged doctrine in all fundamental points,[1] that is, [in all] points necessary to salvation, desired to hear this confirmed, and proof brought [to show] which was that continual, infallible,* visible Church, in which one may, and out of which one cannot, attain salvation. And, therefore, having appointed a time of meeting between[2] a [certain] B. and me,[3] and thereupon having sent for the B. and me, before the B. came, the lady, and a friend of hers, came first to the room where I was, and debated before me the aforesaid question, and not doubting of the first part, to wit, That there must be a continual visible Church, as they had heard granted by D. White, and[4] L. K .[&c.] . . . . [A.C.p.42.]

[1] [points fundamental ... A.C.]

[2] [betwixt ... A.C.]

[3] [myself... A.C.]

[4] [and, *caret* A.C.]

* [The Chaplain noting the word *infallible* to be sometimes put in, sometimes left out, taxeth M. Fisher of speaking distractedly. But I note herein, that M. Fisher spake most advisedly, and with precise care of punctual truth: for when he speaketh of what was observed, or desired by the lady, he putteth in the word *infallible*, because he knew it was an infallible Church which she sought to rely upon. But when he speaketh of what D. White or L. K. granted, he leaveth it out, because they did not mention the word *infallible*, but only granted a visible Church in all ages, teaching unchanged doctrine, in all matters necessary to salvation.—A. C. marg. note to p. 42.]

§ 3.

I.—B. What D. White and L. K. granted, I heard not: but I think, both granted a continual and a visible Church; neither of them an infallible, at least in your sense. And yourself, in this relation, speak distractedly; for, in these few lines, from the beginning hither, twice you add "infallible" between "continual" and "visible," and twice you leave it out. But this concerns D. W., and he hath answered it.

II.—Here A. C. steps in, and says, "The Jesuit did not speak distractedly, but most advisedly. For," saith he, "where he relates what D. White or L. K. granted, he A C. p. 42. [marg.not.]

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leaves out the word 'infallible,' because they granted it not; but where he speaks of the lady, there he adds it, because the Jesuit knew it was an infallible Church which she sought to rely upon." How far the Catholic Militant Church of Christ is infallible, is no dispute for this place, though you shall find it after. But sure the Jesuit did not speak most advisedly, nor A. C. neither, nor the lady herself, if she said she desired to rely upon an infallible Church. For an infallible Church denotes a particular Church, in that it is set in opposition to some other particular Church, that is not infallible. Now I, for my part, do not know what that lady desired to rely upon. This I know: if she desired such a particular Church, neither this Jesuit, nor any other, is able to show it her; no, not Bellarmine himself, though of very great ability to make good any truth, which he undertakes for the Church of Rome. But no strength can uphold an error against truth,[d] where truth hath an able defendant. Now, where Bellarmine sets himself purposely to make this good, that "The particular Church of Rome cannot err in matter of faith,"[e] out of which it follows, that there may be found a particular infallible Church, you shall see what he is able to perform.

III.—1. First, then, after he hath distinguished, to express his meaning, in what sense the particular Church of Rome cannot err in things which are *de fide*, of the faith; he tells us, this firmitude is, because the See Apostolic is fixed there. "And this," he saith, "is most true."[f] And for proof of it, he brings three Fathers to justify it.

[d] [Non enim bonum hominis est hominem vincere; sed bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem; quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa] vincat necesse est, sive negantem, sive confitentem.—S. Augustin. Epist. 174. [238. ad Pascentium, sect. 29. Op., tom. ii. col. 863. A. ed. Benedict.]—Occultari potest ad tempus veritas, vinci non potest.—S. Aug. [Enarr.] in Psal. lxi. [sect. 16. Op., tom. iv. par. 1. col. 599. G. ed. Benedict.]

[e] Lib. iv. De Rom. Pont. c. 4. sect. 1. [Secunda Propositio: Non solum Pontifex Romanus] non potest errare in fide, sed neque Romana particularis Ecclesia. [Est autem observandum hoc loco, in alio sensu accipi debere firmitatem Ecclesiæ Romanæ in fide, et in alio firmitatem pontificis: nam pontifex non potest errare errore judiciali: id est, dum judicat et definit quæstionem fidei. At Ecclesia Romana, id est, populus et clerus Romanus, non potest errare errore personali, ita ut omnes omnino errent, et nulli sint in Romana Ecclesia fideles, pontifici adhærentes. Tametsi enim unusquisque seorsim errare potest, tamen id fieri non potest, ut omnes errent simul, et tota Romana Ecclesia apostatica efficiatur.—Bellarmin. Op., tom. i. col. 811, 812. ed. Colon. 1620.]

[f] Ibid. sect. 2. [Observandum est præterea, Ecclesiam Romanam non

SECTION III.

(1.) The first, S. Cyprian,[g] whose words are, "That the Romans are such, as to whom *perfidia* cannot have access." Now, *perfidia* can hardly stand for error in faith, or for misbelief; but it properly signifies malicious falsehood in matter of trust and action; not error in faith, but in fact, against the discipline and government of the Church. And why may it not here have this meaning in S. Cyprian?

IV.—For the story there[h] it is this. In the year 255, there was a council in Carthage, in the cause of two schismatics, Felicissimus and Novatian, about restoring of them to the communion of the Church which had lapsed, in time of danger, from Christianity to idolatry. Felicissimus would admit all, even without penance; and Novatian would admit none, no, not after penance. The Fathers, forty-two in number, went, as the truth led them, between both extremes. To this council came Privatus, a known heretic, but was not admitted, because he was formerly excommunicated, and often condemned. Hereupon he gathers his accomplices together, and chooses one Fortunatus, (who was formerly condemned, as well as himself,) Bishop of Carthage, and set him up against S. Cyprian. This done, Felicissimus and his fellows haste to Rome with letters testimonial from their own party, and pretend that twenty-five bishops concurred with them; and their desire was to be received into the communion of the Roman Church, and to have their new bishop acknowledged. Cornelius, then pope, though their haste had now prevented S. Cyprian's letters, having formerly heard from him both of them and their schism in Africa, would neither hear them nor receive their letters. They grew insolent and furious, (the ordinary way that

posse errare modo explicato, adhuc dupliciter posse intelligi. Uno modo, ut non possit errare, persistente Romæ apostolica sede: secus autem, si sedes auferretur. Altero modo, ut simpliciter non possit errare, vel deficere, quia nec sedes Apostolica possit unquam Roma alio transferri. Et quidem secundum priorem sensum propositio nostra est verissima.]

[g] [Post ista adhuc insuper pseudo-episcopo sibi ab hæreticis constituto,] navigare audent, [et] ad Petri Cathedram atque ad Ecclesiam principalem, [unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et profanis literas ferre;] nec cogitare eos esse Romanos [quorum fides apostolo prædicante (Rom. i.) laudata est,] ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum.—S. Cypr. l. i. Ep. 3. [Ep. lv. ad Cornelium de Fortunato et Felicissimo, Op., p. 86. ed. Benedict.]

[h] Bin. Concil. tom. i. p. 152. edit. Paris. 1636. [Concil. Roman. ii.—Concil. ed. Labb. et Cossart., tom. i. col. 715, A. B. C.] Baron. Annal. an. 253, [num. 109,] 254, [num. 32—107,] 255, [num. 1—30, tom. ii. ed. Romæ, 1594.]

schismatics take). Upon this, Cornelius writes to S. Cyprian; and S. Cyprian, in this epistle, gives Cornelius thanks for refusing these African fugitives, declares their schism and wickedness at large, and encourages him, and all bishops, to maintain the ecclesiastical discipline and censures against any, the boldest, threatenings of wicked schismatics. This is the story; and in this is the passage here urged by Bellarmine. Now I would fain know why *perfidia*, all circumstances considered, may not stand here in its proper sense, for cunning and perfidious dealing, which these men, having practised at Carthage, thought now to obtrude upon the Bishop of Rome also, but that he was wary enough not to be overreached by busy schismatics?

V.—(2.) Secondly, let it be granted that *perfidia* doth signify here, error in faith and doctrine. For I will not deny but that among the African writers, and especially S. Cyprian, it is sometimes so used; and therefore here, perhaps. But then this privilege, of not erring dangerously in the faith, was not made over absolutely to the Romans, that are such by birth and dwelling only; but to the Romans, *qua tales*, as they were such as those first were, "whose faith was famous through the world," and as long as they continued such; which, at that time, it seems they did. And so S. Cyprian's words seem to import, *eos esse Romanos*, that the Romans then, under Pope Cornelius, were such as the apostle spake of, and therefore to whom, at that time, (or any time, they still remaining such,) perfidious misbelief could not be welcome; or rather, indeed, perfidious misbelievers or schismatics could not be welcome. For this very phrase, *perfidia non potest habere accessum*, directs us to understand the word in a concrete sense: "perfidiousness could not get access;" that is, such perfidious persons, excommunicated out of other Churches, were not likely to get access at Rome, or to find admittance into their communion. It is but a metonymy of speech, the adjunct for the subject; a thing very usual even in elegant [i] authors,

Rom. i. 8.

[i] . . . . . Ego tibi istam Scelestam, *scelus*, linguam abscindam. —Plaut. Amphit. [act. ii. sc. 1. v. 6.]— Ex hac enim parte *pudor* pugnat, illinc *petulantia*, &c.—Cic. [in L. Catilin. Orat. ii. sect. 25. (al. 11.)]— . . . . . latuit plebeio tectus amictu Omnis *honos:* nullos comitata est purpura *fasces*. —Lucan. [de Bell. Civil.] lib. ii. [18.]

and much more in later times, as in S. Cyprian's, when the Latin language was grown rougher. Now, if it be thus understood, I say, in the concrete, then it is plain, that S. Cyprian did not intend by these words to exempt the Romans from possibility of error, but to brand his adversaries with a title due to their merit, calling them perfidious, that is, such as had betrayed or perverted the faith. Neither can we lose by this construction, as will appear at after. SECTION III.

VI.—(3.) But thirdly, when all is done, what if it be no more than a rhetorical excess of speech; *perfidia non potest*, for *non facile potest*; it "cannot," that is, "it cannot easily?" Or what if S. Cyprian do but *laudando præcipere*, by commending[k] them to be such, instruct them that such indeed they ought to be, to whom perfidiousness should not get access? Men are very bountiful of their compliments sometimes. Synesius,[l] writing to Theophilus of Alexandria, begins thus: Ἐγὼ καὶ βούλομαι, καὶ ἀνάγκη μοι θεία, [νόμον ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦτο ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὁ θρόνος θεσπίσῃ·] "I both will, and a divine necessity lies upon me, to esteem it a law, whatsoever that throne," (meaning his of Alexandria,) "shall determine." Nay, the word is θεσπίζειν, and that signifies to determine like an oracle, or as in God's stead. Now, I hope you will say, this is not to be taken dogmatically; it is but the epistler's courtesy only. And why not the like here? For the haste which these schismatics made to Rome prevented S. Cyprian's letters; yet Cornelius, very careful of both the truth and peace of the Church, would neither hear them, nor receive their letters, till[m] he had written to S. Cyprian. Now this epistle is S. Cyprian's answer to Cornelius, in which he informs him of the whole truth; and withal gives him thanks for refusing to hear these African fugitives. In which fair way of returning his thanks, if he make an honourable mention of the Romans and their

[k] Nec cogitare eos esse Romanos, quorum fides apostolo prædicante, &c. [v. supra, p. 5, note g.]

[l] Epist. 67. [ad Theophilum Alexandr. Synesii Episcop. Cyrenens. Op., p. 208. A. (ad calcem Op., S. Cyril. Hierosol.) ed. Dionys. Petav. Paris. 1640.]

[m] For so S. Cyprian begins his epistle to Cornelius. Legi literas tuas, frater [carissime, quas per Saturum fratrem nostrum acolythum misisti, et dilectionis fraternæ et ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ et sacerdotalis censuræ satis plenas.—S. Cyprian. Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 79. ed. Benedict.] And after: Sed enim lecta alia tua epistola, frater, &c.—S. Cypr. lib. i. Epist. 3. [Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 80.]

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faith, with a little dash of rhetoric, even to a *non potest* for a *non facile potest*, it is no great wonder.

VII.—But, take which answer you will of the three, this is plain, that S. Cyprian had no meaning to assert the unerring infallibility of either Pope or Church of Rome. For this is more than manifest by the contestation which after happened between S. Cyprian and Pope Stephen, about the rebaptization of those that were baptized by heretics; for he saith[n] expressly, that "Pope Stephen did then not only maintain an error, but the very cause of heretics, and that against Christians and the very Church of God." And after this he chargeth him with obstinacy and presumption.[o] I hope this is plain enough to show, that S. Cyprian had no great opinion of the Roman infallibility: or if he had it when he writ to Cornelius, certainly he had changed it when he wrote against Stephen. But I think it was no change; and that, when he wrote to Cornelius, it was rhetoric, and no more.

VIII.—Now, if any man shall say, that, in this point of rebaptization, S. Cyprian himself was in the wrong opinion, and Pope Stephen in the right, I easily grant that; but yet that error of his takes not off his judgment, what he thought of the Papal or Roman infallibility in those times. For though afterwards[p] S. Cyprian's opinion was condemned in a council at Rome under Cornelius, and after that by Pope

[n] [Cyprianus Pompeio fratri salutem. Quanquam plene ea quæ de hæreticis baptizandis dicenda sunt complexi sumus in Epistolis, quarum ad te exempla transmisimus, frater carissime, tamen quia desiderasti in notitiam tuam perferri quid mihi ad literas nostras] Stephanus frater noster [rescripserit, misi tibi rescripti ejus exemplum: quo lecto, magis ac magis ejus errorem denotabis, qui] hæreticorum causam contra Christianos et contra ecclesiam Dei asserere conatur. —S. Cypr. ad Pompeium contra Epist. Steph. edit. per Erasmum, Basil. p. 327. [Epist. lxxiv. p. 138. Op., ed. Benedict.]

[o] [Cum vero nulla omnino hæresis, sed neque aliquod schisma habere salutaris baptismi sanctificationem foris possit, cur in tantum] Stephani fratris nostri obstinatio dura [prorupit, ut etiam de Marcionis baptismo, item Valentini et Apelletis, et cæterorum blasphemantium in Deum patrem, contendat filios Deo nasci?—Ibid. p. 140.] And it would be marked by the Jesuit and his A. C., that still it is *Stephani fratris nostri*, and not *capitis*, or *summi pastoris nostri*.

[p] Caranza in Concil. Carthag. sub Cornel. fine. [Cyprianus Carthaginensis dixit: Censeo secundum Evangelicam et Apostolicam contestationem, adversarios Christi et Antichristos appellatos, quando ad Ecclesiam venerint, unico Ecclesiæ baptismo baptizandos esse, ut possint fieri de adversariis amici, et de Antichristis Christiani.—Revocata sunt hæc per Cornelium in sacerdotali concilio Romæ, et per Stephanum Papam. — Caranzæ Summ. Concil. p. 38. ed. Duaci, 1679. This Council, (the third of those held at Carthage and not received by the Church,) is of the date A.D. 258. (al. 256,) during the pontificate of Pope S. Stephen I., not S. Cornelius.—Cf. Concil., tom i. col. 796. C.]

Stephen, and after both in the first Council of Carthage,[q] yet no one word is there in that council which mentions this as an error, that he thought Pope Stephen might err in the faith, while he proclaimed he did so. In which, though the particular censure which he passed on Pope Stephen was erroneous, for Stephen erred not in that, yet the general which results from it, namely, that for all his being in the popedom, he might err, is most true. SECTION III.

IX.—2. The second Father which Bellarmine cites, is S. Jerome:[r] his words are: "The Roman faith commended by the apostle, admits not such *præstigias*, 'deceits and delusions,' into it, though an angel should preach it otherwise than it was preached at first, (and) being armed and fenced by S. Paul's authority, cannot be changed." Where, first, I will not doubt but that S. Jerome speaks here of the faith; for the *præstigiæ* here mentioned are afterwards more plainly expressed: for he tells us after,[s] "That the Bishop of Rome had sent letters into the East, and charged heresy upon Ruffinus." And farther, "that Origen's books περὶ ἀρχῶν were translated by him, and delivered to the simple people of the Church of Rome, that by his means they might lose the verity of the faith, which they had learned from the apostle." Therefore the *præstigiæ* before mentioned, were the

[q] Can 1. [This council, held during the pontificate of Pope S. Julius I.—not S. Sylvester I., as Caranza incorrectly states—by Gratus, Archbishop of Carthage, A.D. 348, was not strictly the first Council of Carthage, for several had been held there under S. Cyprian; but it is styled the first Council of Carthage, "quia inter orthodoxa et approbata Concilia Carthagine habita, ea quæ etiamnum extant, primum sit et antiquissimum." (Bin. not. Concil., tom. ii. col. 719.) Can. 1.—Ergo, si vobis placet, consideremus primum titulum rebaptizationis. Unde sanctitatem vestram postulo, ut mentis vestræ placita producatis ad descendentem in aquam, et interrogatum in Trinitate secundum evangelii fidem et apostolorum doctrinam, et confessum bonam conscientiam in Deum, de resurrectione Jesu Christi, si liceat iterum interrogari in eadem fide, et in aqua iterum intingi. Universi Episcopi dixerunt: Absit, absit. Illicitas esse sancimus rebaptizationes, et satis esse alienum a sincera fide et catholica disciplina.—Concil., tom. ii. col. 714. A. B.]

[r] Attamen scito Romanam fidem, Apostolica voce laudatam, istiusmodi præstigias non recipere, *etiam si* Angelus aliter annunciet, quam semel prædicatum est, Pauli auctoritate munitam non posse mutari. — S. Hieron. lib. iii. Apol. contra Ruffinum, tom. ii. fol. 84. K. ed. Paris 1534. [adv. Rufin. lib. iii. Op., tom. iv. par. ii. col. 449. ed. Benedict.] Peradventure it is here to be read *et jam si*, for so the place is more plain, and more strong; but the answer is the same.

[s] Deinde, ut epistolas contra te ad Orientem mitteret, et cauterium tibi hæreseos, [dum nescis,] inureret; diceretque libros Origenis περὶ ἀρχῶν, a te translatos, et simplici Romanæ Ecclesiæ plebi traditos, ut fidei veritatem quam ab Apostolo didicerant, per te perderent.—S. Hieron. ibid. fol. 85. K. [Ibid. col. 457.]

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cunning illusions of Ruffinus, putting Origen's book under the martyr Pamphilus' name, that so he might bring in heresy the more cunningly under a name of credit, and the more easily pervert the people's faith. So, of the faith he speaks. And secondly, I shall as easily confess that S. Jerome's speech is most true, but I cannot admit the Cardinal's sense of it: for he imposes upon the word *fides*. For by *Romana fides*, the Roman faith, he will understand the particular Church of Rome; which is as much as to say, *Romanos fideles*, the faithful of that Church; and that no wily delusions, or cozenage in matter of faith, can be imposed upon them. Now, hereupon I return to that of S. Cyprian: if *fides Romana* must signify *fideles Romanos*, why may not *perfidia* before signify *perfidos?* especially since these two words are commonly used by these writers, as terms opposite;[t] and therefore, by the law of opposition, may interpret each other proportionably. So with these great masters—with whom it is almost grown to be, *quod volumus, rectum est*, what we please, shall be the author's meaning—*perfidia* must signify absolutely error in faith, or misbelief; but *fides* must relate to the persons, and signify

[t] [Graviter et dolenter motus sum, fratres carissimi, quod cognoverim Fortunatianum quondam apud vos episcopum post gravem lapsum ruinæ suæ pro integro nunc agere velle et episcopatum sibi vindicare cœpisse. Quæ res contristavit me, primo propter ipsum, qui miser, vel diaboli tenebris in totum excœcatus, vel quorundam sacrilega persuasione deceptus, cum debeat satisfacere et ad Dominum exorandum diebus ac noctibus lacrymis et orationibus et precibus incumbere, audet sibi adhuc sacerdotium, quod prodidit, vindicare, quasi post aras diaboli accedere ad altare Dei fas sit, aut non majorem in se iram et indignationem Domini in die judicii provocet,] qui cum fidei [et virtutis] dux [fratribus] esse non potuerit, perfidiæ [et audaciæ et temeritatis magister] existat. — S. Cyprian. lib. i. Epist. 7. [Epist. lxiv. ad Epictetum, pp. 110,111.]—[Unde et ipsam venisse perspicimus et credimus de Dei exploratione censuram, ne apud altare consistere et contrectare ulterius perseverarent pudorem incesti,] fidem perfidi, [religionem profani, divina terreni, sancta sacrilegi.] — Ibid. [p. 111.] — [Quanquam etsi aliquis ex talibus fuerit apprehensus, non est quod sibi quasi in confessione nominis blandiatur, cum constet, si occisi ejusmodi extra ecclesiam fuerint, fidei coronam non esse, sed pœnam potius esse perfidiæ.—S. Cyprian. Epist. lvii. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 95.—Nulla societas fidei et perfidiæ potest esse.—S. Cyprian. Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 89.]—Ex ovibus subito facti sunt vulpes, ex fidelibus perfidi.—S. Optatus, lib. vii. [lib. vi. c. 8. De Schism. Donatist. Op., p. 100. ed. Dupin. 1700.]—[Quæris a me, Utrum parentes baptizatis parvulis suis noceant, cum eos dæmoniorum sacrificiis sanare conantur. Et si non nocent], quomodo eis prosit cum baptizantur parentum fides, quorum eis non potest obesse perfidia?—S. Aug. Epist. xxiii. [xcviii. Bonifacium, Op., tom. ii. col. 263. F. ed. Benedict.] — Quanto [ergo] potius fides aliena potest consulere parvulo, cui sua perfidia [non potest imputari?]—S. Aug. lib. iii. de Lib. Arb. c. 23. [c. 67. Op., tom. i. col. 637. F. ed. Benedict.]

the faithful of the Roman Church. And now I conceive my answer will proceed with a great deal of reason. For *Romana fides,* "the Roman faith," as it was commended by the apostle, of which S. Jerome speaks, is one thing, and the particular Roman Church, of which the Cardinal speaks, is another. The faith indeed admits not *præstigias,* wily delusions, into it; if it did, it could not be "the whole and undefiled faith" of Christ, which they learned from the apostle; and which is so fenced by apostolical authority as that it cannot be changed, though an angel should preach the contrary. But the particular Church of Rome hath admitted *præstigias,* divers crafty conveyances, into the faith, and is not fenced as the faith itself is: and therefore, though an angel cannot contrary that, yet the bad angel hath sowed tares in this. By which means *Romana fides,* though it be now the same it was for the words of the Creed, yet it is not the same for the sense of it, nor for the *super* and *præter* structures built upon it, or joined unto it. So the Roman faith, that is, the faith which S. Paul taught the Romans, and after commended in them, was all one with the Catholic faith of Christ. For S. Paul taught no other than that one; and this one can never be changed in or from itself by angel or devil. But in men's hearts it may receive a change; and in particular churches it may receive a change; and in the particular Church of Rome it hath received a change. And ye see, S. Jerome himself confesses, that the Pope himself was afraid *ne perderent,*[u] lest by this art of Ruffinus, "the people might lose the verity of the faith." Now that which can be lost, can be changed; for usually habits begin to alter, before they be quite lost. And that which may be lost among the people, may be lost among the bishops, and the rest of the clergy too, if they look not to it; as it seems they after did not at Rome, though then they did. Nay, at this time the whole Roman Church was in danger enough to swallow Origen's book, and all the errors in it, coming under the name of Pamphilus; and so S. Jerome himself expressly, and close upon the place cited by Bellarmine. For he desires Ruffinus to "change the title of the book,"[x] that error

[u] Ne fidei veritatem quam ab Apostolo didicerant, per te perderent.—[S. Hieron.] ut sup. [p. 9. note [r]].

[x] [Ergo frater, sive a te falsatus est liber, ut multi putant; sive ab altero, ut forsitan persuadere conaberis, et

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may not be spread under the specious name of Pamphilus, "and so to free from danger the Roman simplicity." Where, by the way, Roman unerring power now challenged, and Roman simplicity then feared, agree not very well together.

X.—3. The third Father alleged by Bellarmine, is S. Gregory Nazianzen.[y] And his words are, "That ancient Rome from of old hath the right faith, and always holds it, as becomes the city which is governess over the whole world, to have an entire faith in and concerning God." Now certainly it became that city very well, to keep the faith sound and entire. And having the government of a great part of the world then in her power, it became her so much the more, as her example thereby was the greater. And in S. Gregory Nazianzen's time, Rome did certainly hold both *rectam et integram fidem*, the right and the whole entire faith of Christ. But there is nor promise nor prophecy in S. Gregory, that Rome shall ever so do. For his words are plain; *semper decet*, "it always becomes" that great city to have, and to hold too, *integram fidem*, "the entire faith." But at the other *semper*, it is *retinet*,[z] that city from of old "holds" the right faith yet; but he saith not *retinebit semper*, that the city of Rome "shall retain it ever," no more than it shall ever retain the empire of the world. Now it must be assured that it shall ever hold the entire faith of Christ, before we can be assured that that particular Church can never err, or be infallible.

[*decet semper*, it becomes that great city always to have . . . . Editt. 1663 and 1686.]

XI.—Besides these, the Cardinal names[a] Cyrillus and

temere credidisti, hæretici hominis *σύνταγμα* esse martyris,] muta titulum, et Romanam simplicitatem tanto periculo libera.—[S. Hieron.] Ibid. fol. 84. K. [col. 449.]

[y] Vetus Roma ab antiquis temporibus habet rectam fidem, et semper eam retinet, sicut decet urbem, quæ toti orbi præsidet, semper de Deo integram fidem habere.—Greg. Naz. in Carmine de Vita Sua, ante medium, p. 9. ed. Paris. 1609.

[*Δύω μὲν οὐ δέδωκεν ἡλίους φύσις,*
Δισσὰς δὲ Ῥώμας, τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης
Λαμπτῆρας, ἀρχαῖόν τε καὶ νέον κράτος,
Τόσον διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων, ὅσον
Τὴν μὲν προλάμπειν ἡλίου, τὴν δ' ἑσπέρας·
Κάλλει δὲ κάλλος ἀνταν ίσχειν συζύγως.
Τούτων δὲ πίστις, ἡ μὲν ἦν ἐκ πλείονος,
Καὶ νῦν ἔτ' ἔστιν εὔδρομος, τὴν ἑσπέραν
Πᾶσαν δέουσα τῷ σωτηρίῳ λόγῳ,
Καθὼς δίκαιον τὴν προέδρον τῶν ὅλων,
Ὅλην σέβουσαν τὴν Θεοῦ συμφωνίαν·
Ἡ δ' ἦν τοπρόσθεν ὀρθόπους, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι.
κ. τ. λ. 562—573, Op., tom. ii. p. 704. ed. Paris. 1840.]

[z] The words in the Greek are, *ἡ μὲν ἦν ἐκ πλείονος, καὶ νῦν ἔτ' ἔστιν εὔδρομος.* Hæc quidem fuit diu, et nunc adhuc est rectigrada: *ἔστιν, est*; so S. Gregory says, but of an *ἔσται*, or a *retinebit*, he says nothing.[1]

[a] [Nam auctores citati, ut Lucius et Felix papæ et martyres; Agatho et Nicolaus papæ et confessores; item Cyrillus et Ruffinus, non solum pontificem, sed etiam Ecclesiam Romanam, asseruerunt non posse errare.—Bellarmin. de

[1] [. . . . nor is *semper* in the text of Nazianzen. — Editt. 1663 and 1686.]

Ruffinus, but he neither tells us where, nor cites their words. Yet I think I have found the most pregnant place in S. Cyril,[b] and that makes clearly against him. For I find expressly these three things: First, that the Church is inexpugnable, and that "the gates of hell shall never prevail against it," but that it shall *in perpetuum manere*, "remain for ever." And this all Protestants grant. But this, that it shall not fall away, doth not secure it from all kinds of error. Secondly, Bellarmine quotes S. Cyril for the particular Roman Church; and S. Cyril speaks not of the Roman at all, but of the Church of Christ, that is, the Catholic Church. Thirdly, that the foundation and firmness, which the Church of Christ hath, is placed not in, or upon, the person,[c] much less the successor, of S. Peter; but upon the faith,[c] which by God's Spirit in him, he so firmly possessed: which is the common received opinion both of the ancient Fathers and the Protestants. "Upon this rock," that is, upon this faith, "will I build my Church." So here is all the good he hath gotten by S. Cyril, unless he can cite some other place of S. Cyril, which I believe he cannot.

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S. Matt. xvi. 18.

XII.—And for Ruffinus, the place which Bellarmine aims at, is in his Exposition upon the Creed; and is quoted in

Rom. Pontif. lib. iv. c. 4. Op., tom. i. col. 812. B.]

[b] Petram opinor per agnominationem nihil aliud, quam inconcussam et firmissimam discipuli fidem vocavit. In qua. Ecclesia Christi ita fundata et firmata esset, ut non laberetur, et esset inexpugnabilis inferorum portis, in perpetuum manens.—S. Cyril. Alex. Dial. de Trin. lib. iv p. 278. Paris. an. 1604. [Πέτραν οἶμαι παρωνύμως, ἕτερον οὐδὲν ἢ τὴν ἀκατάσειστον καὶ ἑδραιοτάτον τοῦ μαθητοῦ πίστιν ἀποκαλῶν, ἐφ' ᾗ καὶ ἀδιαπτώτως ἐρήρεισταί τε καὶ διαπέπηγεν ἡ ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ, καὶ αὐταῖς ἀνάλωτος ταῖς ᾅδου πύλαις εἰσαεὶ διαμένουσα.—De Sancta Trinitate. Dialog. iv. Op., tom. v. pp. 507. E 508. A. ed. Paris. 1638.]

[c] *Et ego dico tibi*) hoc est, tuæ confessioni, quâ mihi dixisti, Tu es Christus, [vicissitudinem et præmium reddo, et dico, dicendoque facio, quoniam meum dixisse fecisse est, Quia tu es Petrus, id est, principalis; et in fide firmus. Vel Petrus, id est, veræ petræ, qui es Christi dignus confessor. Sic ergo imponitur ei novum nomen propter novam confessionem. Et dicitur Petrus, qui Symon vocabatur.] *Et super hanc petram*) hoc est, fidei hujus firmitatem et fundamentum. Vel, super hanc petram quam confessus es, hoc est, super Meipsum ipsum lapidem angularem, [montem altissimum de quo ait apostolus, Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus. . . . . In hac igitur fide, quod Jesus est Christus, filius Dei vivi, fundatur atque salvatur ecclesia.] — Dion[ysii] Carthus[iani in quatuor Evangelia Enarrationes, art. xxix.] in S. Matth. xvi. 18. [fol. lv. C. ed. Paris. 1542. —Dionysius a Rickel, cognomento de Leewis, natione Belga . . . . . *doctor ecstaticus* dictus . . . . anno ætatis suæ 21, Carthusianis nomen dedit . . . . claruit anno 1450, Cardinalis Cusani amicus . . . . . vir in divinis scripturis, ait Trithemius, studiosissimus . . . . ingenio subtilis, sermone scholasticus.—Henr. Wharton, sub voc. in append. ad Cavei Histor. Literar. Sæc. Synod. tom. ii. (app.) p. 166.]

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part the chapter before.[d] But when all his words shall be laid together, they will make no more for Bellarmine and his cause, than the former places have done. Ruffinus' words then run thus:[e] "Before I come to the words of the Creed, this I think fit to warn you of:—That in divers Churches some things are found added to the words (of the Creed). But in the Church of the city of Rome, this is not found done: and as I think, it is for that no heresy did take its rise or beginning there; and for that the old custom is there observed, namely, that they which are to receive the grace of baptism do publicly repeat the Creed in the hearing of the people, who would not admit such additions. But in other places, as far as I can understand, by reason of some heretics, some things were added, but such as were to exclude the sense of their novel doctrine." Now these words make little for Bellarmine, who cites them, and much against Ruffinus that uttered them. They make little for Bellarmine. First, because, suppose Ruffinus' speech to be true, yet this will never follow. In Ruffinus' time, no heresy had taken its beginning at Rome; therefore no heresy hath had rooting there so many hundred years since. Secondly, Bellarmine takes upon him there to prove, that the particular Church of Rome cannot err. Now neither can this be concluded out of Ruffinus' words: First, because, as I said before, to argue from *non sumpsit* to *ergo sumere non potest*, —no heresy hath yet begun there, therefore none can begin there, or spring thence,—is an argument drawn *ab actu ad*

[d] Bellar. lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. iii. sect. penult. [In primis constat, omnes patriarchales sedes defecisse a fide: ita ut hæretici, et hæresim profitentes ac docentes, in illis sederint, excepta Romana sede .... Nihil tale de Romana Ecclesia potest ostendi: ex quo apparet, revera pro ipsa Dominum orasse, ne deficeret fides ejus. Unde Ruffinus in expositione Symboli: In Ecclesia, inquit, urbis Romæ, neque hæresis ulla sumpsit exordium, et mos ibi servatur antiquus.—Op., tom. i. col. 811. C.]

[e] Illud non importune commonendum puto, quod in diversis ecclesiis aliqua in his verbis inveniuntur adjecta. In ecclesia tamen urbis Romæ hoc non deprehenditur factum: [quod ego] pro eo [esse] arbitror, quod neque hæresis ulla illic sumpsit exordium, et mos ibi servatur antiquus, eos qui gratiam baptismi susceperuri sunt, publice, id est, fidelium populo audiente, symbolum reddere, et utique adjectionem unius saltem sermonis, eorum qui præcesserunt in fide non admittit auditus. In cæteris autem locis, quantum intelligi datur, propter nonnullos hæreticos addita quædam videntur, per quæ novellæ doctrinæ sensus crederetur excludi, &c.—Ruffin. in Exposit. Symbol. (ut habetur inter Opera S. Cypriani,) Præfat. Expos. [Opusc. vulgo S. Cypr. adscript. col. cxcix. ad calcem ed. Benedict.]

potentiam negative, from the act to the power of being, which every novice in learning can tell proceeds not negatively. And common reason tells every man, it is no consequence to say, Such a thing is not, or hath not been, therefore it cannot be. Secondly, because though it were true, that no heresy at all did ever take its beginning at Rome, yet that can never prove that the particular Church of Rome can never err, (which is the thing in question.) For suppose that no heresy did ever begin there, yet if any, that began elsewhere, were admitted into that Church, it is as full a proof that that Church can err, as if the heresy had been hatched in that nest. For that Church errs which admits a heresy into it, as well as that which broaches it. Now, Ruffinus says no more of the Roman Church than *non sumpsit exordium*, "no heresy took its beginning there;" but that denies not, but that some heretical taint might get in there. And it is more than manifest, that the most famous heresies in their several times made their abode even at Rome. And it is observable too, that Bellarmine cites no more of Ruffinus' words than these: *In ecclesia urbis Romæ neque hæresis ulla sumpsit exordium, et mos ibi servatur antiquus*, as if this were an entire speech; whereas it comes in but as a reason given of the speech precedent; and as if Ruffinus made the Church of Rome the great observer of the customs of the Church; whereas he speaks but of one particular custom of reciting the Creed before baptism. But after all this, I pray, Did no heresy ever begin at Rome? Where did Novatianism begin? At Rome, sure. For Baronius,[c] Pamelius,[d] and Petavius,[e] do all dispute the point, whether that sect was denominated from Novatianus the Roman priest, or Novatus

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[f] Baron. tom. ii. an. 254. num. 62. [Sed de iis illud in primis commonendum, similitudine nominum factum, ut nonnulli antiqui scriptores alterum pro altero interdum usurparint, et alii unum eundemque Novatum cum Novatiano conflaverint: . . . . . porro Novatianos a Novatiano ut principaliori denominatos, constat ex his quæ Cyprianus (epist. lxxiii.) scribit ad Fabianum, ubi eosdem quos dicimus Novatianos, a Novatiano derivans, Novatianenses appellat.]

[g] Pamel. in Cyprian. Epist. xli. [Erat hic Novatianus Ecclesiæ Romanæ presbyter. . . . . Hic autem primum in ecclesia schisma concitavit. . . . . Eusebius et Nicephorus . . . . . uterque, et sic etiam Socrates, vicinitate nominum (sc. Novatiani et Novati) falsi, Novatum illum vocant non recte.—In Epist. xli. ad Cornelium, p. 80: ed. Paris. 1616, et p. 55. ed. Benedict.] et lxxiii. [Hinc etiam patet a Novatiano dictos illos hæreticos, non a Novato. — Id. in Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaïanum, Op., p. 188, et p. 129. ed. Benedict.]

[h] Petavius in Epiphan. Hæres. lix. [sc. Novatianorum. In quo plerosque

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the African bishop; and they conclude for Novatian. He then that gave that name is in all right the founder, and Rome the nest, of that heresy: and there it continued with a succession[f] of bishops from Cornelius to Cælestine, which is near upon two hundred years. Nay, could Ruffinus himself be ignorant that some heresy began at Rome? No, sure. For in this I must challenge him either for his weak memory or his wilful error; for Ruffinus had not only read Eusebius' history, but had been at the pains to translate him. Now, Eusebius[g] says plainly, that "some heretics spread their venom in Asia, some in Phrygia, and others grew at Rome, and Florinus was the ringleader of them." And more clearly after, "Irenæus" saith he, "directed divers epistles against this Florinus, and his fellow Blastus, and condemns them of such heresies as threw them and their followers into great impiety, &c.; those at Rome corrupting the sound

veterum patrum, ac potissimum Græcorum, aberrasse constat: qui duos sectæ hujus architectos in unum miscent similitudine nominum decepti, Novatum et Novatianum. . . . . Sic igitur Novatianorum secta . . . . . a posteriore præsertim, hoc est Novatiano, magnum incrementum accepit. —Petav. Animad. in Epiph. Hæres. tom. ii. p. 226. ed. Paris. 1622.]

[i] Onuph. in Notis ad Plat. in vita Cornelii. [Post S. Fabiani obitum et Cornelii electionem, primum in Ecclesia Romana schisma fuisse constat. Novatianus enim quidam presbyter S.R.E. ambitionis spiritu inflatus . . . . pontificatum contra Cornelium Romæ assumpsit . . . . a quo hæresis Novatianorum manavit. . . . Hujus Novatiani in episcopatu successores Romæ usque ad Cælestini Papæ pontificatum permanserunt. — Onuphr. in Platin. Vit. Pontific. p. 33. ed. Colon. 1568.]

[k] Hæretici alii in morem venenatorum serpentum in Asiam et Phrygiam irrepserunt, *οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἤκμαζον*, quorum Dux Florinus.—Euseb. lib. v. cap. 14. [et 15. ap. Hist. Eccl. Script. ed. Reading, tom. i. p. 227. *Μισόκαλός γε μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόνηρος ὢν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ πολέμιος, μηδένα τε μηδαμῶς τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀν'ρώπων ἐπιβουλῆς ἀπολιπὼν τρόπον, αἱρέσεις ξένας αὖθις ἐπιφύεσθαι κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνήργει· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἰοβόλων δίκην ἑρπετῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας εἶρπον τὸν μὲν παράκλητον Μοντανὸν, τὰς δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας, Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Μαξιμίλλαν, ὡς ἂν τοῦ Μοντανοῦ προφήτιδας γεγοννίας αὐχοῦντες. Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἤκμαζον, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Φλωρῖνος, πρεσβυτερίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποπεσών· Βλάστος τε σὺν τούτῳ παραπλησίῳ πτώματι κατεσχημένος· οἳ καὶ πλείους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περίελκοντες, ἐπὶ τὸ σφῶν ὑπῆγον βούλημα· θάτερος ἰδίως περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν νεωτερίζειν πειρώμενος.*] And in Ruffinus' translation, c. 15. [Sed in urbe Romæ Florinus quidam gradu presbyteri de ecclesia lapsus una cum Blasto socio criminis et furoris, plurimos de ecclesia in suum barathrum deducebant nova adversum veritatem figmenta machinantes. — p. 115. B. Euseb. Ruffino interpret. apud Autor. Hist. Ecclesiast. ed. Frobenii, Basil. 1539.] And then afterwards, c. 19 and 20. *ἐξ ἐναντίας δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὸν ὑγιῆ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμὸν παραχαραττόντων,* [*Εἰρηναῖος διαφόρους ἐπιστολὰς συντάττει· τὴν μὲν ἐπιγράψας, πρὸς Βλάστον περὶ σχίσματος· τὴν δὲ πρὸς Φλωρῖνον περὶ μοναρχίας, ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν· ταύτης γάρ τοι τῆς γνώμης οὗτος ἐδόκει προσπίζειν· δι' ὃν αὖθις ὑποσυρόμενον τῇ κατὰ Οὐαλεντῖνον πλάνῃ, κ. τ. λ.*— Euseb. Ibid. p. 237. ed. Reading.] Now this Blastus taught[l] that God was the author of sin.

[l] [Now these taught. . . . Editt. 1663 and 1686.]

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doctrine of the Church. Therefore most manifest it is, that some heresy had its rise and beginning at Rome. But to leave this slip of Ruffinus, most evident it is, that Ruffinus neither did nor could account the particular Church of Rome infallible; for if he had esteemed so of it, he would not have dissented from it in so main a point as is the canon of the Scripture, as he plainly doth; for, reckoning[1] up the canonical books, he most manifestly dissents from the Roman Church. Therefore, either Ruffinus did not think the Church of Rome was infallible, or else the Church of Rome at this day reckons up more books within the canon than heretofore she did. If she do, then she is changed in a main point of faith, the canon of Scripture, and is absolutely convinced not to be infallible; for if she were right in her reckoning then, she is wrong now; and if she be right now, she was wrong then; and if she do not reckon more now than she did when Ruffinus lived, then he reckons fewer than she, and so dissents from her; which doubtless he durst not have done, had he thought her judgment infallible. Yea, and he sets this mark upon his dissent besides,[m] that he reckons up the

[1] Ruff. in Exposit. Symbol. p. 188. [sect. 37, 38. col. ccxxiv. ad calcem S. Cyprian. ed. Benedict. Itaque veteris instrumenti primo omnium Moysi quinque libri sunt traditi, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium. Post hos Jesu Nave, et Judicum simul cum Ruth: quatuor post hæc Regnorum libri, quos Hebræi duos numerant; Paralipomenon, qui dierum dicitur liber; et Esdræ libri duo, qui apud illos singuli computantur et Esther: Prophetarum vero Esaias, Hieremias, Ezechiel et Daniel: præterea duodecim Prophetarum liber unus: Job quoque et Psalmi David singuli sunt libri: Salomonis vero tres Ecclesiis traditi, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum. In his concluserunt librorum numerum veteris Testamenti. Novi vero, quatuor Evangelia, Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Joannis: Actus Apostolorum, quos descripsit Lucas, Pauli Apostoli Epistolas quatuordecim, Petri Apostoli Epistolas duas, Jacobi fratris Domini et Apostoli unam, Judæ unam, Joannis tres, Apocalypsim Joannis. Hæc sunt quæ Patres intra Canonem concluserunt; ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt. Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt qui non Canonici, sed Ecclesiastici, a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est Sapientia Salomonis, et alia Sapientia, quæ dicitur filii Syrach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur; quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est. Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Machabæorum libri. In Novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris, sive Hermetis, qui appellatur duæ viæ, vel judicium Petri; quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Cæteras vero Scripturas apocryphas nominarunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt.]—In which reckoning he plainly agrees with the Church of England, Art. vi.

[m] [Et ideo quæ sunt] novi ac veteris Testamenti [instrumenti] volumina, [quæ secundum majorum traditionem per ipsum Spiritum Sanctum inspirata creduntur, et Ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur in hoc loco evidenti numero,] sicut ex Patrum mônumentis accepimus, [designare.]—Ruffin. in Symb. p. 188. [sect. 36.

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books of the canon just so and no otherwise than as "he received them out of the monuments of the forefathers, and out of which the assertions of our faith are to be taken." Last of all, had this place of Ruffinus any strength for the infallibility of the Church of Rome, yet there is very little reason that the pope and his clergy should take any benefit by it. For S. Jerome[n] tells us, That when Ruffinus was angry with him for an epistle which he writ not, he plainly sent him to the Bishop of Rome, and bade him expostulate with him for the contumely put upon him, in that he received not his exposition of the faith, which, said he, all Italy approved; and in that he branded him also, *dum nesciret,* "behind his back," with heresy. Now, if the pope which then was, rejected this exposition of the creed made by Ruffinus, and branded him besides with heresy, his sentence against Ruffinus was just, or unjust. If unjust, then the pope erred about a matter of faith; and so neither he nor the Church of Rome infallible. If just, then the Church of Rome labours to defend herself by his pen, which is judged heretical by herself. So, whether it were just or unjust, the Church of Rome is driven to a hard strait, when she must beg help of him whom she branded with heresy, and out of that tract which she herself rejected; and so uphold her infallibility by the judgment of a man, who in her judgment had erred so foully. Nor may she by any law[o] take benefit of a testimony which herself hath defamed and protested against.

col. ccxxiv.]—Et hæc sunt quæ Patres intra Canonem concluserunt; et ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt.—Ib. p. 189. [ubi sup.]

[n] Si [autem] Romani Episcopi est, stulte facis ab eo exemplar Epistolæ petere, cui missa non est: [et non ab illo qui miserit de oriente exspectare testimonium, cujus auctorem et testem habeas in vicino.] Vade potius Romam, et præsens apud eum expostula, cur tibi et absenti et innocenti fecerit injuriam [contumeliam.] Primum, ut non reciperet expositionem fidei tuæ, quam omnis, ut scribis, Italia comprobavit; [et baculo tuarum uti noluerit literarum contra canes tuos.] Deinde, ut Epistolas contra te ad Orientem mitteret, et cauterium tibi hæreseos, dum nescis, inureret.—S. Hieron. Apol. iii. advers. Ruffin. fol. 85. K. [Op., tom. iv. par. ii. col. 457. ubi sup. p. 9. note [r].]

[o] Quum quis se velle personas testium post publicationem repellere fuerit protestatus. Si quid pro ipso dixerint, iis non creditur. — Extra. Tex. et ibi Gloss. c. *Præsentium,* xxxi. de Testibus. [This is not from the Extravagantes, but from the Decretals of Gregory IX. — Lib. ii. sect. xx.; de Testibus, cap. (xxxi.) *Præsentium.* (Publicatis attestationibus non opponitur in personas testium; tres casus excipit; et ad secundum determinationem subdit.)—Cap. xxxi. Præsentium auctoritate statuimus, ut si quis post depositiones testium

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XIII.—With these Bellarmine is pleased to name six[1] popes, which, he saith, are all of this opinion. But[2] he adds,[p] "that these testimonies will be contemned by the

[1] [or seven .... Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

[2] [of popes' opinions he saith .... Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

publicatas, objicere voluerit in personas eorum, ei tunc tandem id liceat, cum juramento firmaverit, quod ad hoc ex malitia non procedat: nisi forsan ante publicationem id fuerit protestatus; vel ostendere poterit, quod post publicationem didicerit, quod objicit in personas. Cæterum, cum quis personas testium se velle post publicationem depositionum repellere, fuerit protestatus, si quid pro ipso dixerint, de facili non credatur.—*Gloss.* Per hanc protestationem videtur quod noluit fidem adhibere dictis illorum testium contra se: non ergo debet habere pro se..... est absurdum redire ad hoc, cui renunciatum est. — Decret. Greg. IX. cum Gloss. p. 726. ed. Taurini, 1621; et Corpus Jur. Canon. tom. ii. p. 97. ed. Pithœi, Paris. 1687.]

[p] Bell. lib. iv. de Rom. Pontif. c. 4. sect. 5. [Nam auctores citati, ut Lucius et Felix, papæ et martyres; Agatho et Nicolaus, papæ et confessores ..... non solum pontificem, sed etiam Ecclesiam Romanam, asseruerunt non posse errare]. . . . Addo etiam [duorum pontificum testimonia,] quæ etsi ab hæreticis contemnantur, [tamen a Catholicis cum honore recipienda sunt. Unum est Martini Papæ V. qui in Bulla (§ 3.) quam edidit (an. 1418. cf. Bullarium, tom. i. pp. 288, 289, ed. Luxemburg. 1727.) concilio Constantiensi approbante, hæreticos haberi censuit eos, qui de Sacramentis, aut fidei articulis aliter sentiunt, quam Romana Ecclesia sentiat. Alterum est Sixti Papæ IV. (an. 1478.) qui primum per Synodum Complutensem, deinde etiam per se, damnavit articulos Petri cujusdam Oxoniensis, (Osmensis) quorum articulorum unus erat, Ecclesiam urbis Romæ errare posse. Et quanquam hæc intelligi debere videntur, præcipue ratione pontificis, tamen quia Ecclesia Romana non est solus Pontifex, sed Pontifex et populus, ideo cum dicunt Patres, aut Pontifices, Romanam Ecclesiam non posse errare, dicere volunt; in Romana Ecclesia semper futurum Episcopum Catholice docentem et populum Catholice sentientem. — Bellarmin. Op. tom. i. col. 812. (ubi sup. p. 12. note [x].)—The constitution of Sixtus IV. condemned certain propositions of Peter de Osma, which he had taught in the University of Salamanca. See Aguirre's Concilia Hispaniæ, tom. v. p. 351, Conventus Theologorum apud Complutum (Alcala) ..... habitus. A.D. 1479. (1478.) So Labbe, Concil. tom. xiii. col. 1465, Neque alienum fuerit observare eodem anno 1479, (1478,) errores quibus Petrus de Osma Salmanticensem Academiam infecerat, tum ab ipso pope Sixto IV. condemnatos fuisse. The bull of Sixtus IV. anno 1478, is in the Bullarium (tom. i. pp. 416, 417); but in reciting the erroneous propositions which it condemns, there is none stronger than one which asserted, "Romanum pontificem purgatorii pœnam remittere, et super his quæ universalis Ecclesia statuit, dispensare non posse." Peter de Osma afterwards submitted. (Aguirre, ibid. p. 358.) The testimonies of the other seven popes are thus cited by Bellarmine in the previous chapter:—1. Lucius I. (an. 256. cf. Concil. tom. i. col. 725.) papa et martyr, in Epistola prima ad Episcopos Hispaniæ et Galliæ. Ecclesia, inquit, (§ 6.) Romana Apostolica est, et mater omnium Ecclesiarum, quæ a tramite Apostolicæ traditionis nunquam errasse probatur, nec hæreticis novitatibus depravata succubuit, secundum ipsius Domini pollicitationem dicentis, *Ego rogavi pro te*, &c.—2. Felix I. (an. 273. cf. Concil. tom. i. col. 911.) in Epistola ad Benignum, de Romana Ecclesia loquens: Ut, inquit, (§ 2.) in exordio normam fidei Christianæ percepit ab auctoribus suis, Apostolorum Christi principibus, illibata manet, juxta illud, *Ego rogavi pro te*, &c.—3. Leo (an. 447.) Sermone iii. (al. iv.) de Assumptione sua ad Pontificatum, [c. 4. Op., tom. i. col. 14. ed. Ballerini,] Specialis, inquit, cura Petri a Domino suscipitur, et pro fide Petri proprie supplicatur, tanquam aliorum status certior sit futurus, si mens principis victa non fuerit. In Petro ergo omnium fortitudo munitur: et divinæ gratiæ ita ordinatur auxilium, ut firmitas, quæ per Christum Petro tribuitur, per Petrum cæteris (al. apostolis) conferatur. Ubi Leo utrumque privilegium agnoscit, illud primum, cum ait; Si mens Principis victa non fuerit: illud

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heretics." Good words, I pray! I know whom the Cardinal means by heretics very well; but the best is, his call cannot make them so. Nor shall I easily contemn six[1] ancient bishops of Rome concurring in opinion, if apparent verity in the thing itself do not force me to dissent; and in that case I shall do it without contempt too. This only I will say,[q]

[1] [seven ... Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

secundum, cum subjungit; Firmitas, quæ per Christum Petro tribuitur, per Petrum cæteris conferatur. Non enim confertur aliis firmitas, nisi veram fidem exponendo.—4. Agatho (an. 679. cf. Concil. tom. vi. col. 636.) papa in epistola ad Constantinum imperatorem, quæ lecta est in Sexto Synodo, actione 4. et postea actione 8. ab omnibus probata: Hæc est, inquit, veræ fidei regula, quam et in prosperis et in adversis vivaciter tenuit Apostolica Christi ecclesia, quæ per Dei gratiam a tramite Apostolicæ traditionis nunquam errasse probatur, nec hæreticis novitatibus unquam depravata succubuit, quia dictum est Petro, *Simon, Simon, ecce Satanas*, &c. *Ego autem rogavi pro te*, &c. Hic Dominus fidem Petri non defecturam promisit, et confirmare eum fratres suos admonuit, quod Apostolicos pontifices meæ exiguitatis prædecessores confidenter fecisse semper cunctis est agnitum.—5. Nicolaus I. (an. 858. cf. Concil. tom. viii. col. 314.) in Epistola (viii.) ad Michaelem: Privilegia, inquit, istius sedis (vel Ecclesiæ) perpetua sunt; divinitus radicata, atque plantata sunt; impingi possunt, transferri non possunt; trahi possunt, evelli non possunt. Quæ ante imperium vestrum fuerunt, (et) permanent, Deo gratias, hactenus illibata, manebuntque post vos, et quousque Christianum nomen prædicatum fuerit, illa subsistere non cessabunt (immutilata).—6. Leo IX. (an. 1049. cf. Concil. tom. ix. col. 975. in Epistola ad Petrum Antiochenum: Nimirum, inquit, solus est, pro quo, ne deficeret fides ejus, Dominus et Salvator asseruit se rogasse, dicens, *Rogavi pro te*, &c. Quæ venerabilis et efficax oratio obtinuit, quod hactenus fides Petri non defecit, nec defectura creditur in throno illius.—7. Innocentius III. (IV.) (an. 1250. cf. Decret. Greg. IX. Lib. iii. Tit. xlii.) in Epistola ad Episcopum Arelatensem, et habetur cap. *Majores*, Extrav. de Baptismo et ejus effectu: Majores, inquit Ecclesiæ causas, præsertim articulos fidei contingentes ad Petri sedem referendas intelligit qui novit pro eo Dominum exorasse, ne deficiat fides ejus.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. c. 3. Op., tom. i. col. 807.—Of these testimonies, it may be observed that the two earliest, those of Popes Lucius and Felix, are admitted to be spurious—cf. Concil. tom. i. col. 721. "Suspecta eodem jure cum aliis Isidori mercibus," and Concil. tom. i. col. 903. "Suppositiæ hæ epistolæ doctis habentur."]

[q] [De reliquis auctoritatibus quæ ex Scriptis Romanorum pontificum proferuntur, et ix. *Quæstion.* 3 (sc. Gratian. in Decret.) leguntur non est magnopere laborandum, quia Johannes Gerson, atque alii doctores Parisienses uno verbo respondent,] nemini in sua causa credendum, nisi conformiter ad legem divinam, naturalem, et canonicam loquatur: [juri autem divino et naturali repugnat, caput ministeriale imperium habere absolutum in Ecclesiam.]—So Jo. Gerson, and the doctors of Paris cited in Lib. Anon. de Ecclesiastica et Politica Potestate, c. xvi. ed. Paris. 1612. Now these popes do not speak here conformably to these laws.—[The author of this work, first published anonymously, Paris 1612, was Edmund Richer, Syndic of the faculty of divinity in the Sorbonne. Of the circumstances attending its publication, a full account is in Bossuet, Def. Cler. Gall. lib. vi. cap. 25. Œuvres de Bossuet, tom. xxxii. p. 389. ed. Versailles, 1817. An English translation of it appeared in the same year, under the title "A Treatise of Ecclesiasticall and Politike Power, &c. Faithfully translated out of the Latin originall, of late publicly printed and allowed in Paris. Now set foorth for a further warrant and encouragement to the Romish Catholikes of England, for theyr taking of the Oath of Allegiance; seeing so many others of their owne profession in other countries doe deny the Popes infalibility in judgement and temporall power over Princes, directly against

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that six[1] popes concurring in opinion shall have less weight with me in their own cause than any other six[2] of the more ancient Fathers. Indeed, could I swallow Bellarmine's[r] opinion, that the pope's judgment is infallible, I would then submit without any more ado. But that will never down with me, unless I live till I dote, which I hope in God I shall not.

[1] [seven ... Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

[2] [seven... Ibid.]

XIV.—Other proofs than these Bellarmine brings not to prove that the particular Church of Rome cannot err in or from the faith; and of what force these are to sway any judgment, I submit to all indifferent readers. And having thus examined Bellarmine's proofs that the particular Church of Rome cannot err in faith, I now return to A. C. and the Jesuit, and tell them, that no Jesuit, or any other, is ever able to prove any particular Church infallible. A. C. p. 42.

XV.—But for the particular Church of Rome, and the pope with it, erred it hath, and therefore may err. Erred

the doctrine of Jesuits." London. 1612. The last and most complete edition of the work, with the Defences, documents, references, &c., together with some curious opuscula connected with it, is that of Cologne, 1701, in two volumes quarto. In Lib. i. cap. i. sect. 12. of the Defensio Libelli de Eccl. et Politic. Potest. tom. i. p. 12. ed. Colon., Richer recites the ancient doctrine held on the Gallican liberties by the Paris Schools. These principles are fully indicated in the Decree which they passed in 1429, against John Sarrazin, (printed in the Libell. de Eccl. et Politic. Potest. Demonst. cap. xviii.) and repeated in the decree of 1611, (printed in the preface to the Def. Libelli, &c. p. i.—iii.) Sarrazin in his recantation subscribed the following articles, which may be considered as a summary of the views of Gerson, Almain, &c., formally embodied by their successors in the Parisian Schools:—1. Omnes potestates jurisdictionis Ecclesiasticæ, aliæ a papali potestate, sunt ab ipso Christo quantum ad institutionem et collationem primariam: a Papa autem et ab Ecclesia quantum ad limitationem et dispensationem ministeriadem.—2. Hujusmodi potestates sunt de jure divino, et immediate institutæ a Deo.—3. Invenitur in sacra Scriptura Christum Ecclesiam fundasse, et potestates alias a papali expresse ordinasse.—4. Quandocunque in aliquo concilio aliqua instituuntur, tota auctoritas dans vigorem statutis residet non in solo summo Pontifice, sed principaliter in Spiritu Sancto et Ecclesia Catholica. —5. Ex textu Evangelii et doctrina apostolorum habetur expresse, apostolis et discipulis a Christo missis auctoritatem jurisdictionis fuisse collatam.—6. Dicere inferiorum prælatorum potestatem jurisdictionis, sive sint episcopi, sive sint curati, esse immediate a Deo, evangelicæ et apostolicæ consonat veritati. — 7. Aliqua potestas, scilicet potestas Ecclesiæ, de jure potest aliquid in certis casibus contra summum pontificem.—8. Quicunque purus viator habens usum rationis cujuscumque dignitatis, auctoritatis aut præeminentiæ, etiamsi Papalis existat, simoniam potest committere.]

[r] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. c. iii.[3] [Sit igitur prima propositio: Summus Pontifex, cum totam ecclesiam docet, in his quæ ad fidem pertinent, nullo casu errare potest.—Op., tom. i. col. 805.]

[3] [in initio .... Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

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I say it hath, in the worship of images, and in altering Christ's institution in the blessed sacrament, by taking away the cup from the people, and divers other particulars, as shall appear at after.[s] And as for the ground which is presumed to secure this Church from error, it is very remarkable how the learned Cardinal[t] speaks in this case; for he tells us, that this proposition, So long as S. Peter's chair is at Rome, that particular Church cannot err in the faith, is *verissima,* "most true;" and yet, in the very next words, it is *fortasse tam vera,* "peradventure as true" as the former: that is, That the pope, when he teaches the whole Church in those things which belong to the faith, cannot err in any case. What! is that proposition "most true," and yet is it but at a "peradventure it is as true as this?" Is it possible any thing should be absolutely most true, and yet under a peradventure that it is but as true as another truth? But here, without all peradventure, neither proposition is true. And then, indeed, Bellarmine may say, without a *fortasse,* that this proposition, The particular Church of Rome cannot err, so long as the see apostolic is there, is as true as this: The pope cannot err, while he teaches the whole Church in those things which belong to the faith. For neither of them is true. But he cannot say that either of them is *verissima,* "most true," when neither of them hath truth.

XVI.—2. Secondly, if the particular Church of Rome be infallible, and can neither err in the faith nor fall from it, then it is because the see apostolic cannot be transferred from Rome, but must ever, to the consummation of the world, remain there, and keep that particular Church from erring. Now, to this what says Bellarmine? What? Why, he tells us,[u] that it is a pious and most probable opinion to

[s] [V. infra,] Sect. xxxiii. (vii.) 5, 12.

[t] Romana Ecclesia particularis non potest errare, persistente Romæ apostolica sede. Propositio hæc est verissima, et fortasse tam vera quam illa prima de Pontifice.—Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. c. 4. § 2. [ubi sup. p. 4. note f.] —And that first proposition is this: Summus Pontifex, cum totam ecclesiam docet, in his quæ ad fidem pertinent, nullo casu errare potest.—Ibid. c. 3. § 1. [ubi sup. p. 21. note n.]

[u] [At secundum posteriorem sensum, Ecclesiam Romanam non posse deficere, est quidem pia et probabilissima sententia, non tamen adeo certa, ut contraria dici possit hæretica, vel manifeste erronea, ut recte docet Joannes Driedo. lib. iv. c. 3. par. 3, de Ecclesiast. Dogmat. et Scripturis.

think so. And he reckons four probabilities that it shall never be removed from Rome. And I will not deny but some of them are fair probabilities; but yet they are but probabilities, and so unable to convince any man. Why but then, what if a man cannot think as Bellarmine doth, but that, enforced by the light of his understanding, he must think the quite contrary to this, which Bellarmine thinks pious, and so probable? What then? Why, then Bellarmine himself tells you, that "the quite contrary proposition to this," namely, that S. Peter's chair may be severed from Rome, and that then that particular Church may err, "is neither heretical nor manifestly erroneous."[x] So then, by Bellarmine's own confession, I am no heretic, nor in any manifest error, if I say, as indeed I do, and think it too, that it is possible for S. Peter's chair to be carried from Rome, and that then at least, by his own argument, that Church may err.

XVII.—Now, then, upon the whole matter, and to return to A. C. If that lady desired to rely upon a particular infallible Church, it is not to be found on earth. Rome hath not that gift, nor her bishop neither. And Bellarmine, who, I think, was as able as any champion that Church hath, dares not say it is either heresy or a manifest error to say, that the apostolic see may be removed thence, and that Church not only err in faith, but also fall quite away from it. Now I, for my part, have not ignorance enough in me to believe that that Church which may apostatize at some one time, may not err at another; especially since both her erring and failing may arise from other causes besides that which is mentioned by the Cardinal. And if it may err, it is not infallible.

A. C. p. 42.

Quod non sit omnino de fide, a Romana Ecclesia non posse separari Apostolicam sedem, patet: quia neque scriptura, neque traditio, habet, sedem Apostolicam ita fixam esse Romæ, ut inde auferri non possit. Et omnia testimonia Pontificum et Patrum, qui dicunt Romanam ecclesiam non posse errare, possent exponi de Romana ecclesia, donec in ea Apostolica sedes permanet: non autem absolute, et simpliciter. Quod nihilominus tamen] pia et probabilissima sit sententia, non posse separari Petri Cathedram a Roma, et proinde Romanam Ecclesiam absolute non posse errare, nec deficere, [probatur primo ex eo quod tamdiu mansit Romæ sedes Apostolica non obstantibus infinitis persecutionibus, &c. —Bellarm. de Rom. Pont.] lib. iv. c. 4. sect. 5. [ubi sup. p. 4. note [e].]

[x] Contraria sententia nec est hæretica, nec manifeste erronea.—[Bellarm.] lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. c. 4. sect. 5. [ubi sup.]

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[A.C.p.43.]

F. The question was, Which was that Church? A friend of the lady's[1] would needs defend, that not only the Roman, but also the Greek Church, was right.

[1] [The lady's friend ... A. C.]

§ 4. B. When that honourable personage answered, I was not by to hear. But I presume he was so far from granting that only the Roman Church was right, as that he did not grant it right; and that he took on him no other defence of the poor Greek Church than was according to truth.

[A.C.p.43.] F. I told him, That the Greek Church had plainly changed, and taught false in a point of doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost; and that I had heard say, that even His Majesty should say, That[2] the Greek Church having erred against the Holy Ghost, had lost the Holy Ghost.

[2] [That ... *caret* A. C.]

§ 5. B. You are very bold with His Majesty, to relate him upon hearsay. My intelligence serves me not to tell you what His Majesty said; but if he said it not, you have been too credulous to believe, and too sudden to report it. Princes deserve, and were wont to have, more respect than so. If His Majesty did say it, there is truth in the speech; the error is yours only, by mistaking what is meant by losing the Holy Ghost. For a particular Church may be said to lose the Holy Ghost two ways, or in two degrees. 1. The one, when it loses such special assistance of that blessed Spirit as preserves it from all dangerous errors and sins, and the temporal punishment which is due unto them. And in this sense the Greek Church did perhaps lose the Holy Ghost; for they erred against Him, they sinned against God; and for this, or other sins, they were delivered into another Babylonish captivity under the Turk, in which they yet are, and from which God in His mercy deliver them! But this is rather to be called an error *circa Spiritum Sanctum*, about the doctrine "concerning the Holy Ghost," than an error against the Holy Ghost. 2. The other is, when it loses not only this assistance, but all assistance *ad hoc*, to this, that they may remain any longer a true Church; and

so Corinth and Ephesus, and divers other Churches, have lost the Holy Ghost. But in this sense the whole Greek Church lost not the Holy Ghost; for they continue a true Church, in the main substance, to and at this day, though erroneous in this point which you mention, and perhaps in some other too. SECTION VI.

F. The lady's friend, not knowing what to answer, called in the Bishop, who, sitting down first, excused* himself as one unprovided, and not much studied in controversies; and desiring that, in case he should fail, yet the Protestant cause might not be thought ill of . . . . . [A.C.p.43.]

* [The Chaplain taxeth the Jesuit, as if in this parcel he did insult, and saith it was the B.'s modesty to use this excuse, and to say "there were a hundred scholars better than he." But I do not see any insultation, but a simple and true narration of what was said. Neither do I see less modesty in the Jesuit's preferring a thousand before himself, than in the B.'s preferring a hundred before himself.—A. C. marg. note to p. 43.]

B. This is most true; for I did indeed excuse myself, and I had great reason so to do. And my reason being grounded upon modesty for the most part, there I leave it. Yet this it may be fit others should know, that I had no information where the other conferences brake off, no instruction at all what should be the ground of this third conference, nor the full time of four-and-twenty hours to bethink myself. And this I take upon my credit is most true; whereas you make the sifting of these and the like questions to the very bran your daily work, and came thoroughly furnished to the business, and might so lead on the controversy to what yourself pleased, and I was to follow as I could. S. Augustine said once, *Scio me invalidum esse*, "I know I am weak;"[y] and yet he made good his cause. And so perhaps may I against you. And in that I prefered the cause before my particular credit, that which I did was with modesty, and according to reason. For there is no reason the weight of this whole cause should rest upon any one particular man; § 6.

[y] De Util. Credendi, [contra Manichæos,] c. ii. [S. Augustin. Op., tom. viii. col. 48. B. ed. Benedict. Quoniam propter peccata mea propterque consuetudinem plagis veternosarum opinionum sauciatum oculum animæ gerens, invalidum me esse cognosco, sæpe rogo cum lacrymis.]

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and great reason, that the personal defects of any man should press himself, but not the cause. Neither did I enter upon this service out of any forwardness of my own, but commanded to it by supreme authority.

[A. C. pp. 43, 44.] **F.** . . . it having an hundred better scholars to maintain it than he. To which I said, There were a thousand better scholars than I to maintain the Catholic cause.

§ 7. **B.** In this I had never so poor a conceit of the Protestants' cause, as to think that they had but an hundred better than myself to maintain it. That which hath an hundred, may have as many more as it pleases God to give, and more than you. And I shall ever be glad that the Church of England, which, at this time, if my memory reflect not amiss, I named, may have far more able defendants than myself. I shall never envy them, but rejoice for her. And I make no question, but that if I had named a thousand, you would have multiplied yours into ten thousand for the Catholic cause, as you call it. And this confidence of yours hath ever been fuller of noise than proof. But you proceed,

[A.C.p.44.] **F.** Then the question about the Greek Church being proposed,* I said as before, That it had erred.

* [The Chaplain telleth, that the Jesuit said, that what the **B.** would not acknowledge in this, he would "wring and extort from him." But these words of "wringing and extorting" the Jesuit never useth, even to his meanest adversaries, and therefore not likely to have used then to the **B.**; but at most, that he would evince by argument or such like.—A. C. marg. note to p. 44.]

§ 8. **B.** Then I think the question about the Greek Church was proposed. But after you had, with confidence enough, not spared to say, that what I would not acknowledge in this cause, you would wring and extort from me; then indeed you said as before, that it had erred; and this no man denied. But every error denies not Christ, the foundation; or makes Christ deny it, or thrust it from the foundation.

[A.C.p.44.] **F.** The **B.** said, that the error was not in [a] point fundamental.*

* [The Chaplain saith: "The **B.** was not so peremptory: his speech was, that divers learned men, and some of your own, are of opinion, as the Greeks expressed themselves, it was a question not simply fundamental." But the Jesuit cannot remember the **B.** to have said these words: yet if he did, the Jesuit did not much miss of the chief point of the **B.**'s meaning, which

was, by the distinction of faith fundamental and not fundamental, to defend the errors of the Grecians not to be such, (although held against the known definitive sentence of the Church,) as doth hinder salvation, or exclude them from being members of the true Church. About which see more hereafter.—A. C. marg. note to p. 44.] SECTION IX.

B. I.—I was not so peremptory. My speech was, that divers learned men, and some of your own, were of opinion, that, as the Greeks expressed themselves, it was a question not simply fundamental. I know and acknowledge that error, of denying the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, to be a grievous error in divinity. And sure, it would have grated the foundation, if they had so denied the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as that they had made an inequality between the persons. But since their form of speech is,[z] That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father by the Son, and is the Spirit of the Son, without making any difference in the consubstantiality of the persons; I dare not deny them to be a true Church for this, though I confess them an erroneous Church in this particular. § 9.

II.—Now that divers learned men were of opinion, that *a Filio et per Filium,* in the sense of the Greek Church, was but a question *in modo loquendi,* "in manner of speech,"[a] and therefore not fundamental, is evident.[b] The master and his

[z] [At vero Eum] non ex Filio esse dicimus: sed Filii Spiritum [nominamus.]—Damascen. lib. i. Fid. Orth. c. 11. [p. 272. A. B. ed. Billii.—Denique Spiritum sanctum et ex Patre esse statuimus,] et Patris [Spiritum appellamus . . . . . atque Ipsum nobis] per Filium [et patefactum esse, et impertiri confitemur.] — Ibid. [Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς λέγομεν, καὶ πνεῦμα πατρὸς ὀνομάζομεν· ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν· πνεῦμα δὲ υἱοῦ ὀνομάζομεν· εἴ τις γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δι' υἱοῦ πεφανερῶσθαι, καὶ μεταδίδοσθαι ἡμῖν, ὁμολογοῦμεν·—S. Joann. Damascen. De Fid. Orthodox. lib. i. cap. 8. Op., tom. i. p. 141. B. ed. Lequien.]

[a] [Ad secundum dicendum quod in tribus symbolis una veritas continetur, magis tamen explicita in uno quam in alio, propter novas hæreses variis temporibus insurgentes; talis autem] pluralitas in voce, salvata unitate in re, non repugnat unitati fidei.—Durand[i de Sancto Portiano Apostolici quondam penitentiarii, Meldensis ecclesiæ Episcopi, in quatuor Sententiarum libros quæstionum resolutiones]. Lib. III. D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] 2. [fol. ccxciii. ed. Paris. 1508.]

[b] [Petri Lombard.] Magist[ri Sententiarum,] I. Sentent. D[istinct.] xi. D. [Sciendum est tamen quod Græci confitentur Spiritum Sanctum esse Filii, sicut et Patris; quia et Apostolus dicit, Spiritum Filii (Galat. iv. 6.) Et Veritas in Evangelio, Spiritum Veritatis (Joan. xvi. 13.) Sed cum non sit aliud Spiritum Sanctum esse Patris vel Filii, quam esse a Patre et Filio; etiam in hoc in eandem nobiscum fidei sententiam convenire videntur, licet in verbis dissentiant.] —Sane sciendum, quod licet in præsenti articulo a nobis Græci verbo discordent, tamen sensu non differunt. [Confitentur enim Spiritum esse Filii, etsi non a Filio, quia scriptum est, Spiritum Filii.]—Bandinus, lib. i. de Trin. d. xi. [*i. e.* Bandini, Theologi doctissimi ac pervetusti, Sententiarum libri quatuor, &c.—lib. i. de Trinitate, Dist. xi. p. 54. ed. Lovan. 1557.]—Et Bonaventura, in I. Sent.

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scholars agree upon it. "The Greeks," saith he, "confess the Holy Ghost to be the 'Spirit of the Son,' (with the Apostle,) and the 'Spirit of truth.' And since *non est aliud*, 'it is not

Gal. iv. [6.]

John xvi. [13.]

D[istinct.] xi. A[rt.] i. Q[uæst.] i. Sect. xii. [Op., tom. iv. p. 95. A. ed. Mogunt. 1609.], licet Græcis infensissimus, quum dixit Græcos objicere curiositatem Romanis, addendo *Filioque* [ubi ait, Redarguunt tanquam curiosos ..... Græcos,] quia sine hujus Articuli professione salus erat, non respondet negando salutem esse, sed dicit tantum, Opportunam fuisse determinationem propter periculum. —Et postea, [Bonavent.] Sect. xv. [Ad illud quod objicitur de nexu, dicendum quod nexus non habet rationem medii, sed rationem tertii, quanquam aliqui voluerunt dicere quod locum tenet et medii et tertii:] et voluerunt isti sustinere opinionem Græcorum, et Latinorum, et distinguunt duplicem modum procedendi, [scilicet in alium, et sic procedit a Patre, vel ab alio, et sic procedit a Patre et Filio.—Ib. p. 95. B.]—Sed forte si duo sapientes, unus Græcus, [et] alter Latinus, uterque verus amator veritatis, et non propriæ dictionis, [unde propria est] de hac visa contrarietate disquirerent, pateret utique tandem ipsam contrarietatem non esse veraciter realem, sicut est vocalis: [alioquin, vel ipsi Græci, vel nos Latini sumus vere hæretici. Sed quis audet hunc auctorem Joannem sc. Damascenum, et Beatos, sc. Basilium, Gregorium Theologum, Gregorium Nazianzenum, Cyrillum, et similes Patres Græcos arguere hæreseos?]—Scotus in I. Sent. D[istinct.] xi. Q[uæst.] 1. [Op., tom. v. par. i. p. 858. ed. Lugd. 1639.]—Antiquorum apud Græcos auctorum, [ut Cyrilli, Damasceni, et similium,] a Latinis in voce potius, et modo explicandi emanationem Spiritus Sancti est discrepantia, quam in ipsa re. [Eandem enim penitus sententiam prætendunt, dicentes Spiritum Sanctum per Filium procedere, quam Latini et dicentes Spiritum Sanctum procedere ex Filio; licet aliis ad illum exprimendum utantur verbis.]—Jodocus Clichtovæus [Neoportiensis, Comment.] in Damasc. Fid. Orthod. lib. i. c. 11. [Op., S. Joan. Damasc. p. 274. B. ed. Billii.]—[Unde etiam ipsi Græci processionem Spiritus Sancti aliquem ordinem habere ad Filium intelligunt. Concedunt enim Spiritum Sanctum esse Spiritum Filii, et esse a Patre per Filium.] Et quidam eorum dicuntur concedere, quod sit a Filio, vel profluat ab Eo, [non tamen quod procedat. Quod videtur vel ex ignorantia vel ex protervia esse.]—Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] P[ars] i. Q[uæst.] xxxvi. A[rt.] 2. [in conclus.]—Et Thomas ipse dicit, Spiritum Sanctum procedere mediate a Filio, saltem ratione Personarum Spirantium: [sc. Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod in qualibet actione est duo considerare, scilicet suppositum agens, et virtutem qua agit, sicut ignis calefacit calore. Si igitur in Patre et Filio consideratur virtus, qua spirant Spiritum Sanctum, non cadit ibi aliquod medium: quia hæc virtus est una et eadem. Si autem considerentur ipsæ personæ spirantes, sic cum Spiritus Sanctus communiter procedat a Patre et Filio, invenitur Spiritus Sanctus immediate a Patre procedere, in quantum est ab Eo, et mediate in quantum est a Filio.]—Ibid. A[rt.] 3. [Resp.] ad 1. —Respondeo [igitur] cum Bessarione et Gennadio, Damascenum non negasse Spiritum Sanctum procedere ex Filio, quod ad rem attinet, cum dixerit, Spiritum esse imaginem Filii, et per Filium [esse]; sed existimasse, tutius dici per Filium, quam ex Filio, quantum ad modum loquendi, [propter hæresim Macedonii, et Eunomii, qui ex Filio, tanquam primaria, immo etiam sola, causa processisse dicebant Spiritum Sanctum.]—Bellarm. Lib. ii. de Christo c. 27. § *Respondeo igitur*, [Op., tom. i. col. 372. B.]—Et Tollet. in S. Ioann. xv. Annot. 25. [Græcus intelligens fatetur Spiritum esse Filii et Patris, et a Patre procedere, sed per Filium, quod non aliud significat quam quod nos dicimus, Filius producit Spiritum Sanctum a Patre; id est, habet a Patre producere Spiritum; hoc est, Patrem per Filium producere Spiritum Sanctum, sicut Deus per Verbum omnia creavit.—Toleti Cardinal. in Ioann. Evangel. Comment. tom. ii. col. 131. ed. Lugd. 1615.]—Et Lutheran. Respons. ad Respons. ii. Jeremiæ Patriarchæ. [Producuntur etiam Patres, clarissima illa Ecclesiæ lumina, quinetiam Pontifices aliquot Romani, tanquam testes, qui de processione Spiritus Sancti a Patre loquantur: Athanasius

another thing' to say, the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of the Father and the Son, than that He is or proceeds from the Father and the Son, in this they seem to agree with us *in eandem fidei sententiam,* 'upon the same sentence of faith,' though they differ in words." Now in this cause, where the words differ, but "the sentence of faith" is "the same,"[c] *penitus eadem,* "even altogether the same," can the point be fundamental? You may make them no Church, (as Bellarmine[d] doth,) and so deny them salvation, which cannot be had out of the true Church; but I for my part dare not so do. And Rome in this particular should be more moderate, if it be but because this article, *Filioque,* was added to the Creed by herself. And it is hard to add and anathematize too.

III.—It ought to be no easy thing to condemn a man of heresy in foundation of faith; much less a Church; least of all, so ample and large a Church as the Greek, especially so as to make them no Church. Heaven gates were not so easily shut against multitudes, when S. Peter wore the keys at his own girdle. And it is good counsel which Alphonsus a Castro, one of your own, gives: "Let them consider, that pronounce easily of heresy, how easy it is for themselves to err."[e]

videlicet, Gregorius Theologus, &c. . . . . Agnoscimus sane inter hos plerosque fuisse magnæ in Ecclesia Dei authoritatis, et eorum saluberrimos labores exosculamur, atque Deo pro eximiis donis, quæ in ipsos contulit, gratias agimus. Sed non videmus, quomodo ipsorum dicta a vobis allata cum nostra sententia pugnent. Idem enim dicunt, quod Christus; quod videlicet Spiritus Sanctus a Patre procedat. At nos hoc nunquam negavimus; neque unquam, Domino bene nos juvante, negabimus. Aliud autem est affirmare, quod Spiritus Sanctus a Patre procedat: et aliud dicere, quod non a Filio etiam procedat. Primum dicunt illi Patres et pontifices commemorati: alterum vero nequaquam dicunt. Quare cum nostra sententia non pugnant . . . . . Quinetiam vestri Patres nobiscum faciunt: licet verbis aliquatenus discrepent. Athanasius certe, &c.—Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiæ: quæ utrique ab anno MDLXXVI. usque ad annum MDLXXXI. de Augustana Confessione inter se miserunt: Græce et Latine ab iisdem Theologis edita. pp. 291—293. ed. Witebergæ, 1584.]

[c] Eandem penitus sententiam, &c. —Clichtov. ubi sup. [p. 28. note [c].]

[d] Bellarmin. De Notis Ecclesiæ, lib. iv. c. 8. [Op., tom. ii. col. 183. D. Dico secundo, argumentum a successione legitima adferri a nobis præcipue ad probandum non esse Ecclesiam, ubi non est hæc successio, quod quidem evidens est: ex quo tamen non colligitur necessario ibi esse Ecclesiam, ubi est successio. Itaque hoc argumento probamus evidenter, non esse Ecclesiam apud Lutheranos.] Quod autem apud Græcos [non sit Ecclesia, probamus alio modo, quia nimirum convicti sunt legitime in tribus plenariis conciliis, Lateranensi, Lugdunensi et Florentino, de schismate et hæresi, ac præcipue de hæresi circa processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio, quam esse manifestam hæresim, Lutherani et Calvinistæ etiam confitentur.]

[e] Lib. iii. adv. Hæreses, in verbo *Beatitudo.* [Secund. Hæres.] fol. 93. A. [Alphonsi a Castro, Op., p. 211. F. ed. Paris. 1571. Aut ergo Papias non est hæreticus censendus, aut alii qui cum

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Or if you will pronounce, consider what it is that separates from the Church simply, and not in part only. I must needs profess, that I wish heartily, as well as others,[f] that those distressed men, whose cross is heavy already, had been more plainly and moderately dealt withal, though they think a diverse thing from us, than they have been by the Church of Rome. But hereupon you say you were "forced,"

[A.C. p. 44.] **F.** Whereupon I was forced to repeat what I had formerly brought against D. White concerning points fundamental, [first reading* the sentence of S. Augustine, *Ferendus est disputator errans*, &c., out of which is proved,† that all points defined by the Church are fundamental.‡]

* [The Chaplain's corrupt copy hath "righting," instead of "reading," the sentence of S. Austin. The whole sentence is set down by the Chaplain thus: "This is a thing founded. An erring disputer is to be borne withal in other questions not diligently digested, not yet made firm by full authority of the Church,—there error is to be borne with. But it ought not to go so far that it should labour to shake the foundation itself of the Church."—S. August. Serm. 14. de Verbis Apost. cap. 12.—A. C. marg. note to p. 44.]

† [Out of this place we may gather that all points defined are fundamental. "All points defined are," as S. Austin speaketh, "made firm by full authority of the Church." But all points made firm by full authority of the Church are fundamental, in such sense as the Jesuit taketh the word "fundamental," that is, in S. Austin's language, such as cannot be denied, or doubtfully disputed against, without shaking the foundation of the Church. For denying or doubtfully disputing against any one, why not against another, and another, and so against all?—since all are made firm to us by one and the same divine revelation, sufficiently applied by one and the same full authority of the Church; which being weakened in any one, cannot be to [so] firm in any other.—A. C. marg. note to p. 45.]

‡ [By the word "fundamental," is understood not only those *prima credibilia*, or prime principles, which do not depend upon any former grounds; for then all the articles of the creed were not, as both the **B.** and D. White say they are, fundamental points; but all which do so pertain to supernatural, divine, infallible, Christian faith, by which faith Christ the only prime foundation of the Church doth dwell in our hearts (1 Cor. iii. 11.), and which faith is to the Church the substance, basis, and foundation of all good things which are to be hoped for (Heb. xi. [1.]), as that, they being once confirmed or made firm by full authority of the Church, if they are wittingly, willingly, and especially obstinately, denied or questioned, all the whole frame, and in a sort the foundation itself, of all supernatural Divine Christian faith, is shaken.—A. C. marg. note to p. 45.]

in hac parte sunt secuti, eadem ratione dicentur hæretici. Hæc omnia in medium placuit adferre,] ut videant hi, qui facile de hæresi pronuntiant, quam facile etiam ipsi errent: et intelligant, non esse tam leviter de hæresi censendum, [præcipue cum non sit pejus crimen quod viro Christiano possit impingi, quam si hæreticus appelletur.]

[f] Junius, Animad[versiones] in Bellar[min.] Controv. ii. lib. ii. [de Christo,] cap. 23. [1. Art. 10. Op., tom. ii. col. 564. ed. Genev. 1613. Viderint ergo homines nostri, quo jure Græcis et Orientalibus Ecclesiis assensum præbitum, et ex assensu mendacium perfidiamque secutam objiciant. Mihi profecto non liquet, ut dicam ex solemni formula. Simplicius mode-

SECTION X. § 10.

B. I.—Hereupon it is true, that you read a large discourse out of a book printed, which you said was yours; the particulars, all of them at the least, I do not now remember, nor did I then approve. But if they be such as were formerly brought against Doctor White, they are by him formerly answered. The first thing you did was the righting[g] of S. Augustine: which sentence I do not at all remember was so much as named in the conference, much less was it stood upon, and then righted by you. Another place of S. Augustine indeed was (which you omit); but it comes after, about tradition, to which I remit it. But now you tell us of a great proof made out of this place:[h] for these words of yours contain two propositions. One, "that all points defined by the Church are fundamental;" the other, "that this is proved out of this place of S. Augustine."

II.—1. For the first, "that all points defined by the Church are fundamental." It was not the least means by which Rome grew to her greatness, to blast every opposer she had with the name of heretic, or schismatic; for this served to shrivel the credit of the persons; and the persons once brought into contempt and ignominy, all the good they desired in the Church fell to dust, for want of creditable persons to back and support it. To make this proceeding good in these later years, this course, it seems, was taken. The school, that must maintain, (and so they do,) "that all points defined by the Church are thereby fundamental,[i] necessary to be believed,[k] of the substance of the faith,[l] and that,

ratiusque agi cum iis qui diversum a nobis sentiunt optaverim.]

[g] "First righting the sentence of S. Augustine, *Ferendus est disputator errans*, &c." Here A. C. p. 44, tells us very learnedly, that my corrupt copy hath *righting* instead of *reading* the sentence of S. Augustine. Whereas I here use the word *righting*, not as it is opposed to *reading*, (as any man may discern A. C. palpably mistakes,) but for *doing right* to S. Augustine; and if I had meant it for *writing*, I should not have spelled it so.

[h] "By which is proved, that all points defined by the Church are fundamental."—[A. C. p. 44.]

[i] Your own word.

[k] Inconcussa fide ab omnibus.—Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] i. Art[ic.] 10. C[onclusio... Respondeo dicendum, quod .... nova editio symboli necessaria est ad vitandum insurgentes hæreses. Ad illius ergo auctoritatem pertinet editio symboli, ad cujus auctoritatem pertinet finaliter determinare ea quæ sunt fidei, ut ab omnibus inconcussa fide teneantur. Hoc autem pertinet ad auctoritatem summi pontificis, ad quem majores et difficiliores Ecclesiæ quæstiones, ut dicitur in v. Decret. Distinct. 43.]

[l] Scotus [in] I. Sentent. D[istinct.]. xi. Q[uæst.] 1. [Op., tom. v. par. 1. p. 858. Quicquid sit de eis, ex quo Ecclesia Catholica declaravit hoc esse tenendum, sicut de substantia fidei, sicut patet *Extrav. de Summ. Trin. et Fid. Cathol. Cap. Firmiter*,

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though it be determined quite *extra Scripturam*."[m] And then leave the wise and active heads to take order,[n] that there be strength enough ready to determine what is fittest for them.

III.—But since these men distinguish not, nor you, between the Church in general and a General Council, which is but her representation for determinations of the faith; though I be very slow in sifting or opposing what is concluded by lawful, general, and consenting authority; though I give as much as can justly be given to the definitions of Councils truly general; nay, suppose I should grant, which I do not, that General Councils cannot err; yet this cannot down with me, that all points even so defined are fundamental. For deductions are not prime and native principles; nor are superstructures foundations. That which is a foundation for all, cannot be one and another to different Christians in regard of itself; for then it could be no common rule for any, nor could the souls of men rest upon a shaking foundation. No: if it be a true foundation, it must be common to all,

tenendum est, quod Spiritus Sanctus procedat ab Utroque.]

[m] [Tales autem sunt hæreticorum profanæ voces, non solum extra Scripturam, sed etiam extra omnem ecclesiasticam traditionem et auctoritatem privato judicio prolatæ. Nam] ecclesiasticas voces, etiam extra Scripturas, [iidem illi Sancti Patres studiosissime receperunt.]—Stapleton, [Relectio Scholastica principiorum fidei doctrinalium per controversias, quæstiones et articulos tradita;] Controv. [Capitalis,] iv. [De Potest. Eccl.] Quæst. i. Art. 3. [solut. argumentorum, Op., tom. i. p. 743. D. ed. Paris. 1620.] —[Sed] quæ [Ecclesia ab Apostolorum usque temporibus firma et certa traditione accepit, vel contra hæreses in causa fidei] maturo judicio definivit, [vel pro loco et tempore in moribus definiendum censuit,] etiam si nullo Scripturarum, aut evidenti, aut probabili, testimonio confirmetur, solidum tamen [et indubitatum cuivis fideli et vero Ecclesiæ filio esse debet.]—Ibid. [p. 744. A.]

[n] Et penes Cercopes victoria sit. —Greg. Nazian. de Differen. Vitæ. [Carm xvii. (al. x.) l. 101. de diversis vitæ generibus, et adversus falsos episcopos. Op., tom. ii. p. 854. ed. Benedict. 1840. et tom. ii. p. 81. B. ed. Paris. 1630.

Ταῦτα μὲν, οἷσι φίλον, καὶ κερκώπων κράτος εἴη·
Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Χριστοῦ πλήσομαι ἀτρεμέων.]

—Cercopes vocat astutos et veteratoriæ [cujusdam] improbitatis Episcopos, qui artibus suis ac dolis concilia omnia perturbabant. — Schol. ibid. [*i. e.* Jacob. Billii, in Carm. Greg. Nazianz. tom. ii. col. 1361. D. ed. Paris. 1630. —'Αγορὰ Κερκώπων' id est, Cœtus Cercopum, de conciliabulo conventuque versutorum et improborum hominum dicebatur. Narrant enim, Cercopes quosdam in Epheso fuisse, notæ fraudulentiæ viros, qui suis dolis conati sint ipsi Jovi imponere. Hos admonuerat mater ne in Melampygum inciderent, id quod evenit. Nam post ab Hercule vincti sunt, jussu Omphales. Quidam aiunt, quosdam ob imposturas et malas artes *κέρκωπας*, quasi caudatos, appellatos fuisse apud Ephesios atque Athenienses: ut idem sit sensus hujus adagionis, et illius cujus alibi meminimus, *λύκου δεκάς*. (col. 584.) Torquet hoc convitium Æschines in Demosthenem (de Falsa Leg. c. xvii. et ibi Schol.) *ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἦν ποθ' ὁ κέρκωψ, ἢ τὸ καλούμενον παιπάλημα, ἢ τὸ παλίμβολον, ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα, οὐκ ἤδειν πρότερον*'—Erasm. Adag. Chil. ii. cent. vii. 35. col. 592, 593. ed. Colon. 1612.]

and firm under all; in which sense the Articles of Christian Faith are fundamental. And Irenæus[o] lays this for a ground, that the whole Church, howsoever dispersed in place, speaks this with one mouth: "He, which among the guides of the Church is best able to speak, utters no more than this; and less than this, the most simple doth not utter." Therefore the creed, of which he speaks, is a common, is a constant foundation. And an explicit faith must be of this, in them which have the use of reason; for both guides and simple people, all the Church, utter this. SECTION X.

IV.—Now, many things are defined by the Church, which are but deductions out of this: which, suppose them deduced right, move far from the foundation—without which deductions explicitly believed, many millions of Christians go to heaven—and cannot therefore be fundamental in the faith. True deductions from the article may require necessary belief, in them which are able, and do go along with them from the principle to the conclusion. But I do not see, either that the learned do make them necessary to all, or any reason why they should. Therefore they cannot be fundamental; and yet to some men's salvation they are necessary.

V.—Besides, that which is fundamental in the faith of Christ, is a rock immovable, and can never be varied; never.[p]

[o] Quum enim una et eadem fides sit, neque is qui multum de ipsa dicere potest, plusquam oportet, dicit; neque qui parum, ipsam imminuit.—Iren. lib. i. Advers. Hæres. c. 3. [Καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων, ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ· (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον,) οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν· μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν, ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἠλαττόνησε.—Iren. contra Hæreses, lib. i. cap. 3. (al. x. 2.) in fin. pp. 47, 47. ed. Grabe. Oxon. 1702.]

[p] Resolutio Occhami est, quod nec tota ecclesia, nec concilium generale, nec summus pontifex potest facere articulum, quod non fuit articulus. Sed in dubiis propositionibus potest ecclesia determinare, an sint catholicæ, &c. Tamen sic determinando non facit quod sint catholicæ, quum prius essent ante ecclesiæ determinationem, &c.—[Magistri Jacobi] Almain. in III. [Sentent.] D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] 1. [Conclus. 7. fol. lxxx. ed. Lugd. 1527.—Almain's words are: Sed ecclesia bene determinat de propositionibus catholicis, de quibus erat dubium prius, an essent catholicæ vel non, quod sint catholicæ: nam sunt aliquæ catholicæ, et tamen est dubium, quia non continentur expressæ in sacris literis, sed deducuntur ex aliquibus contentis in sacris literis. Ecclesia potest determinare quod sint catholicæ: tamen sic determinando non facit quod sint catholicæ, quum prius essent ante ecclesiæ determinationem, et sic facit ecclesia quod non remanet amplius dubium an illæ sint catholicæ. Exemplum: determinavit Ecclesia quod Spiritus Sanctus procedebat a Patre et Filio; non facit quod non prius fuerit Catholica; sed quod non amplius est dubium de illa, de qua licebat prius dubitare.

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Therefore, if it be fundamental after the Church hath defined it, it was fundamental before the definition; else it is movable; and then no Christian hath where to rest. And if it be immovable,[q] as indeed it is, no decree of a council, be it never so general, can alter immoveable verities, no more than it can change immovable natures. Therefore if the Church in a council define any thing, the thing defined is not fundamental because the Church hath defined it; nor can be made so by the definition of the Church, if it be not so in itself. For if the Church had this power, she might make a new article of the faith, which the learned among yourselves deny:[r] for the articles of the faith cannot increase in substance, but only in explication.[s] And for this, I will be judged by Bellarmine, [t]who, disputing against Amb[rosius] Catharinus, about the certainty of faith, tells us, "that divine faith hath not its certainty because it is Catholic, *i.e.* common to the whole Church, but because it builds on the authority of God, Who is truth itself, and can neither deceive nor be deceived." And he adds, "that the probation of the Church can make it known to all, that the object of divine faith is revealed from God, and therefore certain, and not to be doubted; but the Church can add no certainty, no firmness to the word of God revealing it."

VI.—Nor is this hard to be farther proved out of your own school; for Scotus professeth it in this very particular of

—Cf. Gulielmi de Ockam Dialogus, liber secundus primæ partis, c. 12. 14. It is contained in Melchior. Goldasti Monarchia S. Romani Imperii, tom. ii. p. 419 et sqq. ed. Francof. 1614.]

[q] Regula [quidem] Fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis, et irreformabilis. — Tertul. de Virg. vel. cap. i. [p. 173. A.] In hac fide, &c. Nihil transmutare, &c.—Athan. Epist. ad Jovian. de fide. [Ταύτῃ τῇ πίστει, Αὔγουστε, πάντας ἐπιμένειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὡς θείᾳ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ, καὶ μηδένα μετάκινειν αὐτὴν πιθανολογίαις καὶ λογομαχίαις, ὅπερ πεποιήκασιν οἱ Ἀρειομανῖται· κ. τ. λ.—Sect. iv. Op., tom. i. pars ii. p. 782 A. ed. Benedict.]

[r] Occham. [as quoted by] Almain. in III. Sent. D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] 1. [Sed utrum ecclesia possit facere articulum novum quod tangit Ocham in secundo libro dialogi in prima parte, dicit resolutorie, quod nec ecclesia nec papa potest facere novum articulum.—Ibid. paulo supra.]

[s] Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Quæst. i. Art. 7. C[onclus. Dicendum est, quod quantum ad substantiam articulorum fidei, non est factum eorum augmentum per temporum successionem, quia quæcunque posteriores crediderunt, continebantur in fide præcedentium patrum, licet implicite. Sed quantum ad explicationem crevit numerus articulorum; quia quædam explicite cognita sunt a posterioribus, quæ a prioribus non cognoscebantur explicite.]

[t] [Quod vero Concilium, (sc. Tridentinum), non rejiciat certitudinem solius fidei Catholicæ, sed omnis divinæ fidei, intelligi potest primum ex eo, quod Concilium, data opera, non fecit mentionem fidei Catholicæ, ut similibus glossis aditum præcluderet, et omnem fidem veram atque

the Greek Church:[u] "If there be," saith he, "a true real difference between the Greeks and the Latins, about the point of the procession of the Holy Ghost, then either they or we be *vere hæretici*, truly and indeed heretics." And he speaks this of the old Greeks, long before any decision of the Church in this controversy: for his instance is in S. Basil, and Greg[ory] Nazianz[en] on the one side, and S. Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, on the other. "And who dares call any of these heretics?" is his challenge. I deny not, but that Scotus adds there, that howsoever this was before, yet *ex quo*, from the time that the Catholic Church declared it, it is to be held as of the substance of the faith. But this cannot stand with his former principle, if he intend by it, that whatsoever the Church defines, shall be *ipso facto*, and for that determination's sake, fundamental. For if before the determination, supposing the difference real, some of those worthies were truly heretics, as he confesses, then somewhat made them so. And that could not be the decree of the Church, which then was not. Therefore it must be somewhat really false, that made them so; and fundamentally false, if it made them heretics against the foundation. But Scotus was wiser than to intend this. It may be, he saw the stream too strong for him to swim against, therefore he went on with the doctrine of the time, That the Church's sentence is of the substance of faith; but meant not to betray the truth. For he goes no further than *ecclesia declaravit*, "since the Church hath declared it," which is the word that is used by divers.[x]

divinam includeret. Deinde ex eo, quod disertis verbis docet, neminem esse, qui non possit de sua gratia formidare. At qui habet certitudinem fidei non possit formidare: alioqui facit injuriam divinæ fidei. Tertio, quoniam omnis] fides divina [habet certitudinem fidei Catholicæ, fides enim non est certa, quia Catholica, sed quia divina.] Non [enim] ideo certitudinem habet [fides,] quia toti Ecclesiæ communis est, sed quia nititur auctoritate Dei, qui nec falli, nec fallere, potest, cum sit ipsa veritas.—[Bellarmin.] de Justif. lib. iii. c. 3. [Op., tom. iv. col. 951. A. B.] —[At, inquit Catharinus, soli fidei Catholicæ convenit, ut et falsum subesse nequeat, quoniam est de objecto probato ab Ecclesia, fidei autem divinæ particulari falsum subesse potest, quoniam est de objecto non probato ab Ecclesia. Respondeo, novam atque inauditam hanc esse doctrinam, ut fidei divinæ possit subesse falsum, antequam ejus objectum probatum fuerit ab Ecclesia.] Probatio [enim] Ecclesiæ facit, ut omnibus innotescat, objectum illud (sc. fidei divinæ) esse revelatum a Deo, et propter hoc certum et indubitatum; non autem tribuit firmitatem verbo Dei aliquid revelantis.—Ibid.

[u] Scotus in I. Sent. D[istinct.] xi. Q[uæst.] 1. [ubi supra, p. 28. note c.]

[x] Bellarm. de Concil. auctoritat.

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VII.—Now the master[y] teaches, and the scholars[z] too, that every thing which belongs to the exposition or declaration of another, *intus est,* is not another contrary thing, but is contained within the bowels and nature of that which is interpreted; from which if the declaration depart, it is faulty and erroneous, because, instead of declaring, it gives another and contrary sense.[a] Therefore, when the Church

lib. ii. cap. 12. [Op., tom. ii. col. 86. C. At concilia non habent, neque scribunt immediatas revelationes, aut verba Dei, sed tantum declarant, quodnam sit verbum Dei scriptum, vel traditum, et quomodo intelligi debeat, et præterea ex eo per ratiocinationem deducunt conclusiones. Itaque] concilia cum definiunt, [qui sint libri canonici et divini,] non faciunt eos esse infallibilis veritatis, sed *declarant* [solum esse tales.]—[Hæretici multa quæ erant implicita fidei nostræ, sua importunitate compulerunt] *explicare.*—Bonavent. in I. [Sentent.] Distinct. xi. Art. 1. Quæst. 1. [in conclus. ad vi. Op., tom. iv. p. 95. E. Ed. Mogunt. 1689.]—[*Ad secundum* dicendum . . . Sequens concilium non faciebat aliud symbolum, quam primum; sed id quod implicite continebatur in primo symbolo, per aliqua addita] *explanabatur* [contra hæreses insurgentes. Unde in determinatione Chalcedonensis synodi dicitur, quod illi qui fuerunt congregati in concilio Constantinopolitano, doctrinam de Spiritu Sancto tradiderunt: non quod minus esset in præcedentibus, qui apud Nicæam congregati sunt, inferentes; sed intellectum eorum adversus hæreticos] *declarantes.*—Thom. [Aquin.] 1. [Summ.] Quæst. xxxvi. Art. 2. in Conclus. Respons. ad 2.—Et, [*Ad primum* dicendum . . . . necessaria fuit temporibus præcedentibus] *explicatio* [fidei contra insurgentes errores.]—Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Quæst. i. Art. 10. in Conclus. Respons. ad 1.—Quid unquam aliud (Ecclesia) Conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur?—Vin. Lir. cont. Hær. c. xxxii. [p. 71. ed. Colon. 1585.]

[y] [Petr. Lomb.] Sent. I. D[istinct.] xi. [Quicunque, inquiunt Græci, a Filio Eum procedere addunt, anathema incurrunt: unde et nos arguunt anathematis reos . . . . . In symbolo enim Constantinopolitano, in processione Spiritus solus commemoratur Pater . . . . Illud est symbolum, quod in missa cantatur, editum in Niceno concilio; in fine cujus subjunctum est, Qui aliud docuerit, vel aliter prædicaverit, anathema sit: ideoque Græci nos anathematizatos dicunt, quia dicimus Spiritum Sanctum a Filio procedere, quod ibi non continetur . . . . a Latinis est additum *filioque.* Nos autem verba ita determinamus, Qui *aliud* docuerit, vel *aliter* prædicaverit, id est, *contrarium* docuerit, vel *contrario modo* prædicaverit, anathema sit. *Aliud* ergo posuit pro *opposito,* qualiter et Apost. in Epist. ad Galat. (i. 9.) Si quis *aliud* evangelizaverit, id est, *contrarium,* anathema sit. Non dicit, Si quis addiderit. Nam si illud diceret, sibi ipsi, ut ait Augustinus, præjudicaret, qui cupiebat venire ad quosdam quibus scribebat, sicut I. ad Thessalonien. (iii. 10.) ut suppleret quæ illorum fidei deerant. Sed qui supplet quod minus erat, addit: non quod inerat, tollit.—fol. 30. C. ed. Paris. 1575.]

[z] Alb. Magn. in I. Sentent. D[istinct.] xi. Art. 7. [*Contrarium sacræ Scripturæ quid sit.* Deinde quæritur de his quod dicit, (Qui aliud docuerit, vel aliter prædicaverit, &c.) Illa enim expositio non videtur conveniens: quia non quodlibet aliud est contrarium. Ad hoc dicendum, quod in expositionibus tenet talis ratio: Quod nihil aliud est nisi contrarium: omne enim quod pertinet ad declarationem intus est; et id quod non est intus contrarium est. Unde Anselmus, Omnis veritas Sacræ Scripturæ veritas est quæ Sacræ Scripturæ non contradicit.—Scriptum primum Alb. Magn. Ratisbon. Episcop. in Sentent. libros, tom. i. ed. Basil. 1506.]

[a] Hoc [inquam,] semper, nec quicquam præterea.—Vin. Lir. c. xxxii. [p. 71.]

declares any thing in a Council, either that which she declares was *intus*, or *extra*—in the nature and verity of the thing, or out of it. If it were *extra*, without the nature of the thing declared, then the declaration of the thing is false, and so, far from being fundamental in the faith.[b] If it were *intus*, within the compass and nature of the thing, though not open and apparent to every eye, then the declaration is true, but not otherwise fundamental than the thing is which is declared: for that which is *intus*, cannot be larger or deeper than that in which it is; if it were, it could not be *intus*. Therefore nothing is simply fundamental because the Church declares it, but because it is so in the nature of the thing which the Church declares.

VIII.—And it is a slight and poor evasion that is commonly used, that the declaration of the Church makes it funda-

[b] In nova hæresi veritas prius erat de fide, etsi non ita declarata.—[Joannes Duns] Scotus, [Doctor Subtil.] in I. [Sentent.] D[istinct.] xi. Q[uæst.] i. in fine. [His words are: Multa igitur docuit eos, (sc. discipulos) Spiritus Sanctus, quæ non sunt scripta in Evangelio, et illa multa quædam per Scripturam, quædam per consuetudinem tradiderunt. Similiter diversa symbola diversis temporibus sunt edita contra diversas hæreses de novo orientes, quia quando insurgebat nova hæresis, necessarium erat declarare veritatem, contra quam erat illa hæresis: quæ veritas, etsi prius erat de fide, non tamen erat prius tantum declarata, sicut tunc contra errorem illorum, qui eam negabant.—Scoti Op., tom. v. p. 859. ed. Lugd. 1639.—Ad illud quod objicitur de conciliis, dicendum quod nec in conciliis illis sunt omnia instituta, quæ spectant ad mores, nec etiam omnia dicta quæ ad fidem pertinent, sicut in Symbolo quod cantatur in missa nihil dicitur de descensu ad inferos. Sed nunquam latuit sanctos patres processio Spiritus Sancti a Filio: et si non latuit, quare non dixerunt? Credo quod non latuit, sicut per antiquos Græcorum, quorum Magister adducit auctoritatem in litera: sed tamen non fuit expressum, quia non erat opus. Nullus enim negabat, nec negare volebat. Sed] hæretici multa quæ erant implicita fidei nostræ, [sua importunitate] compulerunt explicare. —Bonavent. in I. [Sentent.] D[istinct.] xi. A[rt.] 1. Q[uæst.] 1. [in conclus. ad vi.] ad finem. [Op., tom. iv. p. 95. —AD SECUNDUM dicendum, quod in quolibet concilio, institutum fuit symbolum aliquod propter errorem aliquem qui in concilio damnabatur. Unde sequens concilium non faciebat aliud symbolum quam primum, sed id quod implicite continebatur in primo symbolo, per aliqua addita explanabatur contra hæreses insurgentes .... in tempore antiquorum conciliorum, nondum exortus fuerat error dicentium Spiritum Sanctum non procedere a Filio; non fuit necessarium quod hoc explicite poneretur. . . . Continebatur tamen implicite in hoc ipso, quod dicebatur Spiritus Sanctus a Patre procedere.] — Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] i. Q[uæst.] xxxvi. A[rt.] 2. [Resp.] ad 2. [Admonere tamen hic oportet, quod] quamvis Apostolica sedes, aut generale concilium de hæresi censere possit, non tamen ideo assertio aliqua erit hæresis, quia Ecclesia definivit, sed quia fidei Catholicæ repugnat. Ecclesia siquidem sua definitione non facit talem assertionem esse hæresim, quum, etiamsi ipsa non definivisset, esset hæresis; sed id efficit [ecclesia] ut [nobis per suam censuram] pateat, [illud esse hæresim, quod contra nos latebat an merito hæresis dici posset.] — Alphon. a Castro. L[ib.] i. Advers. Hæres. c. viii. fol. 21. D. [Op., col. 49. E.]

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mental *quoad nos,* "in respect of us;" for it doth not that neither: for no respect to us can vary the foundation. The Church's declaration can bind us to peace and external obedience, where there is not express letter of Scripture and sense agreed on; but it cannot make anything fundamental to us, that is not so in its own nature. For if the Church can so add, that it can by a declaration make a thing to be fundamental in the faith, that was not; then it can take a thing away from the foundation, and make it, by declaring, not to be fundamental; which all men grant, no power of the Church can do. [c]"For the power of adding anything contrary, and of detracting anything necessary, are alike forbidden,"[d] and alike denied. Now, nothing is more apparent than this to the eye of all men: That the Church of Rome hath determined, or declared, or defined (call it what you will), very many things, that are not in their own nature fundamental; and therefore neither are, nor can be, made so by her adjudging them. Now to all this discourse, That the Church hath not power to make anything fundamental in the faith, that intrinsically and in its own nature is not such, A. C. is content to say nothing.

Deut. iv. 2.

IX.—2. For the second, That it is proved by this place of S. Augustine, "That all points defined by the Church are fundamental." You might have given me that place cited in the margin, and eased my pains to seek it; but it may be there was somewhat in concealing it. For you do so extraordinarily "right this place," that you were loth (I think) anybody should see how you wrong it. The place of S. Augustine is this, against the Pelagians, about remission of original sin in infants: [e]"This is a thing founded: an erring disputer is to be borne with in other questions not diligently digested,

[c] Ecclesia non amputat necessaria, non apponit superflua. — Vin. Lir. c. xxxii. [p. 71.]

[d] [Ministri Ecclesiæ instituuntur in Ecclesia divinitus fundata et ideo institutio Ecclesiæ præsupponitur ad operationem ministrorum . . . . ideo ad ministros Ecclesiæ novos articulos fidei edere, aut editos removere, aut nova sacramenta instituere, aut instituta removere non pertinet, sed hoc est potestatis excellentis quæ soli debetur Christo, qui est Ecclesiæ fundamentum.]—Thom. [Aquin.] Supp. [Tert. part. Summ.] Q[uæst.] vi. A[rt.] 6. C. [Op., tom. ix.]

[e] Augustin. Serm. xiv. de Verb. Apost. c. 21. [Serm. ccxciv. de Baptism. Parvul. cap. 21. (20.) in fin. Op., tom. v. col. 1193. F. ed. Benedict. Impetremus ergo, si possumus, a fratribus nostris, ne nos insuper appellent hæreticos, quod eos talia disputantes nos appellare possimus forsitan, si velimus, nec tamen appellamus. Sustinent eos mater piis visceribus sanandos, portet docen-

not yet made firm by full authority of the Church; there error is to be borne with; but it ought not to go so far that it should labour to shake the foundation itself of the Church." This is the place; but it can never follow out of this place, I think, that every thing defined by the Church is fundamental.

X.—For, first, he speaks of a "foundation of doctrine in Scripture," not "a Church definition." This appears: for, few lines before, he tells us,[f] "There was a question moved to S. Cyprian, whether baptism was concluded to the eighth day, as well as circumcision? And no doubt was made then of the beginning of sin (*origine peccati*), and that out of this thing, about which no question was moved (*ex ea re, unde nulla erat quæstio, soluta est exorta quæstio*), that question that was made, was answered." And again, "That S. Cyprian took that which he gave in answer from the foundation of the Church, to confirm a stone that was shaking (*Hoc de fundamento Ecclesiæ sumpsit ad confirmandum lapidem nutantem*)." Now S. Cyprian, in all the answer that he gives,[g]

dos, ne plangat mortuos. Nimium est quo progrediuntur: multum est, vix ferendum est, magnæ patientiæ adhuc ferri. Non abutantur hac patientia Ecclesiæ; corrigantur, bonum est. Ut amici exhortamur, non ut inimici litigamus. Detrahunt nobis, ferimus: canoni non detrahant, veritati non detrahant, Ecclesiæ Sanctæ pro remissione peccati originalis parvulorum quotidie laboranti non contradicant.] Fundata [ista] res est. Ferendus est disputator errans in aliis quæstionibus non diligenter digestis, nondum plena Ecclesiæ authoritate firmatis; ibi ferendus est error: non tantum progredi debet, ut etiam fundamentum ipsum Ecclesiæ quatere moliatur.

[f] Ibid. cap. 20. [Ad hoc ergo lego sanctum Cyprianum, ut videatis quomodo sit intellectus canonicus et catholicus sensus in his verbis, quæ paulo ante tractavi. Interrogatus est, utrum infans baptizari debeat ante octavum diem: quia vetere lege non licebat circumcidi infantem, nisi octavo die. Quæstio inde erat nata, de die baptizandi: nam de origine peccati nulla erat quæstio; et ideo ex ea re, unde nulla erat quæstio, soluta est exorta quæstio. Sanctus Cyprianus dixit (in Epist. 59, ad Fidum,) inter cætera, quæ superius dixit: "Propter quod neminem putamus, &c.". . Videte quemadmodum de hac re nihil dubitans, solvit illam unde dubitabatur. Hoc de fundamento Ecclesiæ sumsit, ad confirmandum lapidem nutantem. —Ibid. col. 1193. B.]

[g] [Propter quod neminem putamus a gratia consequenda impediendum esse ea lege quæ jam statuta est, nec spiritalem circumcisionem impediri carnali circumcisione debere, sed omnem omnino hominem admittendum esse ad gratiam Christi, quando et Petrus in Actis Apostolorum (x. 28.) loquatur et dicat: *Dominus mihi dixit neminem hominem communem dicendum et immundum.* Cæterum si homines impedire aliquid ad consecutionem gratiæ possit, magis adultos et provectos et majores natu possent impedire peccata graviora. Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus et in Deum multum ante peccantibus, cum postea crediderint, remissa peccatorum datur, et a baptismo atque a gratia nemo prohibetur, quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate con-

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hath not one word of any definition of the Church: therefore *ea res*, "that thing" by which he answered, was a foundation of prime and settled Scripture doctrine, not any definition of the Church: therefore, that which he took out of the foundation of the Church, to fasten the stone that shook, was not a definition of the Church, but the foundation of the Church itself, the Scripture upon which it is builded: as appeareth in the Milevitane Council;[h] where the rule, by
Rom. v. 15. which Pelagius was condemned, is the rule of Scripture; therefore S. Augustine goes on in the same sense, that "the disputer is not to be borne any longer, that shall endeavour to shake the foundation itself, upon which the whole Church is grounded" (*ut fundamentum ipsum Ecclesiæ quatere moliatur*).

XI.—Secondly, if S. Augustine did mean by "founded," and "foundation," the definition of the Church, because of these words, "This thing is founded; this is made firm by full authority of the Church;" and the words following these, "to shake the foundation of the Church;" yet it can never follow, out of any or all these circumstances (and these are all), that all points defined by the Church are fundamental in the faith. For, first, no man denies but the Church is a
1 Tim. iii. 15. foundation; that things defined by it, are founded upon it: and yet hence it cannot follow, that the thing that is so founded is fundamental in the faith: for things may be founded upon human authority,[i] and be very certain, yet not

traxit, qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit quod illi remittuntur non propria, sed aliena, peccata.—S. Cyprian. Ep. lix. ad Fidum, de Infant. Baptizand. Op., p. 99. ed. Benedict.]

[h] Concil. Milevitan. [A. D. 416.] C[anon.] ii. [Item placuit, ut quicunque parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum baptizandos negat, aut dicit, in remissionem quidem peccatorum nos baptizari, sed nihil ex Adam trahere originalis peccati, quod regenerationis lavacro expietur: unde fit consequens, ut in eis forma baptismatis in remissionem peccatorum, non vere, sed false, intelligatur, anathema sit. Quoniam non aliter intelligendum est, quod ait apostolus (Rom. v. 18.) *Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt*, nisi quemadmodum ecclesia catholica ubique diffusa semper intellexit. Propter hanc enim regulam fidei, etiam parvuli, qui nihil peccatorum in semetipsis adhuc committere potuerunt, ideo in peccatorum remissionem veraciter baptizantur, ut in eis regeneratione mundetur, quod generatione traxerunt.—Concil. tom. ii. col. 1538. C.]

[i] Mos fundatissimus.—S. Aug. Ep. 28. [His words are: Sed contra Cypriani aliquam opinionem, ubi quod videndum fuit, fortasse non vidit, sentiat quisque quod libet; tantum contra apostolicam manifestissimam fidem nemo sentiat, quæ ex unius delicto omnes in condemnationem duci prædicat (Rom. v. 18); ex qua condemnatione non liberat, nisi gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, in quo uno omnes vivificantur, quicunque

fundamental in the faith. Nor yet can it follow, This thing is founded: therefore every thing determined by the Church is founded. Again: that which follows, That those things are not to be opposed which are made firm by full authority of the Church, cannot conclude they are therefore fundamental in the faith. For full Church authority (always the time that included the holy Apostles being passed by, and not comprehended in it) is but Church authority; and Church authority, when it is at full sea, is not simply divine,[k] therefore the sentence of it not fundamental in the faith. And yet no erring disputer may be endured to shake the foundation which the Church in council lays. But plain Scripture with evident sense, or a full demonstrative argument, must have room, where a wrangling and erring disputer may not be allowed it. And there is neither of these, but may convince the definition of the Council,[l] if it be ill founded. And the articles of the faith may easily prove it is not fundamental, if indeed and verily it be not so.

XII.—And I have read somebody that says (is it not you?) "that things are fundamental in the faith two ways:" one, in their matter—such as are all things which be so in themselves; the other, in the manner—such as are all things that the Church hath defined and determined to be of faith: and that so, some things that are *de modo*, "of the manner of being, are of faith." But in plain truth, this is no more than if you should say, some things are fundamental in the faith, and some are not. For, wrangle while you will, you shall never be able to prove that any thing which is but *de modo*,

vivificantur. Contra Ecclesiæ fundatissimum morem nemo sentiat, ubi ad baptismum, si propter sola parvulorum corpora curreretur, baptizandi offerentur et mortui.—S. Augustin. liber ad Hieronym. seu Epist. clxvi. (al. xxviii.) cap. 8. Op., tom. ii. col. 593. B. ed. Benedict.]

[k] Stapleton. Relect. Controv. iv. [de potestate ecclesiæ in se], Q[uæst.] iii. [An vox determinantis Ecclesiæ sit divina?] A[rtic.] 1. [Vox et determinatio ecclesiæ est *suo modo* divina.—Op., tom. i. p. 750.]

[l] [Apud vos autem, (sc. Manichæos) ubi nihil horum est quod me invitet ac teneat, sola personat veritatis pollicitatio: quæ quidem, si tam manifesta monstratur, ut in dubium venire non possit, præponenda est omnibus illis rebus, quibus in Catholica teneor.—S. Aug. contra [Epistolam Manichæi, quam vocant] Fund[amenti,] cap. iv. [Op., tom. viii. col. 153. D. ed. Benedict.—Quod] si [forte] in Evangelio aliquid apertissimum [de Manichæi apostolatu invenire potueris, infirmabis mihi Catholicorum auctoritatem, qui jubent ut tibi non credam; qua infirmata, jam nec evangelio credere potero, quia per eos illi credideram; ita nihil apud me valebit, quidquid inde protuleris. Quapropter si nihil manifestum de Manichæi apostolatu in Evangelio reperitur, Catholicis potius credam quam tibi.—Ibid. cap. v. col. 154. C.]

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a consideration "of the manner of being" only, can possibly be fundamental in the faith.

XIII.—And since you make such a foundation of this place, I will a little view the mortar with which it is laid by you. It is a venture but I shall[1] find it "untempered." Your assertion is: "All points defined by the Church are fundamental." Your proof, this place: "Because that is not to be shaken, which is settled by full authority of the Church (*plena ecclesiæ authoritate.*)" Then it seems your meaning is, that this point there spoken of, "The remission of original sin in baptism of infants," was defined, when S. Augustine wrote this, by a full sentence of a General Council. First, if you say it was, Bellarmine[1] will tell you it is false; and that the Pelagian heresy was never condemned in an œcumenical council, but only in nationals. But Bellarmine is deceived: for while the Pelagians stood out impudently against national councils, some of them defended Nestorius, which gave occasion to the first Ephesine Council to excommunicate and depose them.[m] And yet this will not serve your turn for this place. For S. Augustine was then dead; and therefore could not mean the sentence of that Council in this place. Secondly, if you say it was not then defined in an œcumenical synod; *plena authoritas ecclesiæ,* "the full authority of the Church," there mentioned, doth not stand properly for the decree of an œcumenical council, but for some national; as this was condemned in a national council:[n] and then the full authority of the Church here, is no more than the full authority of this[1] Church of Africa.[o] And I hope that

Ezek. xiii. 11.

[1] [will. . . Edit. 1686.]

[1] [the Church . . . Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

[m] Lib. ii. de Concil. Auctorit. cap. v. [Secundo, idem (sc. concilia particularia a summo pontifice confirmata, in fide et moribus errare non posse) probatur ex eo, quod si ejusmodi concilia errare possent, plurimæ hæreses, quæ damnatæ sunt] a solis [conciliis] particularibus, [iterum revocari possent in dubium, ut Pelagianorum, Priscillianistarum, Joviniani et aliorum. —Bellarmin. Op., tom. ii. col. 59. B.]

[n] Can. i. & iv. [εἴτις ὁ μητροπολίτης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ἀποστατήσας τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου, προσέθετο τῷ τῆς ἀποστασίας συνεδρίῳ, ἢ μετὰ τοῦτο προστεθείη, ἢ τὰ Κελεστίου ἐφρόνησεν, ἢ φρονήσῃ, οὗτος κατὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων διαπράττεσθαι τι οὐδαμῶς δυνάται, πάσης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ὑπὸ τοῦ συνόδου ἐκβεβλημένος, καὶ ἀνενέργητος ὑπάρχων· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόποις, καὶ τοῖς πέριξ μητροπολίταις, τοῖς τὰ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας φρονοῦσιν ὑποκείσεται, εἰς τὸ πάντῃ καὶ τοῦ βαθμοῦ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβληθῆναι.—Can. i.—εἰ δέ τινες ἀποστατήσαιεν τῶν κληρικῶν, καὶ τολμήσαιεν ἢ κατ' ἰδίαν ἢ δημοσίᾳ τὰ Νεστορίου ἢ τὰ Κελεστίου φρονῆσαι, καὶ τούτους εἶναι καθῃρημένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου δεδικαίωται.—Can. iv.—Concil. (an. 431.) tom. iii. col. 803, 806.]

[o] Concil. Milevit. Can. ii. [ubi sup. p. 40. note [i].]

[r] Nay, if your own Cappellus be true,

authority doth not make all points defined by it to be fundamental. You will say, yes, if that council be confirmed by the Pope. And then I must ever wonder why S. Augustine should say, "the full authority of the Church;" and not bestow one word upon the Pope, by whose authority only that Council, as all other, have their fulness of authority, in your judgment. An inexpiable omission, if this doctrine concerning the Pope were true.

XIV.—But here A. C. steps in again to help the Jesuit, and he tells us, over and over again, "that all points made firm by full authority of the Church, are fundamental;" so, "firm" he will have them, and therefore "fundamental." But I must tell him, that first, it is one thing in nature, and religion too, to be firm, and another thing to be fundamental. These two are not convertible: it is true that every thing that is fundamental is firm; but it doth not follow that every thing that is firm is fundamental. For many a superstructure is exceeding firm, being fast and close joined to a sure foundation, which yet no man will grant is fundamental. Besides, whatsoever is fundamental in the faith is fundamental to the Church, which is "one by the unity of faith."[q] Therefore, if every thing defined by the Church be fundamental in the faith, then the Church's definition is the Church's foundation. And so, upon the matter, the Church can lay her own foundation; and then the Church must be in absolute and perfect being before so much as her foundation is laid. Now this is so absurd for any man of learning to say, that by and by after A. C. is content to affirm not only that the *prima credibilia*, the articles of faith, but "all which so pertains to supernatural, divine, and infallible Christian faith, as that thereby Christ doth dwell in our hearts, &c. is the foundation of the Church under Christ the prime foundation." And here he is out again. For, first, all which pertains to supernatural, divine, and infallible Christian faith, is not by and by

A. C. p. 45.

—De Appell. Eccl. Afric. c. ii. n. 5,—it was but a provincial of Numidia, not a plenary of Africa. [Concilium Milevitanum, eo quod ad Romanum pontificem Innocentium de hæresi Pelagiana tunc orienti fratres scripsere, fuisse provinciale Numidiæ, et non plenarium Africæ, scribunt patres ipsi ad caput Epistolæ suæ: Hæc ad sanctitatem tuam, &c.—pp. 20, 21. ed. Romæ, 1722.]

[q] Almain. in III. Sent. Distinct. xxv. Quæst. 1. [Concl. 3. fol. lxxix. ed. Lugd. 1527.] A fide enim una Ecclesia dicitur una.

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fundamental in the faith to all men.[r] And secondly, the whole discourse here is concerning faith, as it is taken *objectivè*, for the object of faith and thing to be believed; but that faith by which Christ is said to dwell in our hearts is taken *subjectivè*, for the habit and act of faith. Now to confound both these in one period of speech, can have no other aim than to confound the reader. But to come closer both to the Jesuit and his defender A. C.: if all points made firm by full authority of the Church be fundamental, then they must grant that every thing determined by the Council of Trent is fundamental in the faith. For with them it is firm and catholic which that Council decrees. Now that Council decrees, "That orders collated by the bishop are not void, though they be given without the consent or calling of the people, or of any secular power."[s] And yet they can produce no author that ever acknowledged this definition of the Council fundamental in the faith. It is true, I do not grant that the decrees of this Council are made by full authority of the Church: but they do both grant and maintain it; and therefore it is *argumentum ad hominem*, a good argument against them, that a thing so defined may be firm, for so this is; and yet not fundamental, for so this is not.

A. C. p. 45. XV.—But A. C. tells us further, "That if one may deny, or doubtfully dispute against, any one determination of the Church, then he may against another, and another, and so against all; since all are made firm to us by one and the

[r] [RESPOND. Dicendum quod] ad fidem pertinet aliquid dupliciter. Uno modo *directe*, sicut ea quæ nobis sunt principaliter divinitus tradita, ut Deum esse trinum [et unum, Filium Dei esse incarnatum, et hujusmodi.] Et circa hæc opinari falsum hoc ipso inducit hæresim; [maxime si pertinacia adjungatur.] *Indirecte* [vero ad fidem pertinent ea] ex quibus consequitur aliquid contrarium fidei; [sicut si quis diceret, Samuelem non fuisse filium Helcanæ; ex hoc enim sequitur, Scripturam divinam esse falsam. Circa hujusmodi ergo,] absque periculo hæresis, aliquis falsum potest opinari [antequam consideretur vel determinatum sit, quod ex hoc sequitur aliquid contrarium fidei, et maxime si non pertinaciter adhæreat. Sed postquam manifestum est, et præcipue si sit per ecclesiam determinatum, quod ex hoc sequitur aliquid contrarium fidei, in hoc errare non esset absque hæresi.] —Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] p[ars.] 1. Q[uæst.] xxxii. A[rt.] 4. [in conclus.] —There are things necessary to the faith; and things which are but accessory, &c. Hooker, Eccl. Pol. Book iii. ch. iii. [4. Works, vol. i. p. 450. ed. Keble.—His words are: It is not that we make some things necessary, some things accessory and appendent only: for our Lord and Saviour Himself doth make that difference, &c.]

[s] Si quis dixerit . . . ordines ab episcopis collatos, sine populi vel potestatis sæcularis consensu aut vocatione, irritos esse, . . . Anathema sit.—[Decret.] Con. Trid. Sess. xxiii. [die xv. Julii, an. MDLXIII.] Can. 7.

same Divine revelation, sufficiently applied by one and the same full authority of the Church, which being weakened in any one, cannot be firm in any other." First, A. C. might have acknowledged that he borrowed the former part of this out of Vin. Lir.[t] And as that learned father uses it, I subscribe to it, but not as A. C. applies it. For Vincentius speaks there *de catholico dogmate*, "of catholic maxims;" and A. C. will force it to every determination of the Church. Now catholic maxims, which are properly fundamental,[u] are certain prime truths deposited with the Church, and not so much determined by the Church as published and manifested, and so made firm by her to us. For so Vincentius expressly.[x] Where, all that the Church doth, is but *ut hoc idem quod antea*, "that the same thing may be believed which was before believed," but with more light and clearness, and, in that sense, with more firmness than before. Now, in this sense, give way to a *disputator errans*, "every cavilling disputer," to deny or quarrel at the maxims of Christian religion, any one, or any part of any one of them; and why may he not then take liberty to do the like of any other, till he have shaken all? But this hinders not the Church herself, nor any appointed by the Church, to examine her own decrees, and to see that she keep *dogmata deposita*, the principles of faith unblemished and uncorrupted. For if she do not so, but that *novitia veteribus*,[y] "new doctrines" be

[t] [Vincent. Lirinens.] Cont. Hær. c. xxxi. Abdicata etenim qualibet parte Catholici dogmatis, alia quoque, atque item alia, [ac deinceps alia, et alia jam quasi ex more et licito abdicabuntur. Porro autem singulatim partibus repudiatis,] quid aliud ad extremum sequetur, nisi ut totum pariter repudietur?—[p. 70.]

[u] [V. infra,] Sect. xxxviii. 21.

[x] [Christi vero] Ecclesia, [sedula et cauta] depositorum apud se dogmatum custos, [nihil in iis unquam permutat, nihil minuit, nihil addit; non amputat necessaria, non apponit superflua, non amittit sua, non usurpat aliena: sed omni industria hoc unum studet, ut vetera fideliter sapienterque tractando, si quæ sunt illa antiquitus informata et inchoata, accuret et poliat: si qua jam expressa et enucleata, consolidet, firmet: si qua jam confirmata et definita, custodiat.] Denique quid unquam [aliud] Conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi, ut quod antea simpliter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur? [quod antea lentius prædicabatur hoc idem postea instantius prædicaretur? quod antea securius colebatur, hoc idem postea sollicitius excoleretur?] — Vin. Lir. cont. Hæres. c. xxxii. [p. 71.]

[y] Vin. Lir. cont. Hæres. cap. xxxi. [Sed et e contra, si novitia veteribus, extranea domesticis, et profana sacratis admisceri cœperint, proserpat hic mos in universum necesse est, ut nihil posthac apud ecclesiam relinquatur intactum, nihil illibatum, nihil integrum, nihil immaculatum, sed sit ibidem deinceps] impiorum ac turpium errorum lupanar, ubi erat ante castæ et incorruptæ sacrarium veritatis.—[Ibid. p. 70.]

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added to the old," the Church, which is *sacrarium veritatis*, "the repository of verity," may be changed *in lupanar errorum;* I am loth to English it. By the Church, then, this may—nay it ought to be done; however, every wrangling disputer may neither deny, nor doubtfully dispute, much less obstinately oppose, the determinations of the Church; no, not where they are not *dogmata deposita*, these "deposited principles." But if he will be so bold to deny or dispute the determinations of the Church, yet that may be done without shaking the foundation, where the determinations themselves belong but to the fabric, and not to the foundation. For a whole frame of building may be shaken, and yet the foundation, where it is well laid, remain firm. And therefore, after all, A. C. dares not say the foundation is shaken, but only in a sort. And then it is as true, that in a sort it is not shaken.

A. C. p. 46.

XVI.—2. For the second part of his argument, A. C. must pardon me if I dissent from him. For, first, all determinations of the Church are not made firm to us by one and the same Divine revelation. For some determinations of the Church are made firm to us *per chirographum Scripturæ*,[z] "by the handwriting of the Scripture," and that is authentical indeed. Some other decisions, yea, and of the Church too, are made, or may be (if Stapleton[a] inform us right,) without an evident, nay without so much as a probable, testimony of Holy Writ. But Bellarmine[b] falls quite off in this, and confesses in express terms, "That nothing can be certain by certainty of faith, unless it be contained immediately in the word of God, or be deduced out of the word of God by evident consequence." And if nothing can be so certain,[1] then certainly no determination of the Church itself, if that determination be not grounded upon one of these—either express word of God, or evident consequence out of it. So

[1] [be certain but so, ... Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

[z] Vin. Lir. cont. Hæres. cap. xxxii. [Conciliorum suorum decretis Catholica perfecit Ecclesia, nisi ut quod prius a majoribus sola (al. sua) traditione susceperat, hoc deinde posteris etiam per Scripturæ chirographum consignaret.—pp. 71, 72.]

[a] Relect. Cont. iv. Q[uæst.] i. Art. 3. Etiamsi nullo Scripturarum, aut evidenti, aut probabili testimonio, &c.—[ubi sup. p. 32. note [m].]

[b] Non potest aliquid certum esse certitudine fidei, nisi, aut immediate contineatur in verbo Dei, aut ex verbo Dei per evidentem consequentiam deducatur: [fides enim non est, nisi verbi divini auctoritate nitatur. Neque de hoc principio vel Catholici vel hæretici dubitant.]—Bellarmin. de Justificat. Lib. iii. cap. 8. § 2. [Op., tom. iv. col. 963.]

here is little agreement in this great point between Stapleton and Bellarmine. Nor can this be shifted off, as if Stapleton spake of the word of God written, and Bellarmine of the word of God unwritten, as he calls tradition. For Bellarmine treats there of the knowledge which a man hath of the certainty of his own salvation. And I hope A. C. will not tell us, there is any tradition extant unwritten, by which particular men may have assurance of their several salvations. Therefore Bellarmine's whole disputation there is quite beside the matter; or else he must speak of the written word, and so lie cross to Stapleton, as is mentioned. But to return: If A. C. will, he may, but I cannot, believe that a definition of the Church which is made by the express word of God, and another which is made without so much as a probable testimony of it, or a clear deduction from it, are made firm to us by one and the same Divine revelation. Nay, I must say in this case, that the one determination is firm by Divine revelation, but the other hath no Divine revelation at all, but the Church's authority only.

2. Secondly, I cannot believe either, "That all determinations of the Church are sufficiently applied by one and the same full authority of the Church." For the authority of the Church, though it be of the same fulness in regard of itself, and of the power which it commits to General Councils lawfully called; yet it is not always of the same fulness of knowledge and sufficiency, nor of the same fulness of conscience and integrity, to apply *dogmata fidei*, that which is dogmatical in the faith. For instance, I think you dare not deny but the Council of Trent was lawfully called; and yet I am of opinion that few, even of yourselves, believe that the Council of Trent hath the same fulness with the Council of Nice, in all the forenamed kinds or degrees of fulness. Thirdly, suppose that all determinations of the Church are made firm to us by one and the same Divine Revelation, and sufficiently applied by one and the same full authority; yet it will not follow, that they are all alike fundamental in the faith. For I hope A. C. himself will not say, that the definitions of the Church are in better condition than the propositions of Canonical Scripture. Now, all propositions of Canonical Scripture are alike firm, because they all alike

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proceed from Divine Revelation; but they are not all alike fundamental in the faith. For this proposition of Christ to S. Peter and S. Andrew, "Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men," is as firm a truth as that which He delivered to His disciples, "that He must die, and rise again the third day." For both proceed from the same Divine Revelation, out of the mouth of our Saviour, and both are sufficiently applied by one and the same full authority of the Church, which receives the whole Gospel of S. Matthew to be canonical and infallible Scripture. And yet both these propositions of Christ are not alike fundamental in the faith. For I dare say, no man shall be saved, in the ordinary way of salvation, that believes not the death and the resurrection of Christ. And I believe A. C. dares not say, that no man shall be saved into whose capacity it never came, that Christ made S. Peter and S. Andrew fishers of men. And yet should he say it, nay, should he show it *sub annulo piscatoris*, no man will believe it that hath not made shipwreck of his common notions. Now if it be thus between proposition and proposition issuing out of Christ's own mouth, I hope it may well be so also between even just and true determinations of the Church, that, supposing them alike true and firm, yet they shall not be alike fundamental to all men's belief.

Matt. iv. 19.

Matt. xvi. 21.

[A. C. pp. 45, 46.]

℣. Secondly, I required to know, what points the Bishop would account* fundamental. He said, all the points of [in] the† Creed were such . . . .

* [The Chaplain granteth, that there are *quædam prima credibilia*, or some prime principles, in the bosom whereof all other articles lay wrapped and folded up, so as every point of the Creed is not a prime foundation; and therefore the ℣. himself did not understand the word "fundamental" so strictly, as if that which in one respect is "a foundation," may not in another respect, to wit, as included in, and depending upon, a more prime principle, be accounted "a superstructure."—A. C. marg. note to p. 45.]

† [If the ℣. mean, that only those points are fundamental, which are expressed in the Creed of the Apostles, I marvel how he can afterwards account Scriptures, whereof no express mention is made in the Creed, to be the foundation of their faith. But if he mean, that not only those are fundamental which are expressed, but also all that is enfolded in the articles of the Creed, then, not Scriptures only, but some at least of Church-traditions unwritten may be accounted fundamental—to wit, all those that are inwrapped in these two articles, "I believe in the Holy Ghost," "The Holy Catholic Church;" as all those are, which being first revealed by the Holy Ghost unto the apostles, have been by successive tradition of the Church, assisted by the same Holy Ghost, delivered unto us. One of which is, That the books of Scriptures themselves be Divine, and infallible in every part: which is a foundation so

necessary, as, if it be doubtfully questioned, all the faith built upon Scripture falleth to the ground. And therefore I marvel how the B. can say, as he doth afterwards in the Relation, "That Scriptures only, and not any unwritten Tradition, was the foundation of their faith."—A. C. marg. note. to p. 46.] SECTION XI.

§ 11. **B.** I.—Against this I hope you except not. For since the fathers[c] make the Creed the rule of faith; since "the agreeing sense of Scripture with those articles are the two regular precepts by which a divine is governed about the faith;"[d] since your own Council of Trent[e] decrees, "That it is that principle of faith, in which all that profess Christ do necessarily agree, *et fundamentum firmum et unicum,* not the firm alone, but the only, foundation;" since it is excommunication[f] *ipso jure,* for any man to contradict the articles contained in that Creed; since the whole body of the faith is so contained in the Creed, as that the substance[g] of it was believed even before the coming of Christ, though not so

[c] Tertull. Apol. contra Gentes, cap. xlvii. [Expedite autem præscribimus adulteris nostris, illam esse regulam veritatis, quæ veniat a Christo, transmissa per comites ipsius, quibus aliquanto posteriores diversi isti commentatores probabuntur.—Op., p. 37. B. ed. Rigalt.] And [Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis, et irreformabilis.—Id.] de virg. vel. cap. i. [Op., p. 173. A.]—S. Augustin. Serm. xv. [xix.] de Temp. cap. 2. [Nam quomodo in regula fidei confiteremur, credere nos in Filium Dei qui natus est ex virgine Maria, si non Filius Dei, sed filius hominis natus est ex virgine Maria? &c.—Serm. clxxxvi. cap. 2. Op., tom. v. col. 885. D.]—Ruffin. [Exposit.] in Symbol. apud [Opusc. vulgo] S. Cyprian. [adscript. p. cxcviii. ad calcem ed. Benedict.] Discessuri (sc. Apostoli) ab invicem normam prius futuræ prædicationis in commune constituunt . . . . . Omnes ergo in uno positi, et Spiritu Sancto repleti, breve istud futuræ sibi prædicationis indicium, conferendo in unum quod sentiebat unusquisque, componunt: atque hanc credentibus dandam esse regulam statuunt. Symbolum autem hoc multis et justissimis ex causis appellari voluerunt.]

[d] Alb. Magnus. in I. Sentent. D[istinct.] xi. A[rt.] 7. [Quæritur etiam quæ sit fidei regula quam tangit (sc. Mag. Sentent.) ibi, (Qui autem prætergreditur fidei regulam non incedit in via, &c.) Et dicendum quod regula fidei est concors Scripturarum sensus cum articulis fidei: quia illis duobus regularibus præceptis regitur theologus.]

[e] Concil. Trident. Sess. 3. [Vide infra, p. 50. note [k].]

[f] Bonavent. ibid. [i.e. in I. Sentent. Distinct xi. Art. 1.] Dub. 2. et 3. in literam. [Op., tom. iv. p. 93. D. Exponit ista verba (*Qui aliud docuerit,* vel *aliter prædicaverit*) id est, *contrarium docuerit,* vel *contrario modo,* &c. Non videtur ista expositio probabilis, eo quod ille qui contradicit articulis excommunicatus est ipso jure: ergo non oportebat pro contrario dare sententiam: ergo videtur quod pro diverso tulerunt sententiam . . . . *Respondeo* . . . . secundum veritatem autem excommunicationis sententia non se extendit nisi ad contradicentes . . .]

[g] Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secundæ, Q[uæst.] i. Art. 7. C. [RESPONDEO, dicendum, quod ita se habent in doctrina articuli fidei, sicut principia per se nota in doctrina, quæ per rationem naturalem habetur, in quibus principiis ordo quidam invenitur, ut quædam in aliis implicite contineantur . . . . . Similiter omnes articuli implicite continentur in aliquibus primis credibilibus, scilicet ut credatur Deus esse . . . . In esse enim divino includuntur omnia quæ credimus in Deo æternaliter existere . . . . . Sic ergo dicendum est, quod quantum ad substantiam articulorum fidei, non est factum eorum argumentum per temporum successionem,

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expressly as since in the number of the articles; since Bellarmine[h] confesses, that "all things simply necessary for all men's salvation are in the Creed and the Decalogue;" what reason can you have to except? And yet for all this, everything fundamental is not of a like nearness to the foundation, nor of equal primeness in the faith. And my granting the Creed to be fundamental, doth not deny but that there are *quædam prima credibilia*,[i] "certain prime principles of faith," in the bosom whereof all other articles lay wrapped and folded up. One of which since Christ, is that of S. John: "Every spirit that confesseth Jesus Christ come in the flesh is of God." And one, both before the coming of Christ and since, is that of S. Paul: "He that comes to God, must believe that God is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek Him."

1 John iv. 2.

Heb. xi. 6.

A. C. p. 46. II.—Here A. C. tells you, "That either I must mean that those points are only fundamental which are expressed in the Creed; or those also which are enfolded. If I say those only which are expressed, then," saith he, "to believe the Scriptures is not fundamental, because it is not expressed. If I say those which are enfolded in the articles, then some unwritten Church traditions may be accounted fundamental." The truth is, I said, and say still, that all the points of the Apostles' Creed, as they are there expressed, are fundamental. And therein I say no more than some of your best learned have said before me. But I never either said or meant, that they only are fundamental: that they are *fundamentum unicum*,[k] "the only foundation," is the Council

quia quæcunque posteriores crediderunt, continebantur in fide præcedentium patrum. Sed quantum ad explicationem crevit numerus articulorum, quia quædam explicite cognita sunt a posterioribus, quæ a prioribus non cognoscebantur explicite.]

[h] Bellarmin. lib. iv. de verb. Dei non script. cap. xi. Primum est, [quædam in doctrina Christiana tam fidei, quam morum, esse simpliciter omnibus necessaria ad salutem, qualis est notitia articulorum Symboli Apostolici, item cognitio decem præceptorum, et nonnullorum Sacramentorum. Cætera non ita necessaria sunt, ut sine eorum explicita notitia, et fide, et professione homo salvari non possit, modo promptam habeat voluntatem ea suscipiendi, et credendi, quando sibi fuerint legitime per Ecclesiam proposita.—Op., tom. i. col. 201. B.]

[i] Tho. Secund. Secundæ, Quæst. i. Art. 7. C. [ubi sup. p. 49. note g.]

[k] Conc. Trident. Sess. 3. [Quare symbolum fidei, quo Sancta Romana Ecclesia utitur, tanquam principium illud, in quo omnes, qui fidem Christi profitentur, necessario conveniunt, ac fundamentum firmum et unicum, contra quod portæ inferi, &c. totidem verbis, quibus in omnibus ecclesiis legitur, exprimendum esse censuit.]

of Trent's; it is not mine. Mine is, That the belief of Scripture to be the word of God and infallible, is an equal, or rather a preceding, prime principle of faith, with or to the whole body of the Creed. And this agrees (as before I told the Jesuit), with one of your own great masters, Albertus Magnus,[l] who is not far from that proposition *in terminis*. So here the very foundation of A. C.'s dilemma falls off. For I say not, That only the points of the Creed are fundamental, whether expressed or not expressed. That all of them are, that I say. And yet, though the foundation of his dilemma be fallen away, I will take the boldness to tell A. C. that if I had said, That those articles only which are expressed in the Creed are fundamental, it would have been hard to have excluded the Scripture, upon which the Creed itself in every point is grounded. For nothing is supposed to shut out its own foundation. And if I should now say, That some articles are fundamental which are enfolded in the Creed, it would not follow that therefore some unwritten traditions were fundamental. Some traditions I deny not true and firm, and of great, both authority and use in the Church, as being apostolical, but yet not fundamental in the faith. And it would be a mighty large fold, which should lap up traditions within the Creed. As for that tradition, That the books of Holy Scriptures are divine and infallible in every part, I will handle that when I come to the proper place[m] for it.

Section XII.

F. I asked how then it happened, as[1] M. Rogers saith, That the English Church is not yet resolved what is the right sense of the article of Christ's descending into hell.

[A.C.p.46.]
[1] [that . . . A. C.]

B. I.—The English Church never made doubt, that I know, what was the sense of that article. The words are so plain, they bear their meaning before them. She was content to put that article among those to which she requires subscription, not as doubting of the sense, but to prevent the

§ 12.

Art. iii.

[l] In I. Sentent. D[istinct.] xi. A[rt.] 7. Regula fidei est concors Scripturarum sensus cum articulis fidei: quia illis duobus regularibus præceptis regitur theologus.—[ubi sup. p. 49. note [d].]

[m] [Vide infra,] sect. xvi. 1.

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cavils of some, who had been too busy in crucifying that article, and in making it all one with the article of the Cross, or but an exposition of it.

II.—And surely, for my part, I think the Church of England is better resolved of the right sense of this article than the Church of Rome, especially if she must be tried by her writers, as you try the Church of England by M. Rogers. For you cannot agree whether this article be a mere tradition, or whether it hath any place of Scripture to warrant it. Scotus[n] and Stapleton[o] allow it no footing in Scripture; but Bellarmine[p] is resolute that this article is everywhere in Scripture, and Thomas[q] grants as much for the whole Creed. The Church of England never doubted it, and S. Augustine[r] proves it.

III.—And yet, again, you are different for the sense. For you agree not whether the soul of Christ, *in triduo mortis*, "in

[n] Scotus in I. [Sentent.] D[istinct.] xi. Q[uæst.] 1. [Op., tom. v. p. 589. Ad rationem illam de Evangelio, dico quod Christum descendisse ad inferna, non docetur in Evangelio: et tamen tenendum est sicut articulus fidei, quia ponitur in Symbolo Apostolorum.]

[o] Stapleton, Relect. Controv. [Controv.] v. [de potestate ecclesiæ ex parte objecti,] Q[uæst.] 5. A[rt.] 1. [Op., tom. i. p. 790. Sententia orthodoxa, in respons. ad arg. 5. (sc. apostoli omnem fidei doctrinam prædicarunt, ergo et scripserunt. Alioqui posteritati fidelium consulere aut invidi potuerunt, aut negligentes omiserunt. Utrumque absurdum. Ergo &c.) . . . Symbolum fidei de fide tenemus: aliqua tamen in illo sunt quæ Scriptura tacet, ut Christum descendisse ad inferos, esse Ecclesiam Catholicam et Apostolicam, esse communionem sanctorum.]

[p] Bellarm. [lib.] iv. de Christo, [i. e. de Christi anima,] cap. 6, 12. [Op., tom. i. col. 438. (Cap. vi.) Quæritur secundo, an et quomodo Christus ad inferos descenderit. Ac primum omnes conveniunt, quod Christus aliquo modo ad inferos descenderit. Nam et Scripturæ passim hoc docent, ut Act. ii.: *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno.* Et Ephes. iv.: *Descendit ad inferos terræ.* Et præterea in Symbolo Apostolico legimus: *Descendit ad inferos.*—(Cap. xii.) Quantum ad tertium probo ex Scripturis Christum vere descendisse ad inferos. sc. Ps. cvii. 16. Ecclus. xxiv. 45. (Vulg.) Mat. xii. 40. Act. ii. 31. Rom. x. 7. Ephes. iv. 9.]

[q] Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 9. AD PRIMUM [ergo dicendum, quod veritas fidei in sacra Scriptura diffuse continetur, et variis modis, et in quibusdam obscure, ita quod ad eliciendam fidei veritatem ex sacra Scriptura requiritur longum studium et exercitium, ad quod non possunt pervenire omnes illi quibus necessarium est cognoscere fidei veritatem.]

[r] S. Aug. Ep. xcix. [ad Evodium, Ep. clxiv. cap. 4. Op., tom. ii. col. 573. Quæstio quam mihi proposuisti ex epistola apostoli Petri, solet nos, ut te latere non arbitror, vehementissime commovere, quomodo illa verba accipienda sunt tanquam de inferis dicta. . . . (Cap 5.) Quamobrem teneamus firmissime, quod fides habet fundatissima auctoritate firma[ta], *quia Christus mortuus est secundum Scripturas, et quia sepultus est, et quia resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas,* et cætera quæ de Illo testatissima veritate conscripta sunt. In quibus etiam hoc est, quod apud inferos fuit, solutisque eorum doloribus, quibus Eum erat impossibile teneri, a quibus etiam recte intelligitur solvisse et liberasse quos voluit, corpus quod in cruce reliquerat in sepulchro positum recepisse.]

the time of His death," did go down into hell really, and was present there, or virtually and by effects only. For Thomas[s] holds the first, and Durand[t] the latter. Then you agree not whether the soul of Christ did descend really and in essence into the lowest pit of hell, and place of the damned, as Bellarmine[u] once held probable and proved it; or really only into that place or region of hell which you call *limbum patrum*, and then but virtually from thence into the lower hell; to which Bellarmine[x] reduces himself, and gives his reason, because it is the common opinion[y] of the school. Now the Church of England takes the words as they are in the Creed, and believes them without farther dispute, and in that sense which the ancient primitive fathers of the

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[s] Thom. [Aquin.] pars Tert. Q[uæst.] lii. A[rt.] 2. [RESPON. dicendum, quod dupliciter dicitur esse aliquid alicubi. Uno modo per suum effectum, et hoc modo Christus in quemlibet infernorum descendit, aliter tamen et aliter. Nam in infernum damnatorum habuit hunc effectum, quia descendens ad inferos eos de sua incredulitate et malitia confutavit, illis vero qui detinebantur in purgatorio, spem gloriæ consequendæ dedit. Sanctis autem patribus qui pro solo peccato originali detinebantur in inferno, lumen æternæ gloriæ infudit. Alio modo dicitur aliquid esse] per suam essentiam, [et hoc modo anima Christi descendit solum ad locum inferni in quo justi detinebantur, ut quos Ipse per gratiam interius visitabat secundum divinitatem eos etiam secundum animam visitaret et loco.]

[t] Durand. in III. [Sentent.] D[istinct.] xxii. Q[uæst.] 3. [Alio modo potest dici anima separata descendere ad infernum, secundum effectum. Et hoc modo potest dici anima Christi descendisse ad infernum propter duplicem effectum quem habuit in illis qui erant in inferno: unus effectus fuit exhibitio visionis divinæ qua carebant ad quem se habuit passio Christi per modum meriti . . . Alius effectus fuit secundum quosdam ad quem se habuit anima Christi directe per modum agentis, sc. illuminare animas patrum quæ erant in limbo de ministeriis quæ cadunt sub revelatione.—fol. cclxxxi.]

[u] Bellarm. lib. iv. de Christo [i. e. de Christi anima,] cap. 16. [Op., tom. i. col. 466. Primum dubium: *ad quæ loca inferni descenderit.* B. Thomas (Tert. par. 1. Quæst. lii. art. 2.) docet Christum per realem præsentiam solum descendisse ad limbum patrum, per effectum autem ad omnia loca inferni . . . At probabile est profecto, Christi animam ad omnia loca inferni descendisse. Primo probatur per locum illum Ecclus. (sc. xxiv. 45. in Vulg.) *Penetrabo omnes*, &c. Nam quod B. Thomas respondet, hoc intelligi de penetratione per effectum, non videtur satisfacere. Nam hoc modo possimus cum Durando dicere, ad nullum locum Christum descendisse aliter quam per effectum, cum Scriptura non distinguat loca. Secundo quia Augustin. in Epist. xcix. dicit, Eum descendisse ad loca inferni, ubi erant dolores et tormenta, &c.]

[x] Bellarmin. Recog. p. 11. [Præf. ad Op., tom. i. col. 4.—De Christo, lib. iv. cap. 16, § *At probabile*, &c. Re melius considerata, sequendam esse existimo sententiam S. Thomæ, quæ est et aliorum Scholasticorum (in III. Sentent. Distinct. xxii.), præsertim cum testimonium Ecclesiastici, et sanctorum patrum, qui videntur affirmare Christum descendisse ad loca omnia inferni, verificari possint, etiamsi dicamus Christi animam non descendisse ultra limbum sanctorum patrum, nam ex eo loco potuit apparere omnibus spiritibus qui in variis inferni locis degebant, et alios terrere, alios consolari, prout expedire Ipsi videbatur.]

[y] Sequuntur enim [sc. Scholastici] Tho. [Aquin. in] part. Tert. l. 3. Q[uæst.] lii. A[rt.] 2. [ubi sup. note [s].]

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Church agreed in. And yet if any in the Church of England should not be thoroughly resolved in the sense of this article, is it not as lawful for them to say, "I conceive thus or thus of it; yet if any other way of His descent be found truer than this, I deny it not, but as yet I know no other," as it was for Durand[z] to say it, and yet not impeach the foundation of the faith?

[A.C. p. 47.] ℱ. The 𝔅. said, that M. Rogers was but a private man. "But," said I, "if M. Rogers,* writing as he did by public authority, be accounted only a private man, . . ."

* [The reason why the Jesuit did specially urge M. Rogers' book, was for that it was both set out by public authority, and beareth the title, "Of the Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England." Our private authors are not allowed, for aught I know, in such a like sort, to take upon them to express our Catholic doctrine in any matter subject to question.—A. C. marg. note to p. 47.]

§ 13. 𝔅. I.—I said truth, when I said M. Rogers was a private man. And, I take it, you will not allow every speech of every man, though allowed by authority to have his books printed, to be the doctrine of the Church of Rome. This[a] hath been oft complained of on both sides: the imposing particular men's assertions upon the Church; yet I see you mean not to leave it. And surely, as controversies are now handled by some of your party at this day, I may not say it is the sense of the article in hand, but I have long thought it a kind of descent into hell, to be conversant in them. I would the authors would take heed in time, and not seek to blind the people, or cast a mist before evident truth, lest it cause a final descent to that place of torment.

[z] [Quamvis autem istud probabiliter sit dictum, et satis videatur salvare articulum et dictum scripturæ, tamen quia virtus divina non comprehenditur a ratione humana, ideo] non est pertinaciter asserendum, quin anima Christi per alium modum nobis ignotum potuerit descendere ad infernum: nec nos negamus alium modum esse forsitan veriorem; sed fatemur nos illum ignorare.—Durand. in III. Sent. Distinct. xxii. Quæst. 3. No. 9. [fol. cclxxxii.]

[a] And this was an ancient fault too, for S. Augustine checks at it in his time. Noli [ergo, frater, contra divina tam multa, tam clara, tam indubitata testimonia,] colligere [velle] calumnias ex episcoporum scriptis, sive [nostrorum, sicut] Hilarii; sive [antequam pars Donati separaretur, ipsius unitatis, sicut] Cypriani et Agrippini: prime, quia hoc genus literarum ab auctoritate canonis distinguendum est. Non enim sic leguntur tanquam ita ex iis testimonium proferatur, ut contra sentire non liceat, sicubi forte aliter sentirent, quam veritas postulat.—S. Augustin. Ep. xlviii. [ad Vincentium, Ep. xciii. cap. x. Op., tom. ii. col. 245. E. ed. Benedict.] And yet these were far greater men in their generations than M. Rogers was.

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But since you will hold this course, Stapleton was of greater note with you than M. Rogers's "Exposition of Notes upon the Articles of the Church of England" is with us. And as he, so his Relection. And is it the doctrine of the Church of Rome which Stapleton affirms,[b] "The Scripture is silent that Christ descended into hell, and that there is a Catholic and an Apostolic Church?" If it be, then what will become of the Pope's supremacy over the whole Church? Shall he have his power over the Catholic Church given him expressly in Scripture—in the keys, to enter—and in *pasce,* to feed when he is in—and when he had fed, to confirm; and in all these not to err and fail in his ministration: and is the Catholic Church, in and over which he is to do all these great things, quite left out of the Scripture? Belike the Holy Ghost was careful to give him his power; yes, in any case; but left the assigning of his great cure, the Catholic Church, to tradition. And it were well for him, if he could so prescribe for what he now claims.

Matt. xvi. 19. John xxi. 15, 16. Luke xxii. 32.

II.—But what if, after all this, M. Rogers there says no such thing? As in truth he doth not. His words are: "All Christians acknowledge, He descended; but in the interpretation of the article, there is not that consent that were to be wished."[c] What is this to the Church of England, more than others? And again, "Till we know the native and undoubted sense of this article,"[d] is M. Rogers' "we" the Church of England—or rather his and some others' judgment in the Church of England?

III.—Now here A. C. will have somewhat again to say, though, God knows, it is to little purpose. It is, "that the Jesuit urged M. Rogers' book, because it was set out by public authority, and because the book bears the title of 'The Catholic

A. C. p. 47.

[b] Stapl. Cont. v. Q[uæst.] 5. A[rt.] 1. [ubi sup. p. 52. note °.]

[c] Rogers in Art. Eccles. Angl. art. 3. [Also that Christ went down into hell, all sound Christians both in former days (*He descended into hell*, Apost. Sym.) and now living (Helvet. Confess. ii. c. 11, &c., Basil. art. 4. Augsburg. art. 3, &c.,) do acknowledge; howbeit in the interpretation of the Article, there is not that consent as were to be wished: some holding that Christ descended into hell, 1. as God only... 2. as man only... 3. as God and man in one person..—A Treatise upon sundry Matters contained in the XXXIX. Articles of Religion which are professed in the Church of England. Long since written and published by Thomas Rogers, pp. 15, 16. ed. London, 1639.]

[d] Ibid. [But till we know the native and undoubted sense of this article and mystery of religion, persist we adversaries unto them which say, that Christ descended not into hell at all, &c.—p. 17.]

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Doctrine of the Church of England.'"[e] A. C. may undoubtedly urge M. Rogers, if he please; but he ought not to say that his opinion is the doctrine of the Church of England, for neither of the reasons by him expressed. First, not because "his book was publicly allowed." For many books among them, as well as among us, have been printed by public authority, as containing nothing in them contrary to faith and good manners, and yet containing many things in them of opinion only, or private judgment, which yet is far from the avowed positive doctrine of the Church, the Church having as yet determined neither way by open declaration upon the words or things controverted. And this is more frequent among their schoolmen than among any of our controversers, as is well known. Nor, secondly, "because his book bears the title of 'The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England.'" For suppose the worst, and say M. Rogers thought a little too well of his own pains, and gave his book too high a title: is his private judgment therefore to be accounted the Catholic doctrine of the Church of England? Surely no: no more than I should say, every thing said by Thomas,[f] or Bonaventure[g] is angelical or seraphical doctrine, because one of these is styled in the Church of Rome "seraphical," and the other, "angelical doctor." And yet their works are printed "by public authority," and that title given them.

[e] [The first form of Rogers' work was a tabular analysis, without any exposition of the Articles, published in two parts, under the title: The English Creede, consenting with the true auncient Catholique and Apostolique Church in al the points and articles of Religion which euerie Christian is to knowe and beleeue that would be saued. The first parte, in most loyal maner, to the glorie of God, credit of our Church, displaieng of al hæresies and errors both olde and newe contrarie to the faith, subscribed vnto by Thomas Rogers. *Allowed by auctho-ritie.* Imprinted by Iohn Windet, &c. London, 1585. The second part, ibid. 1587. The preface is dated 6 February 1585; and the occasion of the work is stated to be "the great subscription urged from the pastors and ministers of the word and sacraments, in a great part of this and the last year. The causes of the same being either secret, I cannot, or not convenient to be published, I may not set down." The other and enlarged editions of the work abandon the tabular form, add a commentary and exposition, adopt the title given in the preceding note, and for a running head use the words, "The Catholick Doctrine believed and professed in the Church of England." But it must be remarked, that the imprint, "allowed by auctoritie," on which A. C. remarks, occurs only in the first edition, and not in those edition s which, consisting of what Laud calls "Exposition of Notes," contain the passage commenting on the sense of our Lord's descent into hell.]

[f] Angelici D[octoris] S[ancti] Tho. Summa, [in Tit.]

[g] Celebratissimi Patris Dom. Bonaventuræ Doctoris Seraphici in III. Sent. Disputata, [in Tit.]

IV.—"Yea, but our private authors," saith A. C. "are not allowed, for aught I know, in such a like sort to express our Catholic doctrine in any matter subject to question." Here are two limitations, which will go far to bring A. C. off, whatsoever I shall say against him. For first, let me instance in any private man, that takes as much upon him as M. Rogers doth; he will say, He knew it not; his assertion here being no other, than "for aught he knows." Secondly, If he be unwilling to acknowledge so much, yet he will answer, It is not just in such a like sort as M. Rogers doth it; that is, perhaps, it is not the very title of his book. But well then: Is there never a private man allowed in the Church of Rome to express your Catholic doctrine in any matter subject to question? What! not in any matter? Were not Vega and Soto two private men? Is it not a matter subject to question—to great question in these days, whether a man may be certain of his salvation, *certitudine fidei*, "by the certainty of faith?" Doth not Bellarmine[h] make it a controversy? And is it not a part of your Catholic faith, if it be determined in the Council of Trent?[i] And yet these two great friars of their time, Dominicus Soto and Andreas Vega,[k] were of contrary opinions; and both of them challenged the decree of the Council—and so conse-

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A. C. p. 47.

[h] Bellarm. Lib. iii. de Justificat. cap. 1, 14. [Op., tom. iv. col. 945, et sqq.—Errores præcipui ex ea forma justificationis, quam Lutherani constituunt, quatuor esse videntur .... Colligunt secundo. Debere homines certo credere, non tantum se esse justos, sed etiam electos, ac prædestinatos. Quem errorem audacter docent Calvinistæ, timidius autem Lutherani ..... Status quæstionis hic erit: Utrum debeat aut possit aliquis, sine speciali revelatione certus esse certitudine fidei divinæ, cui nullo modo potest subesse falsum, sibi remissa esse peccata.]

[i] Sed concilii Tridentini, cui Catholici omnes ingenia sua atque judicia sponte subjiciunt, [decretum audiamus, *Sicut nemo pius*, &c.]—Bellarmin. Lib. iii. de Justific. cap. 3. [Op., tom. iv. col. 950.]

[k] Hist. Concil. Trident. Lib. ii. p. 245. edit. Lat. Leidæ, 1622. [At F. Dominicus Soto, omnibus adversus, dicebat ... duas esse solummodo fidei acceptiones; alteram, veritatem et realitatem asseverantis, sive promittentis; alteram, assensum auscultantis. Priorem esse in Deo; alteram solam esse nostram; de que hac intelligenda Scripturæ loca, quæ de fide nostra loquuntur. Fidem vero pro fiducia et confidentia accipere, non modo improprium esse sed abusivum, neque D. Paulo usitatum. Fiduciam a spe nihil aut parum differre: eoque haud dubium esse Lutheri errorem, imo hæresin, asserentis, Fidem justificantem esse fiduciam et certitudinem in mente fidelis de remissis sibi propter Christum peccatis .... Tertiam opinionem in medium attulit Andreas Vega, non esse temeritatem, multoque minus fidem certam, sed sine peccato haberi posse persuasionem conjecturalem.—(Paul. Sarpi,) Histor. Concil. Trident. lib. ii. p. 153. ed. Aug. Trinobant. 1620.]

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quently your Catholic faith to be as each of them concluded; and both of them wrote books to maintain their opinions, and both of their books were published "by authority." And therefore I think it is allowed in the Church of Rome, to private men, to express your Catholic doctrine, and in a matter subject to question. And therefore also, if another man in the Church of England should be of a contrary opinion to M. Rogers, and declare it under the title of "The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England," this were no more than Soto and Vega did in the Church of Rome. And

A.C. p. 47. I, for my part, cannot but wonder A. C. should not know it. For he says, that "for aught he knows," private men are not allowed so to express their Catholic doctrine. And in the same question, both Catharinus and Bellarmine[1] take on them to express your Catholic faith: the one differing from the other almost as much as Soto and Vega, and perhaps in some respects more.

[A.C.p 47.] **F.** But if M. Rogers . . . be . . . only a private man, in what book may we find the Protestants' public doctrine?* The **B.** answered, that to the book of Articles † they were all sworn; . . .

* [By "Protestants' public doctrine" in this place, the Jesuit meant, as he understood the **B.** to mean, only of English Protestants; for the words going before making mention only of the English Church, do limit the general word "Protestants" to this limited sense.—A. C. marg. note to p. 47.]

† [This answer hath reference to that sense which the question had of "only English Protestants," and not of all English Protestants, but of such as the **B.** and others are, who by office are teachers of Protestant doctrine, who do either swear to the Book of Articles, or by subscribing oblige themselves to teach that, and no contrary doctrine. But if the Chaplain, to discredit the Relation, will needs enforce a larger extent of the sense, contrary to the meaning of him that made the answer, and him that asked the question, who understood one another in that sense which I have declared; he must know, that although none do swear or subscribe besides the English clergy to the Book of Articles, yet all who will be accounted members of, or to have communion with, one and the same English Protestant Church, are bound either to hold all those articles, or at least not to hold contrary to any one of them, in regard the English Protestant Church doth exclude every one from their Church by excommunication *ipso facto*, as appeareth in their Book of Canons. "Can. 5. . . . Who shall hold anything contrary to any part of the said articles." So as, in this

[1] [Tertia sententia est Ambrosii Catharini qui solum in primo dicto, (sc. posse fideles eam notitiam habere de sua gratia, ut certa fide statuant sibi remissa esse peccata,) cum hæreticis communicat . . . Vide assertiones ejus et Apologiam contra Dominicum a Soto. His erroribus contraria est sententia communis fere omnibus theologis, &c.]—Bellarmin. Lib. iii. de Justif. cap. 3. [Op., tom. iv. col. 949.]

respect, I do not see why any one who pretendeth to be of one and the same Protestant communion with the Church of England, can be said not to be obliged to hold one and the same doctrine which is in the book of Articles, not only as the Chaplain saith, "in chiefest doctrines," which like a cheverell point may be enlarged to more by those who agree in more, and straitened to fewer by those who agree in fewer points, but absolutely in all points, and not to hold contrary to any one, or any the least part of any one of them. Such a shrew, as it seems, is the Church of England become, no less than the Chaplain saith the Church of Rome to have been, in denying her blessing, and denouncing anathema against all that dissent, although most peaceably, in some particulars, remote enough from the foundation, in the judgment of the poorer sort, both of foreign and home-bred Protestants.—A. C. marg. note to p. 47.]

[In the above note, the word "cheverell," now disused, signifies a soft pliable leather, kid-skin, which admits of considerable stretching; from the French *chevreau*.]

SECTION XIV.

§ 14. B. I.—What! was I so ignorant to say, "The Articles of the Church of England were the public doctrine of all the Protestants;" or, "That all Protestants were sworn to the Articles of England," as this speech seems to imply? Sure I was not. Was not the immediate speech before, of the Church of England? And how comes the subject of the speech to be varied in the next lines? Nor yet speak I this, as if other Protestants did not agree with the Church of England in the chiefest doctrines, and in the main exceptions which they jointly take against the Roman Church, as appears by their several Confessions. But if A. C. will say, as he doth, "That because there was speech before of the Church of England, the Jesuit understood me in a limited sense, and meant only the Protestants of the English Church,"—be it so; there is no great harm done[m] but this, that the Jesuit offers to enclose me too much. For I did not say, that the Book of Articles only was the continent of the Church of England's public doctrine. She is not so narrow, nor hath she purpose to exclude anything which she acknowledges hers, nor doth she wittingly permit any crossing of her public declarations; yet she is not such a shrew to her children as to deny her blessing, or denounce an anathema against them, if some peaceably dissent in some particulars remoter from the foundation, as your own Schoolmen differ. And if the Church of Rome, since she grew to her greatness, had not been so fierce in this course, and too particular in determining too many things, and

A. C. p. 47.

[m] And therefore A. C. needs not make such a noise about it, as he doth, p. 48.

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making them matters of necessary belief, which had gone for many hundreds of years before, only for things of pious opinion, Christendom, I persuade myself, had been in happier peace at this day, than, I doubt, we shall ever live to see it.

A. C. p. 48.

II.—Well, but A. C. will prove "the Church of England a shrew, and such a shrew. For in her Book[n] of Canons, she excommunicates every man, who shall hold anything contrary to any part of the said Articles." So A. C. But surely these are not the very words of the Canon, nor perhaps the sense. Not the words; for they are: "Whosoever shall affirm that the Articles are in any part superstitious, or erroneous," &c. And perhaps not the sense. For it is one thing for a man to hold an opinion privately within himself; and another thing boldly and publicly to affirm it. And again, it is one thing to hold contrary to some part of an article, which perhaps may be but in the manner of expression; and another thing positively to affirm, that the articles in any part of them are superstitious and erroneous. But this is not the main of the business; for though the Church of England denounce excommunication, as is before[o] expressed, yet she comes far short of the Church of Rome's severity, whose anathemas are not only for thirty-nine articles, but for very many more,[p] above one hundred in matter[1] of doctrine, and that in many points as far remote from the foundation; though, to the far greater rack of men's consciences, they must be all made fundamental, if that Church have once determined them: whereas the Church of England never declared, that every one of her articles are fundamental in the faith. For it is one thing to say, No one of them is superstitious or erroneous; and quite another to say, Every one of them is fundamental, and that in every part of it, to all men's belief. Besides, the Church of England prescribes only to her own children, and by those articles provides but for her own peaceable consent in those doctrines of truth. But the Church of Rome severely imposes her doctrine upon the whole world, under pain of damnation.

[1] [matters . . . Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

A. C. p. 45.

[n] [Canon. v.] [o] Canon. v. [p] Concil. Trident.

F. . . . and that[1] the Scriptures only,* not any unwritten tradition, was the foundation of their faith. SECTION XV. [A.C.p.48.]

[1] [that . . . *caret* A. C.]

* [The Chaplain saith, "The Church of England grounded her positive articles upon Scripture," &c. True: if themselves in their own cause may be admitted for competent judges; in which sort some other novelist will say, that he grounded his positive articles upon Scriptures; and his negative refute not only our Catholic, but also Protestant doctrines. As for example: Baptizing of Infants, upon this negative ground, is not expressly, at least (not) evidently, affirmed in Scriptures, nor directly, at least not demonstratively, concluded out of it. In which case I would gladly know, what the Chaplain would answer to defend this doctrine to be a point of faith, necessary for the salvation of poor infants, *necessitate medii*, as all Catholic divines hold? I answer with S. Austin:—(S. Aug. l. i. contra Cresc. c. 31.) *Scripturarum a nobis tenetur veritas, cum id facimus quod universæ placet ecclesiæ, quam earundem scripturarum commendat auctoritas:* "We hold the verity of Scriptures, when we do that which pleaseth the whole Church, which the authority of the same Scriptures doth commend." But what answer the Chaplain can make, I cannot easily guess, unless with us he acknowledge authority of Church-tradition to be necessary in this case.—A. C. marg. note to p. 48.]

B. I.—The Church of England grounded her positive articles upon Scripture; and her negative do refute there, where the thing affirmed by you is not affirmed by Scripture, nor directly to be concluded out of it. And here, not the Church of England only, but all Protestants, agree most truly and most strongly in this, "That the Scripture is sufficient to salvation, and contains in it all things necessary to it." The Fathers[q] are plain, the Schoolmen[r] not § 15.

[q] S. Basil. de vera et pia Fide. Manifesta defectio Fidei est, importare quicquam eorum quæ scripta non sunt. [φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων.—S. Basil. de Fide, cap. i. Op., tom. ii. p. 224. D. ed. Benedict.]—S. Hilar. Lib. ii.[cap. 8.]ad Const. Aug. [In quantum ego tunc beatæ religiosæque voluntatis vere te, domine Constanti Imperator, admiror] fidem tantum secundum ea quæ scripta sunt desiderantem, et [merito plane ad illa ipsa unigeniti Dei eloquia festinans, ut imperatoriæ sollicitudinis capax pectus etiam divinorum dictorum conscientia plenum sit.] Hoc qui repudiat Antichristus est: et qui simulat, anathema est.—[Op., col. 1229. F. ed. Benedict.] — S. Aug. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. ii. cap. 9. [Op., tom. iii. col. 24. D. ed. Benedict.] In iis [enim] quæ aperte in Scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem, moresque vivendi, [spem scilicet atque caritatem, de quibus tractavimus.]—And to this place Bellarmine, lib. iv. de Verbo Dei non scripto, c. 11. [Op., tom. i. col. 206.] saith, that S. Augustine speaks, de illis dogmatibus quæ necessaria sunt omnibus simpliciter, [qualia sunt quæ habentur in Symbolo Apostolico, et in decalogo,] "of those points of faith, which are necessary simply for all men." So far then he grants the question. And that you may know, it fell not from him on the sudden, he had said as much before, in the beginning of the same chapter, [Primum est quædam in doctrina Christiana tam fidei quam morum, esse simpliciter omnibus necessaria ad salutem, qualis est notitia articulorum Symboli Apostolici, item cognitio decem præceptorum, et nonnullorum sacramentorum.—Ibid. col. 201.] and here he confirms it again.

[r] Scotus Prolog. in Sentent. Q[uæst.] ii. [c. 14. Op., tom. v. p. 63. Habito igitur contra hæreticos, quod doctrina canonis est vera, videndum est

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strangers in it. And have not we reason then to account it, as it is, the foundation of our faith? And Stapleton[s] himself, though an angry opposite, confesses, "that the Scripture is in some sort the foundation of faith, that is, in the nature of testimony, and in the matter or thing to be believed." And if the Scripture be the foundation to which we are to go for witness, if there be doubt about the faith, and in which we are to find the thing that is to be believed as necessary in the faith, we never did, nor never will refute any tradition that is universal and apostolic, for the better exposition of the Scripture; nor any definition of the Church, in which she goes to the Scripture for what she teaches, and thrusts nothing as fundamental in the faith upon the world, but what the Scripture fundamentally makes *materiam credendorum*, "the substance of that which is so to be believed," whether immediately and expressly in words, or more remotely, till a clear and full deduction draw it out.[1]

[1][remotely, where a clear and full deduction draws it out. . . . Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

A. C. p. 48.

II.—Against the beginning of this paragraph, A. C. excepts. And first he says: "It is true, that the Church of England grounded her positive articles upon Scripture; that is, it is true, if themselves may be competent judges in their own cause." But this, by the leave of A. C. is true, without making ourselves judges in our own cause. For "that all the positive articles of the present Church of England are grounded upon Scripture," we are content to be judged by the joint and constant belief of the Fathers, which lived within the first four or five hundred years after Christ,

secundo, an sit necessaria, et sufficiens viatori ad consequendum finem suum . . . . Ista ergo conferendo ad tres rationes quibus innititur solutio quæstionis præcedentis patet quod sacra] Scriptura sufficienter continet doctrinam necessariam viatori. — Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 10. AD PRIMUM [ergo dicendum, quod] in doctrina Christi et Apostolorum, veritas fidei est sufficienter explicata, [sed quia perversi homines apostolicam doctrinam, et cæteras doctrinas et Scripturas pervertunt ad sui ipsorum perditionem sicut dictum 2 Pet. (iii. 16.) ideo necessaria fuit temporibus præcedentibus explicatio fidei contra insurgentes errores.] And he speaks there of the written word.

[s] Scripturam [autem] fundamentum et columnam fidei fatemur in suo genere esse, sc. in genere testimoniorum, et in materia credendorum; [quo sensu unus primarius articulus est fundamentum multorum, ut de Petri confessione et fide incarnati Filii Dei scripsit Hilarius de Trinit. lib. vi. Sed non est solum fundamentum, Ecclesia enim firmamentum et columna alia est. 1 Tim. iii.] Relect. Con. iv. Quæst. i. Art. 3. in fine. [Op., tom. i. p. 774. ubi sup. p. 32. note [m].]

when the Church was at the best; and by the Councils held within those times; and to submit to them in all those points of doctrine. Therefore, we desire not to be judges in our own cause. And if any whom A. C. calls "a novelist" can truly say and maintain this, he will quickly prove himself no novelist. And for the negative articles, they refute, where the thing affirmed by you is either not affirmed in Scripture, or not directly to be concluded out of it. Upon this negative ground, A. C. infers again, "That the baptism of infants is not expressly, at least not evidently, affirmed in Scripture, nor directly, at least not demonstratively, concluded out of it." In which case, he "professes, he would gladly know, what can be answered to defend this doctrine to be a point of faith necessary for the salvation of infants." And, in conclusion, "professes he cannot easily guess what answer can be made, unless we will acknowledge authority of Church tradition necessary in this case."

A. C. p. 49.

III.—And truly, since A. C. is so desirous of an answer, I will give it freely. And first in the general. I am no way satisfied with A. C.'s addition—"not expressly, at least not evidently." What means he? If he speak of the letter of the Scripture, then, whatsoever is expressly, is evidently, in the Scripture; and so his addition is vain. If he speak of the meaning of the Scripture, then his addition is cunning; for many things are expressly in Scripture, which yet in their meaning are not evidently there. And whatever he mean, my words are, "That our negative articles refute that which is not affirmed in Scripture," without any addition of "expressly" or "evidently;" and he should have taken my words as I used them. I like nor change nor addition; nor am I bound to either of A. C.'s making.—And I am as little satisfied with his next addition—"nor directly, at least not demonstratively, concluded out of it." For are there not many things in good logic concluded directly, which yet are not concluded demonstratively? Surely there are. For to be directly or indirectly concluded, flows from the mood or form of the syllogism; to be demonstratively concluded, flows from the matter or nature of the propositions. If the propositions be prime and necessary truths, the syllogism is demonstrative and scientifical, because the propositions are

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such. If the propositions be probable only, though the syllogism be made in the clearest mood, yet is the conclusion no more. The inference or consequence, indeed, is clear and necessary; but the consequent is but probable, or topical, as the propositions were. Now, my words were only for a direct conclusion, and no more: though in this case I might give A. C. his caution. For Scripture here is the thing spoken of. And Scripture being a principle, and every text of Scripture confessedly a principle among all Christians, whereof no man desires[t] any farther proof, I would fain know, why that which is plainly and apparently, that is, by direct consequence, proved out of Scripture, is not demonstratively or scientifically proved—if at least he think there can be any demonstration in divinity: and if there can be none, why did he add "demonstratively?"

A. C. p. 49.

IV.—Next, in particular: I answer to the instance which A. C. makes concerning the baptism of infants, That it may be concluded directly (and let A. C. judge, whether not demonstratively) out of Scripture, both that infants ought to be baptized, and that baptism is necessary to their salvation. And first, That baptism is necessary to the salvation of infants, (in the ordinary way of the Church, without binding God to the use and means of that sacrament, to which He hath bound us,)[u] is express in S. John iii.: "Except a man be born

[t] [Illud tandem intelligamus oportet] habitum fidei in ordine ad Theologiæ disciplinam se habere, ut habitus intellectus se habet ad humanas scientias [et facultates. Quemadmodum itaque intellectus noster in discursu disciplinarum naturalium, primo cum principiis congreditur, deinde ad reliqua cognoscenda proficiscitur, quæ videlicet a principiis positis derivantur, sic in cognitione supernaturalium rerum quædam sunt principia supernaturalia, ex quorum fide fidelis animus ad cætera investiganda procedit.]—M[elchior] Canus, de loc[is Theologicis,] lib. ii. cap. 8. [cap. 56. ed. Lovan. 1569.]

[u] S. Augustine expressly of the Baptism of infants. [Jam nunc scrutemur diligentius, quantum adjuvat Dominus, etiam ipsum Evangelii capitulum, ubi ait, Nisi quis renatus, &c. Qua isti (sc. Pelagiani) sententia nisi moverentur, omnino parvulos nec baptizandos esse censerentur. Sed quia non ait, inquiunt isti, Nisi quis renatus, &c., non habebit salutem, vel vitam æternam, tantummodo autem dixit, non intrabit in regnum Dei; ad hoc parvuli baptizandi sunt, ut sint etiam cum Christo in regno Dei, ubi non erunt si baptizati non fuerint: quamvis et sine baptismo si parvuli moriantur, salutem vitamque æternam habituri sint, quoniam nullo peccati vinculo obstricti sunt. Hæc dicentes, primo nunquam explicant isti, qua justitia nullum peccatum habens imago Dei separetur a regno Dei. Deinde videamus utrum Dominus Jesus, unus et solus magister bonus, in hac ipsa evangelica lectione non significaverit et ostenderit non nisi per remissionem peccatorum fieri, ut ad regnum Dei perveniant baptizati: quamvis recte intelligentibus sufficere debuerit, quod

again of water, and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." So, no baptism, no entrance. Nor can infants creep in any other ordinary way. And this is the

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dictum est, Nisi quis natus fuerit denuo, &c. et, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, &c.]—De peccatorum meritis et remissione, lib. i. cap. 30. [Op., tom. x. col. 32. D.]—and, [Quisquis vero adhuc movetur, quare baptizentur qui jam de baptizatis nascuntur, hoc breviter accipiat. Sicut generatio carnis peccati per unum Adam ad condemnationem trahit omnes qui eo modo generantur, sic generatio spiritus gratiæ per unum Jesum Christum ad justificationem vitæ æternæ ducit omnes qui eo modo prædestinati regenerantur. Sacramentum autem baptismi profecto sacramentum regenerationis est. Quocirca sicut homo, qui non vixerit, mori non potest, et qui mortuus non fuerit, resurgere non potest, ita qui natus non fuerit, renasci non potest. Ex quo conficitur, neminem in suo parente renasci potuisse non natum. Oportet autem, ut si natus fuerit, renascatur: quia, Nisi quis natus fuerit denuo, &c. Oportet igitur ut sacramento regenerationis, ne sine illo male de hac vita exeat, etiam parvulus imbuatur: quod non fit nisi in remissionem peccatorum.—ibid.] lib. ii. cap. 27. [ubi sup. col. 63. C.]—and, [Sed ut omittamus et contemnamus ea, quæ brevi tempore patiuntur, nec transacta revocantur, numquid similiter contemnere possumus, quod Per unum hominem mors, &c.? Per hanc enim apostolicam, divinam, claramque sententiam, satis evidenter elucet, neminem ire in mortem nisi per Adam; neminem ire in vitam æternam nisi per Christum . . . Item quisquis dixerit, quod in Christo vivificabuntur etiam parvuli, qui sine sacramenti baptismi participatione de vita exeunt, hic profecto et contra apostolicam prædicationem venit, et totam condemnat Ecclesiam, ubi propterea cum baptizandis parvulis festinatur et curritur, quia sine dubio creditur aliter eos in Christo vivificari omnino non posse.] —Lib. i. [ad Hieronym. seu Ep. clxvi. (al. xxviii.)] de origine animæ hominis, [cap. vii. 21. Op., tom. ii. par. 2. col. 591. G.]—Nay, they of the Roman party, which urge the baptism of infants as a matter of faith, and yet not to be concluded out of Scripture, when they are not in eager pursuit of this controversy, but look upon truth with a more indifferent eye, confess as much (even the learnedest of them) as we ask: Advertendum autem Salvatorem, dum dicit, Nisi quis renatus, &c. necessitatem imponere omnibus, ac proinde [etiam] parvulos debere renasci ex aqua et Spiritu.—[Corn.] Iansen[ii Comment.] in [Concord.] Evang. cap. xx. [p. 157. ed. Lovan. 1571.] So here is baptism necessary for infants, and that necessity imposed by our Saviour, and not by the Church only.—Hæretici [qui cum duo tantum faciant sacramenta, Baptismum et Eucharistiam, doceantque etiam baptizandos infantes, nec ullo] alio quam hoc Scripturæ testimonio probare possint, infantes esse baptizandos, [ne concedere cogentur, &c.]—Mald[onat.] in S. Joann. iii. 5. So Maldonatus confesses that the Heretics (we know whom he means) can prove the baptism of infants by no testimony of Scripture but this: which speech implies, That by this testimony of Scripture it is and can be proved, and therefore not by Church tradition only.—And I would fain know, why Bellarmine, de Baptismo, lib. i. cap. 8. sect. 5. [Op., tom. iii. col. 269. D. Porro Catholica Ecclesia semper docuit infantes baptizandos . . . . Probatur hæc veritas tribus argumentorum generibus. Primum, Sumitur a scripturis: habemus autem in scripturis tria argumenta. Primum sumitur a figura Testamenti Veteris . . . . . Secundum argumentum colligitur ex duobus locis Evangelii simul junctis, Joann. iii. 5. Nisi quis renatus, &c. . . . . At quod parvuli non pereant Dominus docet, Mat. xix. 14. Mar. x. 14. et Luc. xviii. 16. Sinite parvulos, &c. . . . . Tertium argumentum colligitur ex locis illis, ubi dicuntur baptizatæ integræ familiæ, ut Actor. xvi. 15 dicitur Lydia baptizata, et domus ejus:] should bring three arguments out of Scripture to prove the baptism of infants, (Habemus in scripturis tria argumenta, &c.) if baptism cannot be proved at all out of Scripture, but only by the tradition of the Church.—And yet, this is not Bellarmine's way alone, but Suarez's in Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Part. Tert. Q[uæst.] lxviii.

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received opinion of all the ancient Church of Christ.[x] And secondly, That infants ought to be baptized, is, first, plain by evident and direct consequence out of Scripture. For if there be no salvation for infants in the ordinary way of the

[Art. 10.] Disput. xxv. Sect. i. § 2. [Comment. ac Disput. in Tert. Part. Div. Thom. tom. iii. p. 255. col. ii. ed. Mogunt. 1619. Dico primo, homines post nativitatem ex utero materno statim sunt capaces baptismi, etiamsi rationis usum non habeant. Conclusio est de fide, quæ licet non sit in Sacra Scriptura expressa,] possunt [tamen] ex illa varia argumenta sumi ad eam confirmandam, [Actor. enim xvi. legimus, &c.....] Nec dissimile [argumentum sumitur ex ipsa institutione baptismi, et ex illis verbis Joann. iii. &c.]—And Gregorius de Valentia, de Suscipientibus Baptismum, [Comment. Theolog. in Tert. Part. Div. Thom. Quæst. lxviii. Art. 10. Disput. iv. Quæst. iii. Punct. 1. Op., tom. iv. col. 727. C. ed. Paris. 1609. Infantes secundum fidem Catholicam baptizari posse ..... probatur primo ex Scriptura, &c.]—And the Pope himself, Innocent III. [Arelatensi Archiepiscopo] Decretal. lib. iii. Tit. 42. cap. Majores. [Asserunt hæretici parvulis inutiliter baptisma conferri .... Ad id autem taliter respondemus quod baptisma circumcisioni successit .... ita nunc indistincte vox intonat evangelica, Nisi quis renatus, &c.]—And they all jump with S. Ambros. lib. x. Epist. 84. ad Demetriad. Virg. who expressly affirms it, Pædobaptismum esse constitutionem Salvatoris. And proves it out of S. John iii. 5. [Hinc Adæ peccatum exemplo posteris asserebatur nocuisse non transitum ... hinc evacuatio baptismatis parvulorum, qui sola adoptione donati, nullo autem reatu dicerentur absolvi .... Nec frustra scriptum est: Nemo mundus a sorde, nec infans, cujus unius diei vita est super terram. Et quis poterit facere mundum de immundo conceptum semine, nonne Tu qui solus es? Propter quod sicut nunc in ecclesia manet constitutio Salvatoris, dicentis: Nisi quis renatus, &c. —(Pseudo-) S. Ambrosii, lib. x. Epist. 84. ut sup. Op., tom. iii. p. 265. B. ed. (Erasm.) Basil. 1538. This epistle, ad Demetriadem, is rejected by the Benedictine editors. See Appendix to Op., tom. ii. col. 477, 478. ed. Benedict. It has been variously attributed to S. Leo Magn. by his editor Quesnel; and to S. Prosper of Aquitaine by his editor Antelmn. See S. Prosp. Aquit. Op., p. 930. ed. Paris. 1711.]

[x] Infantes reos esse originalis peccati, et ideo baptizandos esse, antiquam fidei regulam vocat S. Aug. ser. viii. cap. 8. de verb. Apost. [sc. Universam massam generis humani in homine primo venenator ille percussit; nemo ad secundum transit a primo, nisi per baptismatis sacramentum. In parvulis natis et nondum baptizatis agnoscatur Adam .... ex eo quod in te corrumpitur generas parvulum .... quare novis disputationibus antiquam fidei regulam frangere conaris?—Serm. clxxiv. de verbis Apost. 1 Tim. i. Humanus sermo et omni acceptione, &c. Op., tom. v. col. 834. F.]—Et, Nemo vobis susurret doctrinas alienas. Hoc Ecclesia semper habuit, semper tenuit, hoc a majorum fide percepit: [hoc usque in finem perseveranter custodit .... Si quando portantur infantes, dicuntur omnino nullum propaginis habere peccatum, et veniunt ad Christum; quare non eis dicitur in Ecclesia qui eos apportant: Auferte hinc innocentes istos?] — S. Aug. Serm. x. [clxxvi. ed. Benedict.] cap. 2. de verbis Apost. [1 Tim. i. Fidelis sermo et omni acceptione, &c. Op., tom. v. col. 840. A.]—And [Pseudo-] S. Ambros. lib. x. epist. 84. [ubi sup. Quæ omnia et multo plura documenta non tanta cura sacris paginis Spiritus Sanctus inseruisset, si talis esset natura in filiis Adam, qualis in ipso est principaliter instituta.]—And S. Chrysostom. Homil. de Adam. et Eva. [The following passage may perhaps be that referred to in this vague citation: Ὁρᾷς πῶς μείζων ἡ εὐπορία τῆς ζημίας; πῶς πλείων ὁ Πλοῦτος; οἷόν τι λέγω. ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· οὐκ ἐγένετο χρήσιμος ὁ πλασθείς, ἀλλὰ διεστράφη· οὐκέτι λοιπὸν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀναπλάττει, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος· καὶ οὐκ ἔτι παράδεισον ἐπαγγέλλεται πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν. καὶ ὅπως ἄκουε. Νικοδήμου γὰρ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν Ἰουδαίων κ. τ. λ. — S. Chrysostom. in

Church, but by baptism, and this appear in Scripture, as it doth, then out of all doubt, the consequence is most evident out of that Scripture, That infants are to be baptized, that their salvation may be certain. For they which cannot help themselves,[y] must not be left only to extraordinary helps; of which we have no assurance, and for which we have no warrant at all in Scripture; while we, in the mean time, neglect the ordinary way and means commanded by Christ. Secondly, it is very near an expression in Scripture itself. For when S. Peter had ended that great sermon of his, he applies two comforts unto them, "Amend your lives, and be baptized, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." And then, he infers, "For the promise is made to you, and to your children." The promise! what promise? What? Why, the promise of sanctification by the Holy Ghost. By what means? Why, by baptism: for it is expressly, "Be baptized, and ye shall receive;" and as expressly, "This promise is made to you, and to your children." And therefore A. C. may find it, if he will, That the baptism of infants may be directly concluded out of Scripture. For some of his own party, Ferus[z] and Salmeron,[a] could both find it there. And so, if it will do him any pleasure, he hath my answer, which, he saith, "he would be glad to know." [A.C. marg. note to p. 48.]

SECTION XV.

Acts ii. 38, 39.

V.—It is true, Bellarmine[b] presses a main place out of

Genesim. Sermo vii. cap. 5. Op., tom. iv. p. 681. C.]—Hoc prædicat Ecclesia Catholica ubique diffusa.—[Concil. Milevit. canon. ii. ubi sup. p. 40. note [h].]

[y] [Commendaverim caritati vestræ] causam eorum, qui pro se loqui non possunt.—S. Augustin. serm. viii. cap. 8. de verb. Apost. [ubi sup. col. 834. E.]

[z] [Tertio signanter addit, Unusquisque vestrûm &c.] nullum [quippe] excipiens, [non marem, non fœminam, non servum, non liberum,] non Judæum, non Gentilem, nec adultum, nec puerum, [et omnibus indicat esse necessarium baptisma.—Reverendi patris D. Joannis] Feri &c. [Enarrationes in Acta Apostolor.] in Act. ii. 39. [p. 28. Coloniæ, 1567.]

[a] [*Vobis enim est repromissio, et filiis vestris, et omnibus qui longe sunt.* Hoc est, ad vos Judæos, vel præsentes, repromissio Joelis de Spiritu Sancto,] et ad filios vestros, [quos multum juvat parentum fides, sicut nocet infidelitas:] quare debent consentire, cum ad usum rationis perveniunt, ad implenda promissa in Baptismo: [et non tantum ad eos, sed ad omnes qui longe sunt a Dei notitia, quos videlicet Dominus ex sua gratia advocavit, spectat hoc tantum beneficium.] — Salmeron. Tractat. xiv. in loc. [sc. Act. ii. 39. Comment. tom. xii. pp. 87, 88. ed. Colon. 1614.]

[b] [Secunda regula est, quando universa Ecclesia aliquid servat, quod nemo constituere potuit, nisi Deus, quod tamen nusquam invenitur scriptum, necesse est dicere, ab ipso Christo, et Apostolis ejus traditum. Ratio est similis superiori. Nam Ecclesia universa non solum non potest errare in credendo, sed nec in operando, ac præsertim in ritu et cultu divino; recteque Augustin. Epist. 118. docet insolentissimæ insaniæ esse existimare, non recte fieri, quod ab universa Ecclesia

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S. Augustine, and he urges it hard. S. Augustine's words are, "The custom of our mother the Church in baptizing infants is by no means to be contemned, or thought superfluous; nor yet at all to be believed, unless it were an apostolical tradition."[c] The place is truly cited, but seems a great deal stronger than indeed it is. For, first, it is not denied, that this is an apostolical tradition, and therefore to be believed. But, secondly, not therefore only. Nor doth S. Augustine say so, nor doth Bellarmine press it that way. The truth is, it would have been somewhat difficult to find the collection out of Scripture only for the baptism of infants, since they do not actually believe. And therefore S. Augustine is at *nec credenda nisi*, that this custom of the Church had not been to be believed, had it not been an apostolical tradition. But the tradition being apostolical, led on the Church easily to see the necessary deduction out of Scripture. And this is not the least use of tradition, to lead the Church into the true meaning of those things which are found in Scripture, though not obvious to every eye there. And that this is S. Augustine's meaning is manifest by himself, who best knew it. For when he had said, as he doth,[d] That to baptize children is *antiqua fidei regula*, "the ancient rule of faith," and "the constant tenet of the Church," yet he doubts not to collect and deduce it out of Scripture also. For when Pelagius urged, that infants needed not to be baptized, because they had no original sin, S. Augustine relies not upon the tenet of the Church only, but argues from the text thus: "What need have infants of Christ if they be not sick? 'For the sound need not the physician.'"[e] And again,

Matt. ix. [12.]

fit. Ergo illa quæ Ecclesia non potest recte servare, nisi a Deo sint instituta, et tamen servat, necesse est dicere, a Deo instituta, etiamsi nusquam id legatur. Tale est baptisma parvulorum. Erraret enim gravissime Ecclesia, si sine Dei mandato parvulos, qui actu non credunt, baptizaret. Quocirca Augustinus, lib. x. de Gen. cap. 23, &c.]—Bellarmin. de Verbo Dei [non scripto,] lib. iv. cap. 9. § 3. [Op., tom. i. col. 193. B.]

[c] S. Aug. [de] Gen[esi,] ad Lit. [lib. x.] cap. 23. [Op., tom. iii. par. 1. col. 272. D.] Consuetudo [tamen] Matris Ecclesiæ in baptizandis parvulis nequaquam spernenda est, [neque ullo modo superflua deputanda,] nec omnino credenda, nisi Apostolica esset traditio.

[d] Quare [novis disputationibus] antiquam fidei regulam frangere conaris?—S. Aug. Ser. viii. [clxxiv.] de verb. Apost. cap. 8. [ubi sup p. 66. note [x].]—Hoc Ecclesia semper [habuit, semper] tenuit.—Id. Ser. x. [clxxvi.] cap. 2. [ubi sup. p. 66. note [x].]

[e] [Quoniam (Matth. ix. 12.) non est opus sanis medicus, sed ægrotantibus,] quid necessarium [ergo] habuit infans Christum, si non ægrotat? [Si sanus est, quare per eos qui eum diligunt, medicum quærit?—S. Aug. Serm. clxxvi. ubi sup.]—Quid est quod dicis, nisi ut non accedant ad Jesum?

"Is not this said by Pelagius, *ut non accedant ad Jesum?* 'that infants may not come to their Saviour?' *Sed clamat Jesus,* 'but Jesus cries out,' 'Suffer little ones to come unto Me.'" And all this is fully acknowledged by Calvin,[f] namely, "That all men acknowledge the baptism of infants to descend from apostolical tradition." And yet that "it doth not depend upon the bare and naked authority of the Church."[g] Which he speaks not in regard of tradition, but in relation to such proof as is to be made by necessary consequence out of Scripture over and above tradition.

SECTION XV.

Mark x. 14.

VI.—As for tradition, I have said enough for that,[h] and as much as A. C. where it is truly apostolical. And yet if any thing will please him, I will add this concerning this particular, the baptizing of infants, that the Church received this by tradition from the Apostles.[i] By tradition. And what then? May it not directly be concluded out of Scripture, because it was delivered to the Church by way of tradition? I hope A. C. will never say so. For certainly in doctrinal things nothing so likely to be a tradition apostolical as that which hath a root and a foundation in Scripture.[k] For Apostles

A. C. p. 49.

Sed tibi clamat Jesus, Sine parvulos venire ad Me.—S. Augustin. [Serm. clxxiv. ubi sup. p. 66. note x.]

[f] [Quod autem apud simplicem vulgum disseminant, longam annorum seriem post Christi resurrectionem præteriisse, quibus incognitus erat pædobaptismus, in eo fœdissime mentiuntur: siquidem] nullus est scriptor tam vetustus, qui non ejus originem ad apostolorum seculum pro certo referat. —Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 16. § 8. [Op., tom. viii. p. 357. col. 1.]

[g] [Aiunt pædobaptismum non tam ex aperto scripturæ mandato, quam ex ecclesiæ decreto emanasse. At] miserrimum asylum foret, si pro defensione pædobaptismi ad nudam ecclesiæ auctoritatem suffugere cogeremur. —Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 8. § 16. [Op., tom. viii. p. 311. col. 2.]

[h] [Vide sup.] sect. xv. 1. [p. 62.]

[i] Origen. in Rom. vi. 6. tom. ii. p. 543. Pro hoc [et] ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare. [Sciebant enim illi quibus mysteriorum secreta commissa sunt divinorum, quod essent in omnibus genuinæ sordes peccati, quæ per aquam et Spiritum ablui deberent.—Comment. in Rom. lib. v. cap. 9. Op., tom. iv. p. 565. A. col. 2. ed. Benedict.]—Et S. Aug. Ser. x. [clxxvi.] de verb. Apost. cap. 2. [ubi sup. p. 66. note x.] Hoc ecclesia a majorum fide percepit.—And it is to be observed, that neither of these Fathers (nor I believe any other) says that the Church received it "a traditione sola," or "a majorum fide sola," as if tradition did exclude collection of it out of Scripture.

[k] Yea, and Bellarmine himself avers, De verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. cap. x. § 7: Sic etiam [quia scriptum est 2 Thess. ii. 15. Tenete traditiones, &c.; et Luc. x 16. Qui vos audit, Me audit; et Matt. xviii. 17. Si ecclesiam non audierit, &c., idcirco nos affirmamus, traditiones esse quodammodo explicationes verbi scripti, non quod nudam contineant ejus expositionem, sed quia] omnes traditiones [et ecclesiæ decreta] continentur in scriptis in universali; [sed in particulari non continentur, nec debent contineri.—Op., tom. i. col. 196. C.] And S. Basil, Serm. de fide, approves only those Agrapha, quæ non sunt aliena a pia secundum Scripturam sententia. [ἕως μὲν οὖν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἐπανισταμένας κατὰ καιρὸν αἱρέσεις ἐχρῆν, ἑπόμενος τοῖς προσεληφόσιν, ἀκόλουθον

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cannot write or deliver contrary, but subordinate and subservient, things.

[A.C.p.49.]

℣. I asked how * he knew Scripture to be Scripture, and in particular Genesis, Exodus, &c. These are believed to be Scripture, yet not proved out of any place of Scripture. The ℬ. said, that the books of Scripture are principles to be supposed, and needed not to be proved.

* [The Jesuit did not ask this question as doubting of the divine authority of Scripture, but to make it seen, that beside Scripture, which the ℬ. said was the "only" foundation of faith, there must be admitted some other foundation, to wit, "unwritten" tradition, and this of infallible authority, to assure us infallibly that these books are divine; which to be divine is one point infallibly believed by divine faith, and yet cannot be infallibly proved by "only" Scripture: therefore "only" Scripture cannot be said, as the ℬ. said, to be the "only" foundation of faith, or of every point believed by faith. I hope the Chaplain, who is so careful to avoid all suspicion of being familiar with impiety, as he would have no question moved about this point upon any terms or pretence, will not be so impious as to say, That to believe these books to be divine Scripture, is not a point of divine faith; or that this point, being so important, as it is, to be most firmly believed, is believed by divine faith, without any ground or foundation; or without a sufficient infallible and divine foundation of God's word, written or unwritten. Since therefore this is a point of faith, and hath a foundation, yea an infallible foundation, it is not against either art, or equity, or piety, for confutation of error, and confirmation of truth, to inquire what particular foundation of God's word, written or unwritten, doth assure us infallibly that these particular books contain the sole and whole truth of God, believed by Christian faith. Neither need any be troubled, or endangered, by this question, but such as, not finding any sufficient foundation in God's word written, do pertinaciously resolve not to believe any thing to be God's word which is not written. Those that believe that there is a word of God, partly written and partly unwritten, according to that of S. Paul (2 Thess. ii.), "Hold the traditions, whether by our word, or epistle," do easily, and without too much turning in a wheel or circle, answer the question. See the reply to Mr. Wootton and M. White in the Introduction, of which mention is made in the Relation, where this and divers other important matters pertaining to the drift of this Conference are handled at large.—A. C. marg. note to p. 49.]

§ 16. ℬ. I.—I did never love too curious a search into that which might put a man into a wheel, and circle him so long between proving Scripture by tradition, and tradition by Scripture, till the devil find a means to dispute him into infidelity, and make him believe neither. I hope this is no part of your meaning. Yet I doubt this question, "How do you know Scripture to be Scripture?"[1] hath done more harm, than

ἡγούμην τῇ διάφορᾳ τῆς ἐπισπειρομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀσεβείας, ταῖς ἀντιθέτοις φωναῖς κωλύειν, ἢ καὶ ἀνατρέπειν τὰς ἐπαγομένας βλασφημίας, καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις, ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεία τῶν νοσούντων κατηνάγκασε, καὶ ταύταις πολλάκις ἀγράφοις μὲν, ὅμως δ' οὖν οὐκ ἀπεξενωμέναις τῆς κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν εὐσεβοῦς διανοίας·— S. Basil. Serm. de fide, cap. 1. Op., tom. ii. p. 224. B. ed. Benedict.]

[1] [Et non est quidem durum, quod unusquisque fidelium qui credit quidem, non tamen cum ratione, et cum judicio credit, ut ita sit constans in fide, ut etsi mille crimina objiciant contra evangelicam fidem] volentes

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you will be ever able to help by tradition. But I must follow that way which you draw me. And because it is so much insisted upon by you,[m] and is in itself a matter of such consequence, I will sift it a little further.

II.—Many men labouring to settle this great principle in divinity, have used divers means to prove it. All have not gone the same way, nor all the right way. You cannot be right, that resolve "faith of the Scriptures," being the "word of God," into "only tradition." For "only," and "no other" proof are equal. To prove the Scripture, therefore (so called by way of excellence), to be the word of God, there are several offers at divers proofs. For first, some fly to the testimony and witness of the Church, and her tradition, which constantly believes, and unanimously delivers it. Secondly, some to the light and the testimony which the Scripture gives to itself; with other internal proofs which are observed in it, and to be found in no other writing whatsoever. Thirdly, some to the testimony of the Holy Ghost, which clears up the light that is in Scripture, and seals this faith to the souls of men, that it is God's word. Fourthly, all that have not imbrutished themselves, and sunk below their species and order of nature, give even natural reason leave to come in, and make some proof, and give some approbation upon the weighing and the consideration of other arguments. And this must be admitted, if it be but for pagans and infidels, who either consider not or value not any one of the other three: yet must some way or

destruere fidem nostram, [ut in nulla parte eorum commoveatur sermonibus,] qui [fingentes se credere scripturis evangelicis,] per occasionem unius aut alterius quæstionis aut difficilis, aut forte et indissolubilis, [adversantes scripturis] festinant fidem [Christi et Evangeliorum ejus] tollere [de anima nostra.—Origen. Q. [i.e. Tractat.] xxxv. in Matth. [Erasmo interpret. tom. ii. p. 231. ed. Frobenii, Basil. 1545. et in Matth. Comment. Ser. 134. Op., tom. iii. p. 923 D. ed. Benedict.]

[m] "To know that Scriptures are divine and infallible in every part, is a foundation so necessary, as if it be doubtfully questioned, all the faith built upon Scripture falls to the ground." A. C. p. 47.—Quarto, necesse est nosse, extare libros aliquos vere divinos, [quod certe nullo modo ex Scripturis haberi potest. Nam etiamsi Scriptura dicat, libros prophetarum et apostolorum esse divinos, tamen non certo id credam, nisi prius credidero, Scripturam, quæ hoc dicit, esse divinam.]—Bellarm. de verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. cap. 4. § 15. [Op., tom. i. col. 175. B.]—Sexto, oportet etiam [non solum scire qui sint libri sacri, sed etiam in particulari] istos, qui sunt in manibus, esse illos. [Non enim satis est credere Evangelium Marci esse verum, Evangelium Thomæ non esse verum, sed oportet etiam credere, hoc evangelium, quod nunc legitur sub nomine Marci, esse illud verum et incorruptum quod scripsit Marcus, quod certe ex Scripturis haberi non potest.—Ibid. col. 175. D.]

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other be converted, or "left without excuse;" and that is done by this very evidence.

Rom. i. 20.

III.—For the first: the "tradition of the Church," which is your way. That taken and considered alone, it is so far from being the only, that it cannot be a sufficient, proof to believe by divine faith, that Scripture is the word of God. For that which is a full and sufficient proof, is able of itself to settle the soul of man concerning it. Now, the tradition of the Church is not able to do this. For it may be further asked, Why we should believe the Church's tradition? And if it be answered, We may believe, because the Church is infallibly governed by the Holy Ghost; it may yet be demanded of you, How that may appear? And if this be demanded, either you must say, you have it by special revelation, which is the "private spirit" you object to other men, or else you must attempt to prove it by Scripture,[n] as all of you do. And that very offer, to prove it out of Scripture, is a sufficient acknowledgment that the Scripture is a higher proof than the Church's tradition, which, in your own grounds, is or may be questionable till you come thither. Besides, this is an inviolable ground of reason: "That the principles of any conclusion must be of more credit than the conclusion itself." [o] Therefore if the Articles of Faith, the Trinity, the Resurrection, and the rest, be the conclusions, and the principles by which they are proved be only ecclesiastical tradition, it must needs follow, that the tradition of the Church is more infallible than the articles of the faith, if the faith which we have of the articles should be finally resolved into the veracity of the Church's testimony. But this your learned and wary men deny,[p] and therefore I hope yourself dare not affirm.

[n] Esse aliquas veras traditiones demonstratur ex Scripturis.—Bellar. de verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. cap. 5. [in tit. Si Scriptura non continet omnia, et necessarium est verbum traditum, sequitur esse aliquod verbum traditum, alioqui Deus non bene providisset ecclesiæ. Secundo probatur testimoniis Scripturarum. Primum est Johannis xvi. 12. Multa habeo, &c. Et Johan. xxi. 25. Sunt autem et alia multa, &c.—Op., tom. i. col. 177. D.] And A.C. p. 50. [ubi sup. p. 70.] proves "tradition" out of 2 Thess. ii. [15.]

[o] Aristot Post. [Analyt. lib.] i. cap. 2. T. 16. per Pacium. Quocirca si διὰ τὰ πρῶτα, propter prima scimus et credimus, illa quoque scimus et credimus, μᾶλλον, magis, quia per illa scimus et credimus etiam posteriora. [Ἀνάγκη, μὴ μόνον προγινώσκειν τὰ πρῶτα, ἢ πάντα ἢ ἔνια, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον· ἀεὶ γὰρ, δι' ὃ ὑπάρχει ἕκαστον, ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει· οἷον, δι' ὃ φιλοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνο φίλον μᾶλλον. Ὥστ', εἴπερ ἴσμεν διὰ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πιστεύομεν, κἀκεῖνα ἴσμεν τε καὶ πιστεύομεν μᾶλλον, ὅτι δι' ἐκεῖνα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον.—Op., tom. i. p. 185. ed. Bekker. Oxon. 1837.]

[p] [Cui et tertium subjiciendum est, rationem formalem nostræ fidei non esse ecclesiæ auctoritatem, hoc est,

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IV.—Again, if the voice of the Church, saying the books of Scripture commonly received are the Word of God, be the formal object of faith, upon which alone absolutely I may resolve myself; then every man not only may, but ought to, resolve his faith into the voice or tradition of the Church: for every man is bound to rest upon the proper and formal object of the faith. But nothing can be more evident than this, That a man ought not to resolve his faith of this principle into the sole testimony of the Church. Therefore, neither is that testimony or tradition, alone, the formal object of faith. The learned of your own part grant this:[q]

fidei ultimam resolutionem non fieri in ecclesiæ testimonium, ipsæ scholasticæ res formas dicendi scholasticas rapiunt . . . Sed ad rem.] Eorum [hic] errorem dissimulare non possum, qui asserunt, fidem nostram eo, tanquam in ultimam credendi causam, reducendam esse, ut credamus ecclesiam esse veracem: [cui prius, inquiunt, assentimur per fidem acquisitam quam per infusam.]—Melch. Can[us,] de locis Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 8. [p. 54. ed. Lovan. 1569.]

[q] Ecclesiæ vox non est [ipsum] formale fidei objectum. [Probatur 1. quia absque ea fides haberi potest .... probatur 2. quia sola ejus vox et auctoritas ad veri nominis fidem non potest inducere.]—Stapleton. Relect. [Scholast. Princip. fid. doct.] Controv. iv. [Capit. de potest. Eccles. in se consid.] Quæst. iii. Art. 2. [Op., tom. i. p. 752.]—And, [(Arg. hæret. 5.) Si Deus per Ecclesiam revelans est ultima resolutio fidei, et consequenter infallibilis regula omnium credendorum; profecto hoc ipsum non debet inter articulos fidei, qui sunt res regulatæ, poni. Ponitur autem. Ergo, &c. Patet minor, quia in Symbolo profitemur, Credo Ecclesiam Sanctam, &c. hoc est, Credo omnia quæ Deus per Ecclesiam me docet. Patet major, &c. . . . (Respons. ad arg. hæret. 5.) . . . Dupliciter respondetur: Primum, non esse proprie distinctum articulum fidei, Quod Deus per Ecclesiam revelat, nec illud] in his verbis [contineri,] Credo Ecclesiam, etsi [enim] forte contineatur hoc totum, Credo ea, quæ docet Ecclesia, tamen non intelligitur necessario quod Credo docenti Ecclesiæ tanquam testi infallibili: [sunt enim hæc distincta, ut notavit Waldensis, Doctrin. Fid. lib. ii. cap. 20.—Stapleton.] ibid. [pp. 754, 755.]—Ubi etiam [Stapleton] rejicit opinionem Durandi et Gabr. [Biel. sc. his verbis: (Arg. Scholast. 3.) Credo Deum esse trinum et unum, quia Scriptura sic dicit. Credo dicenti Scripturæ, quia Dei verbum est. Credo esse Dei verbum, quia Ecclesia hoc testatur. Credo Ecclesiæ sic attestanti, quia credo Ecclesiam regi infallibiliter a Spiritu S. Ergo a primo ad ultimum primum inter credibilia quod est ratio credendi alia, et ad quod fit ultima resolutio credibilium, est, Credere Ecclesiam regi a Spiritu S. Sunt argumenta Durandi in III. Sentent. Distinct. xxiv. Quæst. 1. et Gabrielis Biel. ibid. Distinct. xxiii. Quæst. 2. . . . (Respons. ad arg. Scholast. 3.) . . . Ultima resolutio credibilium non est, Credere Ecclesiam regi a Spiritu S., nam adhuc amplius quæri potest, quare credimus Ecclesiam regi a Spiritu S. Cui necessario respondendum est, ideo nos hoc credere quia Deus nobis hoc complexum per Ecclesiam sive in Scripturis sive extra revelavit. Sic enim alia omnia fidei objecta credo. Ultima igitur resolutio credibilium quoad nos, et posita Dei ordinatione, et ordinarie loquendo, est Deus per ecclesiam revelans; sed absolute, et per se, ultima resolutio est Deus verax, seu Deus intus in corde revelans, juxta illud Joann. Baptist. Quem misit Deus, verba Dei loquitur, &c. Joann. iii. 34.—Stapleton. ibid. p. 754.] —Et [Stapleton. rejicit opinionem] Waldens. [ubi ait: Fides autem ut est Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in hoc accedit fidei Scripturarum: quod non licet de ipsa dubitare eo quod] testimonium ecclesiæ Catholicæ est objectum fidei Christianæ, et legislatio Scrip-

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"Although in that article of the Creed, 'I believe the Catholic Church,' peradventure all this be contained, 'I believe those things which the Church teacheth,' yet this is not necessarily understood, That I believe the Church teaching, as an infallible witness." And if they did not confess this, it were no hard thing to prove.

V.—But here is the cunning of this device. All the authorities of Fathers, Councils, nay of Scripture too,[r] though this be contrary to their own doctrine, must be finally resolved into the authority of the present Roman Church; and though they would seem to have us believe the Fathers and the Church of old, yet they will not have us take their doctrine from their own writings, or the decrees of councils: because, as they say, we cannot know by reading them what their meaning was, but from the infallible testimony of the present Roman Church teaching by tradition. Now, by this, two things are evident. First, That they ascribe as great authority, (if not greater,) to a part of the Catholic Church, as they do to the whole, which we believe in our Creed, and which is the society of all Christians. And this is full of absurdity, in nature, in reason, in all things, That any part[s] should be of equal worth, power, credit, or

turæ canonicæ. Subjicitur tamen ipsi sicut testis judici, et testimonium veritati; [sicut præconizatio definitioni et sicut præco regi.—Thom. Waldens.] Doctrinalis Fidei, tom. i. lib. ii. art. ii. cap. 21. [fol. 103. col. 4. ed. Paris. 1532.]—[Et tamen Ecclesia proponens est causa, sine qua ego non admitterem illud Evangelium esse Matthæi. Spiritu itaque S. ecclesiam afflatam certe credo; non ut veritatem auctoritatemve libris canonicis tribuat, sed ut doceat illos, non alios, esse canonicos.] Nec si Ecclesia nobis aditum præbet ad hujusmodi sacros libros cognoscendos, protinus ibi acquiescendum est; sed ultra oportet progredi, et solida Dei veritate niti. [Qua ex re intelligitur quid sibi voluerit Augustinus, (contra epist. Fundamenti,) cum ait, Evangelio non crederem nisi me Ecclesiæ moveret auctoritas.]—Melch. Canus, de loc. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 8. [p. 59. ed. Lovan. 1569.]

[r] Omnis ergo ecclesiastica auctoritas, cum sit ad testificandum de Christo, et legibus Ejus, vilior est Christi legibus, et Scripturis sanctis necessario postponenda. — Thom. Wald. Doctrinalis Fidei, tom. i. lib. ii. art. ii. cap. 21. [fol. 103. col. 1. ubi sup.]

[s] *Totum majus est sua parte.* Axioma [est item logicum in distributionis loco proprium,] nec ideo geometricum putandum est, quia geometres eo utatur. Utitur enim tota logica, [nec ideo logicam subjeceris geometriæ.—Petr.] Rami, Schol[arum] Math[ematicarum, lib. vii. 9. p. 164. ed. Basil. 1569.]—And Aristotle vindicates such propositions, τὰ ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι καλούμενα ἀξιώματα, from being usurped by particular sciences, ἅπασι γὰρ ὑπάρχει, &c. Quia conveniunt omni enti, et non alicui generi separatim.—Metaph[ysic. lib. iii. (al. iv.)] cap. 3. [in init. Λεκτέον δὲ, πότερον μιᾶς ἢ ἑτέρας ἐπιστήμης, περί τε τῶν ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι καλουμένων ἀξιωμάτων, καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας. Φανερὸν δὴ, ὅτι

authority with the whole. Secondly, That in their doctrine concerning the infallibility of their Church, their proceeding is most unreasonable. For if you ask them, Why they believe their whole doctrine to be the sole true Catholic faith? their answer is, Because it is agreeable to the word of God, and the doctrine and tradition of the ancient Church. If you ask them, How they know that to be so? they will then produce testimonies of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers. But if you ask a third time, By what means they are assured, that these testimonies do indeed make for them and their cause? they will not then have recourse to text of Scripture, or exposition of Fathers, or phrase and propriety of language in which either of them were first written, or to the scope of the author, or the causes[t] of the thing uttered, or the conference with like places,[u] or the antecedents[x] and consequents of the same places;[y] or the exposition of the

μιᾶς τε καὶ τῆς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἡ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ σκέψις· ἅπασι γὰρ ὑπάρχει τοῖς οὖσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ γένει τινὶ χωρὶς ἰδίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων. Καὶ χρῶνται μὲν πάντες, ὅτι τοῦ ὄντος ἐστὶν ἢ ὄν, ἕκαστον δὲ τὸ γένος ὄν'—Op., tom. viii. p. 62. ed. Bekker.]

[t] Intelligentia [enim] dictorum ex causis est assumenda dicendi; quia non sermoni res, sed rei est sermo subjectus.—S. Hilar. lib. iv. [cap. 14.] de Trinit. [Op., col. 835. F. ed. Benedict.] — [Sic etsi carnem ait nihil prodesse,] ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus.—Tertull. lib. de Resur. Carnis, cap. xxxvii. [p. 347. ed. Rigalt.]

[u] [Et vide quoniam quædam quidem similia habent, alia autem dissimilia: ut] videns differentias similium ad similia, [discas sensum Scripturæ.]—Origen. Tract. xix. in S. Matth. [Op., Lat. per Erasm. tom. ii. p. 112. ἐξεθέμην δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου ᾆσμα, βουλόμενος αὐτὸ συνεξετάσαι τῇ παραβολῇ, εἰ κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κεῖται ὁ ἀμπελὼν σημαινομένου ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γραφῇ· καὶ ὅρα τίνα μὲν ὅμοια ἔχουσιν αἱ ἐκτεθεῖσαι λέξεις, τίνα δὲ οὐχ ὅμοια, ἵνα βλέπων τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸς τὰ ἀνόμοια, οὕτως ἐπιστήσῃς τῷ νῷ τῆς γραφῆς. —Comment. in Matth. tom. xvii. cap. 7. Op., tom. iii. p. 775. D. ed. Benedict.]

[x] [Sed] recolendum est unde venerit illa sententia, et quæ illam superiora pepererint, quibusque connexa dependeat.—S. Aug. Ep. xxix. [lib. ii. ad Hieronym. seu Epist. clxvii. cap. 3. Op., tom. ii. par. 2. col. 595. G. ed. Benedict.]—Solet circumstantia Scripturæ illuminare sententiam, [cum ea quæ circa Scripta (sc. Scripturam) sunt, præsentem quæstionem contingentia, diligenti discussione tractantur.]—S. Augustin. lib. Octogintatrium Quæstionum, Quæst. 69. [cap. 2. Op., tom. vi. col. 56. C. ed. Benedict.]

[y] Quæ ambigue et obscure in nonnullis Scripturæ Sacræ locis dicta videntur, per ea, quæ alibi certa et indubitata habentur, declarantur.—S. Basil. in regulis contractis, Reg. 267. [Τὰ ἀμφίβολα καὶ ἐπικεκαλυμμένως εἰρῆσθαι δοκοῦντα ἔν τισι τόποις τοῦ θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ὁμολογουμένων σαφηνίζεται.—S. Basil. Regul. brevius tractat. Interrog. cclxvii. Op., tom. ii. p. 506. E. ed. Benedict.]—[Et hæc itaque dispectio tituli, et præconii ipsius, fidem utique defendens vocabulorum, illuc proficere debebit, ut si quid pars diversa turbat obtentu figurarum et ænigmatum,] manifestiora quæque prævaleant, et de incertis certiora præscribant. —Tertull. de Resurrectione [Christi], cap. xix. [Op., p. 336. C. ed. Rigalt.]—Et, [Et utique æquum sit, quod et supra demandavimus, incerta de certis et obscura de manifestis præjudicari; vel ne inter discordiam certorum et incertorum, manifestorum et obscurorum, fides dissipetur, veritas periclitetur, ipsa

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dark and doubtful places of Scripture by the undoubted and manifest; with divers other rules given for the true knowledge and understanding of Scripture, which do frequently occur in S. Augustine.[z] No, none of these, or the like helps: that, with them, were to admit a "private spirit," or to make way for it. But their final answer is: "They know it to be so, because the present Roman Church witnesseth it, according to tradition." So arguing *primo ad ultimum*, "from first to last," the present Church of Rome and her followers believe her own doctrine and tradition to be true and Catholic, because she professes it to be such. And if this be not to prove *idem per idem*, "the same by the same," I know not what is: which, though it be most absurd in all kind of learning, yet out of this I see not how it is possible to wind themselves, so long as the last resolution of their faith must rest, as they teach, upon the tradition of the present Church only.

VI.—It seems therefore to me very necessary,[a] that we be able to prove the books of Scripture to be the Word of God, by some authority that is absolutely divine. For if they be warranted unto us by any authority less than divine, then all things contained in them, which have no

divinitas ut inconstans denotetur.—ibid.] cap. xxi. [p. 357. C.]—[Ubi autem apertius ponuntur, ibi discendum est quomodo in locis intelligantur obscuris. Neque enim melius potest intelligi quod dictum est Deo, Apprehende arma et scutum, et exurge in adjutorium mihi, quam ex illo loco ubi legitur, Domine, ut scuto bonæ voluntatis Tuæ coronasti nos.]—S. Aug. de doct. Christ. lib. iii. cap. 26. [Op., tom. iii. par. 1. col. 56. B.]—Moris est Scripturarum, obscuris manifesta subnectere, et quod prius sub ænigmatibus dixerint, aperta voce proferre.—S. Hieron. in Esa. xix. [in] princip. [Op., tom. iii. col. 127. ed. Benedict.]—Vide [infra,] Sect. 26. §. iv.

[z] [S. Augustine's rules, according to the marginal synopsis in the Benedictine edition, are: Ante omnia considerandum genus locutionis.—Idem verbum non idem significat ubique.—Obscura ex locis apertioribus explicanda.—Eundem locum varie intelligi nihil prohibet.—Locus incertus tutius per alios Scripturæ locos quam per rationem manifestatur.—Troporum cognitio necessaria, &c.]—S. Aug. de Doctr. Christ. lib. iii. [cap. 22—29. Op., tom. iii. par. 1. col. 55—57.]

[a] And this is so necessary, that Bellarmine confesses, that if tradition, which he relies upon, be not Divine, he and his can have no faith: Non habemus fidem; fides enim verbo Dei nititur.—De verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. cap. 4. [Bellarmine's words are: Itaque hoc dogma tam necessarium, quod scilicet aliqua est Scriptura Divina, non potest sufficienter haberi ex sola Scriptura. Proinde cum fides nitatur verbo Dei, nisi habeamus verbum Dei non scriptum, nulla nobis erit fides.—Op., tom. i. col. 175. B.]—And A. C. tells us, p. 47: "To know that Scripture is Divine and infallible in every part, is a foundation so necessary, as, if it be doubtfully questioned, all the faith built upon Scripture falls to the ground." And he gives the same reason for it, p. 50. [ubi sup. p. 70.] which Bellarmine doth.

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greater assurance than the Scripture, in which they are read, are not objects of divine belief. And that once granted will enforce us to yield, That all the articles of Christian belief have no greater assurance than human or moral faith or credulity can afford. An authority, then, simply divine, must make good the Scripture's infallibility, at least in the last resolution of our faith in that point. This authority cannot be any testimony or voice of the Church[b] alone. For the Church consists of men subject to error; and no one of them, since the Apostles' times, hath been assisted with so plentiful a measure of the Blessed Spirit, as to secure him from being deceived. And all the parts being all liable to mistaking, and fallible, the whole cannot possibly be infallible in and of itself, and privileged from being deceived in some things or other. And even in those fundamental things in which the whole universal Church neither doth nor can err, yet even there her authority is not Divine, because she delivers those supernatural truths by promise of assistance, yet tied to means; and not by any special immediate revelation, which is necessarily required to the very least degree of Divine authority. And therefore our worthies do not only say, but prove, "That all the Church's constitutions are of the nature of human law."[c] And some among you,[d] not unworthy for their learning, prove it at large, "That all the Church's testimony, or voice, or sentence,"—call it what you will,—"is but *suo modo*, or *aliquo modo*, 'not simply, but in a manner,' divine." Yea, and A. C. himself, after all his A. C. p. 51.

[b] Spiritu [itaque Sancto] ecclesiam afflatam, certe credo; non ut veritatem auctoritatemve libris canonicis tribuat, sed ut doceat illos, non alios, esse canonicos. Nec si Ecclesia nobis aditum præbet ad hujusmodi sacros libros cognoscendos, protinus ibi acquiescendum est; sed ultra oportet progredi, et solida Dei veritate niti. Qua ex re intelligitur quid sibi voluerit Augustinus, cum ait, Evangelio non crederem, nisi [me Ecclesiæ moveret auctoritas.]—M. Canus, de locis theolog. lib ii. cap. 8. fol. 34. B. [p. 59. ubi sup. p. 74. note q.]—Non [itaque] docet fundatam esse Evangelii fidem in Ecclesiæ auctoritate, verum [simpliciter nullam esse certam viam qua sive infideles, seu in fide novitii, ad sacros libros ingrediantur, nisi Ecclesiæ Catholicæ unum eundemque consensum.]—Ibid. [p. 60.]

[c] Hooker. [Eccl. Polit.] Book iii. chap. ix. [Sect. 2. Works, vol. i. p. 481. ed. Keble.—"The greatest among the school divines (sc. Thom. Aquin. Prim. Sec. Quæst. xci. Art. 3.) studying how to set down by exact definition the nature of an human law, (of which nature all the Church's constitutions are,) found not which way better to do it than in these words: 'Out of the precepts of the law of nature, as out of certain common and undemonstrable principles, man's reason, &c.'"]

[d] Stapl. Relect. Controv. iv. Q[uæst.] iii. Art. 1. 2. [ubi sup. p. 73. note q]

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debate, comes to that, and no further, "That the tradition of the Church is, at least in some sort, divine and infallible." Now, that which is divine but in a sort or manner, be it the Church's manner, is *aliquo modo non divina,* "in a sort not divine." But this great principle of faith, the ground and proof of whatsoever else is of faith, cannot stand firm upon a proof that is and is not—in a manner and not in a manner—divine; as it must, if we have no other anchor than the external tradition of the Church to lodge it upon, and hold it steady in the midst of those waves which daily beat upon it.

A. C. p. 49. VII.—Now, here A. C. confesses expressly, "That to prove the books of Scripture to be divine, we must be warranted
A. C. p. 50. by that which is infallible." He confesses farther, "That there can be no sufficient infallible proof of this, but God's word, written or unwritten." And he gives his reason for
A. C. p. 51. it: "Because if the proof be merely human and fallible, the science or faith which is built upon it can be no better." So then this is agreed on by me, (yet leaving other men to travel by their own way, so be they can come to make Scripture thereby infallible,) That Scripture must be known to be Scripture by a sufficient, infallible, divine proof. And that such proof can be nothing but the word of God, is agreed on also by me. Yea, and agreed on for me it shall be likewise, that God's word may be written and unwritten. For Cardinal Bellarmine[e] tells us truly, that it is not the writing or printing, that makes Scripture the word of God; but it is the prime unerring essential truth, God Himself uttering and revealing it to His Church, that makes it *verbum Dei,* "the word of God." And this word of God is uttered to men, either immediately by God Himself, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and so it was to the Prophets and Apostles; or mediately,—either by Angels, to whom God
Gal. iii. [19.] had spoken first, and so the law was given,[f] and so also the
Luke i. 30. message was delivered to the Blessed Virgin,—or by the

[e] [Et similiter Apostolicæ traditiones non scriptæ eandem vim habent, quam Apostolicæ traditiones scriptæ, ut in Concil. Trident. Sess. iv. asseritur, et ratio est manifesta: nam] verbum Dei non est tale, nec habet ullam auctoritatem, quia scriptum est in membranis, sed quia a Deo profectum est, [vel immediate, ut sunt sermones Domini, vel mediantibus Apostolis, ut est decretum Apostolorum, Act. xv.]—Bellarmin. de verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. cap. 2. [Op., tom. i. col. 167. B.]

[f] Lex ordinata per angelos in manu Mediatoris.—Gal. iii. 19.

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Prophets[g] and Apostles, and so the Scriptures were delivered to the Church. But their being written, gave them no authority at all in regard of themselves: written or unwritten, the word was the same. But it was written that it might be the better preserved,[h] and continued with the more integrity to the use of the Church, and the more faithfully in our memories.[i] And you have been often enough told, (were truth, and not the maintaining of a party, the thing you seek for,) that if you will show us any such unwritten word of God delivered by His Prophets and Apostles, we will acknowledge it to be divine and infallible. So, written or unwritten, that shall not stumble us. But, then A. C. must not tell us, at least not think we shall swallow it into our belief, that everything which he says is the unwritten word of God, is so indeed.

VIII.—I know Bellarmine hath written a whole book, *De verbo Dei non scripto*,[k] "of the Word of God not written," in

[g] "The Holy Ghost, &c. which spake by the prophets,"—in Symb. Nicen.

[h] Nam pseudoprophetæ etiam viventibus adhuc Apostolis, multas fingebant corruptelas, sub hoc prætextu et titulo, quasi ab Apostolis viva voce essent traditæ, [sicut supra ostendimus:] et propter hanc ipsam causam Apostoli doctrinam suam cœperunt literis comprehendere, et Ecclesiis commendare.—Chem[nitii,] Exam. Concil. Trid. de Traditionibus, sub octavo genere Tradit. [par. 1. p. 76. col. 2. ed. Genev. 1614.]—And so also [Corn.] Jansen. in S. Johan. v. 47. [Com. in Concord. Evang. cap. xxxvi. in fin. p. 249. ed. Lovan. 1571.] Sicut enim firmius est quod mandatur literis, ita est culpabilius et majus non credere scriptis, quam non credere verbis.

[i] [Ad primum in oppositum quod] labilis est memoria, et ideo indigemus Scriptura: Dicendum quod verum est, sed hoc non habet, nisi ex inundantia peccatorum.—Henr. a Gand. Summ. part. i. Art. viii. Q[uæst.] 4. [§ 10. tom. i. p. 166. ed. Ferrariæ, 1646.—Henricus, cognomine Goethals .... gente Flander, Gandavensis a patria dictus, Mudam, prope Gandavum vicum natalem nactus .... claruit anno 1280, diu in collegio Sorbonico philosophiam et theologiam docuit tanta cum laude ut .... Doctor Solennis appellari meruit ....—Cave, Historia literaria, (Sæculum Scholast.) tom. ii. p. 326. Cf. Fr. Huet, Recherches, &c. sur Henri de Gand: Gand, 1838.]—[Sed ut quid pulsamus ad cœlum, cum habeamus hic in Evangelio testamentum? Quia hoc loco recte possunt terrena cœlestibus comparari: tale est quod quivis hominum habens numerosos filios, quamdiu pater præsens est, ipse imperat singulis; non est adhuc necessarium testamentum: sic et] Christus, [quamdiu præsens in terris fuit, quamvis nec modo desit, pro tempore quicquid necessarium erat Apostolis imperavit. Sed quomodo terrenus pater, dum se in confinio senserit mortis, timens ne post mortem suam, rupta pace, litigent fratres, adhibitis testibus,] voluntatem suam de pectore morituro transfert in tabulas diu duraturas: [et si fuerit inter fratres nata contentio, non itur ad tumulum, sed quæritur testamentum: et qui in tumulo quiescit, tacitus de tabulis loquitur. Vivus, cujus est testamentum, in cœlo est: ergo voluntas Ejus, velut in testamentum, sic in Evangelio requiratur.]—Optat. [Milevit. de Schism. Donatist.] lib. v. [cap. 3. Op., p. 81. ed. Dupin.—*i. e.*] Christus Ipse non transtulit, sed ex Optati sententia, Ejus inspiratione, si non jussu, Apostoli transtulerunt.

[k] Bellar. de verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv.

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which he handles the controversy concerning traditions. And the cunning is, to make his weaker readers believe, that all that which he and his are pleased to call traditions, are by and by no less to be received and honoured than the unwritten word of God ought to be. Whereas, it is a thing of easy knowledge, that the "unwritten word of God," and "tradition," are not convertible terms, that is, are not all one. For there are many unwritten words of God, which were never delivered over to the Church, for aught appears: and there are many traditions, affirmed, at least, to be such by the Church of Rome, which were never warranted by any unwritten word of God.

IX.—First, That there are many unwritten words of God, which were never delivered over to the Church, is manifest. For when or where were the words which Christ spake to His apostles, during the "forty days" of His conversing with them after His resurrection, first delivered over to the Church? or what were the unwritten words He then spake? If neither He, nor His Apostles or Evangelists, have delivered them to the Church, the Church ought not to deliver them to her children. Or if she do *tradere non traditum*,[1] "make a tradition of that which was not delivered to her," and by some of them, then she is unfaithful to God, and doth not *servare depositum*, "faithfully keep that which is committed to her trust." And her sons, which come to know it, are not bound to obey her tradition against the word of their Father.[m] For wheresoever Christ holds His peace, or that His words are not registered, I am of S. Augustine's[n] opinion, "No man

Acts i. 3.

1 Tim. vi. 20. 2 Tim. i. 14.

[1] Annunciare [ergo] aliquid Christianis Catholicis, præter id quod acceperunt, nunquam licuit, nusquam licet, nunquam licebit. — Vincen. Lirin. cap. xiv. [p. 25.]—Et præcepit nihil aliud innovari, nisi quod traditum est.—S. Cyprian. ad Pompeium cont. Epist. Stephan. [in] princip. [Epist. lxxiv. p. 138. ed. Benedict.]

[m] [Sic certe fidelis Sacra Scriptura cognita, et in ipsa Christo invento, plus verbis Christi in ea credit, quam cuicunque prædicatori, quam etiam Ecclesiæ testificanti, quia propter illam jam credit Ecclesiæ, et] si ipsa [quidem] contraria Scripturæ diceret, ipsi non crederet.—Henr. a Gand. Summ. part. i. Art. x. Q[uæst.] 1. [§ 10. tom. i. p. 183.]—And Bellarmine himself, that he might the more safely defend himself in the cause of traditions, says, (but how truly let other men judge:) Deinde commune est [iisdem sic agere, quasi ipsi Scripturas tantum, nos traditiones tantum defendamus, neque curemus, an traditiones sint secundum Scripturam, an contra Scripturam: at non ita est; nam Scripturam nos pluris facimus quam illi,] nec ullam traditionem admittimus contra Scripturam.—Lib. iv. de verbo Dei [non scripto,] cap. 3. § 7. [Op., tom. i. col. 169. B.]

[n] S. Augustin. in S. Johan. Evang. [cap. xvi. 12.] Tractat. xcvi. in illa verba, Multa habeo [vobis] dicere, sed

may dare without rashness say they were these, or these." So, there were many unwritten words of God, which were never delivered over to the Church; and therefore never made tradition. And there are many traditions, which cannot be said to be the unwritten word of God. For, I believe, a learned Romanist, that will weigh before he speaks, will not easily say, That to anoint or use spittle in baptism; or to use three dippings in the use of that sacrament; or divers other like traditions, had their rise from any word of God unwritten. Or if he be so hardy as to say so, it is *gratis dictum*, and he will have enough to do to prove it. So there may be an unwritten word of God, which is no tradition. And there are many traditions, which are no unwritten word of God. Therefore Tradition must be taken two ways:—either, as it is the Church's act delivering, or the thing thereby delivered; and then it is human authority, or from it, and unable infallibly to warrant divine faith, or to be the object of it: or else as it is the unwritten word of God; and then wherever it can be made to appear so, it is of divine and infallible authority, no question. But then I would have A. C. consider where he is in this particular. He tells us, We must know infallibly, that the books of Holy Scripture are divine, and that this must be done by unwritten tradition, but so, as that this tradition is the word of God unwritten. Now, let him but prove that this, or any tradition which the Church of Rome stands upon, is the word of God, though unwritten, and the business is ended. But A. C. must not think, that because the tradition of the Church tells me these books are *verbum Dei*, "God's word;" and that I do both honour and believe this tradition; that therefore this tradition itself is God's word too, and so absolutely sufficient and infallible to work this belief in me. Therefore, for aught A. C. hath yet added, we must on with our inquiry after this great business, and most necessary truth.

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A. C. p. 49. [ubi sup. p. 70.]

A. C. p. 50. [ubi sup. p. 70.]

non potestis portare modo. [Op., tom. iii. par. ii. col. 733. C. Nunc ergo quæ ista sint, quæ Apostoli tunc portare non poterant, vultis forsitan scire. Sed quis nostrûm audeat eorum se dicere jam capacem, quæ illi capere non valebant? ... Sed quænam sint ista quæ Ipse non dixit, temerarium est velle præsumere ac dicere .... Quæ cum Ipse tacuerit, quis nostrûm dicat, Ista vel illa sunt?]

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X.—2. For the second way of proving that Scripture should be fully and sufficiently known, as by "divine" and "infallible" testimony, *lumine proprio,* by the independency of that light which it hath in itself only, and by the witness that it can so give to itself, I could never yet see cause to allow. For as there is no place in Scripture that tells us, Such books, containing such and such particulars, are the Canon, and infallible will and word of God:[o] so, if there were any such place, that were no sufficient proof. For a man may justly ask another book to bear witness of that; and again of that, another; and wherever it were written in Scripture, that must be a part of the whole: and no created thing can alone give witness to itself, and make it evident; nor one part testify for another, and satisfy where Reason will but offer to contest; except those principles only of natural knowledge, which appear manifest by intuitive light of understanding, without any discourse: and yet they also to the weaker sort require induction preceding. Now this inbred light of Scripture is a thing coincident with Scripture itself: and so the principles and the conclusion in this kind of proof should be entirely the same, which cannot be. Besides, if this "inward light" were so clear, how could there have been any variety among the ancient believers touching the authority of S. James' and S. Jude's Epistles,[p] and the Apocalypse,[q] with other books which were not received for

[o] Hooker, [Eccl. Polit.] book ii. ch. iv. [sect. 2. Works, vol. i. pp. 370, 371. ed. Keble. "Finally, we all believe that the Scriptures of God are sacred, and that they have proceeded from God; ourselves we assure that we do right well in so believing. We have for this point a demonstration sound and infallible. But it is not the word of God which doth or possibly can assure us, that we do well to think it His word. For if any one book of Scripture did give testimony to all, yet still that Scripture which giveth credit to the rest, would require another Scripture to give credit unto it; neither could we ever come to any pause whereon to rest our assurance this way: so that unless beside Scripture there were something which might assure us that we do well, we could not think we do well, no, not in being assured that Scripture is a sacred and holy rule of well-doing."]

[p] [Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἥ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται· ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μέν· οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης τῶν ἑπτὰ λεγομένων καθολικῶν.]—Euseb. [Hist. Eccles.] lib. ii. cap. 27. [in] fin. ed. Basil. 1549. [cap. 23. tom. i. p. 82. apud Hist. Eccl. Script. ed. Reading.]

[q] [ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τοῦ Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ . . . ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις εἰ φανείη, ἣν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις.]—Euseb. [Hist. Eccles.] lib. iii. cap. 25. [tom. i. p. 119. apud Hist. Eccl. Script. ed. Reading.]

divers years after the rest of the New Testament? For, certainly, the light which is in the Scripture was the same then which now it is. And how could the Gospel of S. Bartholomew, of S. Thomas, and other counterfeit pieces, obtain so much credit with some, as to be received into the Canon, if the evidence of this light were either universal or infallible, of, and by, itself? And this though I cannot approve, yet methinks you may, and upon probable grounds at least. For I hope no Romanist will deny,[r] but that there is as much light in Scripture, to manifest and make ostension of itself to be infallibly the written word of God, as there is in any tradition of the Church, that it is divine, and infallibly the unwritten word of God. And the Scriptures saying from the mouths of the Prophets, "Thus saith the Lord," and from the mouths of the Apostles, that "the Holy Ghost spake by them," are at least as able and as fit to bear witness to their own verity, as the Church is to bear witness to her own traditions, by bare saying they come from the Apostles. And yourselves would never go to the Scripture to prove that there are traditions, as you do,[s] if you do not think the Scripture as easy to be discovered by "inbred light in itself," as traditions by their "light." And if this be so, then it is as probable at the least (which some of ours affirm) "That Scripture may be known to be the word of God by the light and lustre which it hath in itself," as it is (which you affirm,) "That a tradition may be known to be such by the light which it hath in itself:" which is an excellent proposition to make sport withal, were this an argument to be handled merrily.

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Isa. xliv. 2. *et passim.* Acts xxviii. 25.

2 Thess. ii. 15. Jude, ver. 3.

XI.—3. For the third opinion and way of proving, either some think that there is no sufficient warrant for this, unless they fetch it from the testimony of the Holy Ghost, and so

[r] Except A. C., whose boldness herein I cannot but pity. For he denies this "light" to the Scripture, and gives it to Tradition. His words are (p. 52): "Tradition of the Church is of a company, which by its own light shows [showeth—A. C.] itself to be infallibly [infallibly—*caret* A. C.] assisted [by Christ and His Holy Spirit], &c."

[s] In your Articles delivered to Dr. W[hite,] to be answered. ["D. White excepted against that part of the paper, wherein was said, That the word of God was partly written, partly unwritten, and would have nothing to be the word of God, but what is written in Scripture. M. Fisher, to justify that part of the paper, first alleged that text of S. Paul, Hold the traditions, &c."—The Relation of the Conference, &c. p. 15.] And A. C. p. 52. [seu potius, p. 50. ubi sup. p. 70.]

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look in vain after special revelations, and make themselves, by this very conceit, obnoxious, and easy to be led by all the whisperings of a "seducing private spirit;" or else you would fain have them think so. For your side,[t] both upon this and other occasions, do often challenge, "That we resolve all our faith into the dictates of a private Spirit;" from which we shall ever prove ourselves as free [as], if not freer than, you. To the question in hand then: Suppose it agreed upon that there must be a divine faith,[u] *cui subesse non potest falsum*, "under which can rest no possible error," that the books of Scripture are the written word of God: if they which go to the testimony of the Holy Ghost for proof of this, do mean by faith, *objectum fidei*, "the object of faith" that is to be believed, then, no question, they are out of the ordinary way. For God never sent us by any word or warrant of His, to look for any such "special and private testimony" to prove which that book is, that we must believe. But if by faith they mean the habit, or act, of divine infused faith, by which virtue they do believe the credible object, and thing to be believed, then their speech is true, and confessed by all divines of all sorts. For faith is the "gift of God,"[x] of God alone, and an "infused habit,"[y] in respect

[t] A Jesuit, under the name of T. S. [J. S.] set out a book, anno 1630, which he called, "The Triall of the Protestant private Spirit." [The full title of this book is: "The triall of the Protestant Private Spirit: wherein their doctrine making the sayd Spirit the sole grounde and meanes of their beliefe is confuted . . . The Second Part which is doctrinall. Written by J. S. of the Society of Jesus. Permissu superiorum. MDCXXX." Its author was J. Sergeant: and in a Preface he explains how "this Second Part gets birth and breath, and comes to light before the first."]

[u] Ut testimonia Scripturæ certam et indubitatam fidem præstent, necessarium videtur ostendere, quod ipsæ Divinæ Scripturæ sint Dei Spiritu inspiratæ.—Origen. περὶ ἀρχῶν, lib. iv. [cap. 1. Rufin. interpret. Op., tom. i. p. 156. ed. Benedict. μαρτύρια τὰ ἐκ τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἡμῖν εἶναι θείων γραφῶν, τῆς τε λεγομένης παλαίας διαθήκης, καὶ τῆς καλουμένης καινῆς, λόγῳ τε πειρώμεθα κρατύνειν ἡμῶν τὴν πίστιν.]

[x] 1 Cor. xii. 3, 4.—[Supra dixerat, Sed sunt quidam ex vobis qui non credunt; et tanquam hujus rei causam exponens, Propterea dixi, inquit, vobis, quia nemo potest venire ad Me, nisi fuerit ei datum a Patre: ut ostenderet etiam ipsam fidem qua credit, et ex morte sui cordis anima reviviscit,] dari nobis a Deo, &c.—S. Augustin. [Enarr.] in Psalm. lxxxvii. [Op., tom. iv. col. 932. F. ed. Benedict.]

[y] [Hanc autem causam Pelagiani ponebant solum liberum arbitrium hominis; et propter hoc dicebant, quod initium fidei est ex nobis: in quantum sc. ex nobis est, quod parati sumus ad assentiendum his, quæ sunt fidei: sed consummatio fidei est a Deo, per quam nobis proponuntur ea quæ credere debemus. Sed hoc est falsum], quia [cum] homo, assentiendo his quæ sunt fidei, elevetur supra naturam suam, oportet quod hoc insit ei ex supernaturali principio interius movente, quod est Deus: [et ideo fides quantum ad assentiendum, quod est principalis actus fidei, est a Deo interius movente per gratiam.]—Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] vi.

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whereof the soul is merely recipient; and therefore the sole infuser, the Holy Ghost, must not be excluded from that work, which none can do but He. For the Holy Ghost, as He first dictated the Scripture to the Apostles,[z] so did He not leave the Church in general, nor the true members of it in particular, without grace to believe what Himself had revealed and made credible.[a] So that faith, as it is taken for the virtue of faith, whether it be of this or any other article, though "it receive a kind of preparation, or occasion of beginning, from the testimony of the Church, as it proposeth and induceth to the faith; yet it ends in God, revealing within, and teaching within, that which the Church preached without."[b] For till the Spirit of God move the heart of man, he cannot believe, be the object never so credible. The speech is true then, but quite out of the state of this question:[c] which inquires only after a sufficient means

A[rt.] 1. [in respons.]—And your own divines agree in this, that *fides acquisita* is not sufficient for any article, but there must be *fides infusa*, before there can be divine certainty. [Nec verus catholicus, quod nonnulli fingunt, assentitur huic, Ecclesia est verax, solum per] conjecturas humanas, quibus acquisita fides innititur. Ad quem modum et Saraceni suis præceptoribus, et Judæi suis rabbinis, et Gentes suis philosophis, et omnes [denique] suis majoribus inhærent. Non sic, [inquam,] Christiani; sed per interius lumen infusum a Spiritu Sancto, quo firmissime et certissime moventur ad credendum, [ecclesiam Christianam errare non posse.—Melchior] Canus, de loc. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 8. § Jam si hæc, [p. 59.]

[z] Symbol. Nicen. "The Holy Ghost, [Who] spake by the prophets," &c.—Et 1 Pet. ii. 21.—[Tu itaque, regnator creaturæ tuæ,] quis est modus, quo doces animas ea quæ futura sunt? Docuisti enim prophetas Tuos.—S. Augustin. Confess. lib. xi. cap. 19. [Op., tom. i. col. 203. D.]

[a] [Calvini certo argumento respondens dixi:] Nec cum ecclesiæ testimonium aut judicium prædicamus, Dei Spiritum, vel ab ecclesia docente, vel a nobis audientibus, excludimus, [ut vel stultissime de nobis imaginantur, vel vafre et scelerate cogitare se fingunt Protestantes,] sed utrobique diserte includimus, &c.—Stapleton. Triplicatio adversus Whitakerum, [pro ecclesiæ auctoritate,] cap. iii. [Op., tom. i. p. 1142. C.]

[b] [Etsi pars objecti formalis sit vox ecclesiæ, non tamen in fidem acquisitam resolvitur fides infusa, sed plane contra fides acquisita resolvitur in infusam: id est,] fides quæ cœpit ab ecclesiæ testimonio, quatenus proponit et inducit ad fidem, desinit in Deo intus revelante et intus docente quod foris ecclesia prædicavit.—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] iv. [de potestat. Eccl. in se, Q[uæst.] iii. A[rt.] 2. [respons. ad argum. hæret. Op., tom. i. p. 755. A.]—["Neither can I think that] when grave and learned men do sometime hold, that of this principle there is no proof but by the testimony of the Spirit, [which assureth our hearts therein,] it is their meaning to exclude [utterly] all force [which any kind] of reason may have in that behalf; but [I] rather [incline to interpret such their speeches, as if they had more expressly set down,] that other motives and inducements, [be they never so strong and consonant with reason,] are [notwithstanding] uneffectual of themselves to work faith [concerning this principle], if the special grace of the Holy Spirit concur not [to the enlightening of our minds."] — Hooker, [Eccl. Polit.] book iii. ch. viii. [sect. 15. Works, vol. i. p. 476. ed. Keble.]

[c] De habitu fidei quoad fieri ejus

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to make this object credible and fit to be believed, against all impeachment of folly and temerity in belief, whether men do actually believe it or not. For which no man may expect inward private revelation without the external means of the Church, unless perhaps the "case of necessity" [d] be excepted, when a man lives in such a time and place as excludes him from all ordinary means; in which I dare not offer to shut up God from the souls of men, nor to tie Him to those ordinary ways and means to which yet in great wisdom and providence He had tied and bound all mankind.

XII.—Private revelation, then, hath nothing ordinarily to do, to make the object credible in this, That Scripture is the word of God, or in any other article. For the question is of such outward and evident means, as other men may take notice of, as well as ourselves. By which, if there arise any doubting or infirmity in the faith, others may strengthen us, or we afford means to support them: whereas the testimony of the Spirit, and all private revelation, is within, nor felt nor seen of any but him[1] that hath it. [e] So that hence can be drawn no proof to others. And miracles are not sufficient alone to prove it, unless both they, and the revelation too, agree with the rule of Scripture, which is now an unalterable rule by man or angel. To all this A. C. says nothing, save "that I seem not to admit of an infallible impulsion of a[2] private Spirit, *ex parte subjecti*, without any infallible reason,

[1] [but of him . . . Edit. 1686.]

Gal. i. 8.

A. C. p. 52.

[2] [the . . . A. C.]

et generationem, quum a Deo immediate solo dono gratuito infusus est, nihil ad quæstionem, nisi quoad hoc quod per Scripturæ inspectionem, &c. —Henr. a Gand. Summ. [part. i.] A[rt.] x. Q[uæst.] 1. D. [§ 7. tom. i. p. 182. His words are: De habitu fidei... nisi quo ad hoc, quod per Scripturæ inspectionem, vel ecclesiæ statum, et conversationem homini aliquo modo possit rationabiliter persuaderi, ut ei videatur assentiendum eis quæ Scriptura dictat aut ecclesia prædicat: et sic aliquo modo disponitur de congruo ad susceptionem habitus fidei munere divino.]

[d] Stapleton. Relect. Controv. iv. Quæst. iii. Art. 2. [Op., tom. i. p. 755. A, B. ubi sup. note [b].] doth not only affirm it, but proves it too, *a paritate rationis*, in case of necessity, where there is no contempt of the external means. [His words are: Rursum, sicut sanctificatio impletur aliquando invisibiliter, cum mysterium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis, excludit, (ut scribit idem Augustinus de baptism. contra Donatist. lib. iv. cap. 22.] sic interna sola revelatio ad fidem aliquando efficaciter inducit, cum externa illa media non contemptus docentis ecclesiæ, sed articulus aliquis necessitatis excludit: ut, videlicet, quia vel in eremo, vel inter paganos, &c.]

[e] [Quoniam igitur divina providentia, non solum singulis hominibus quasi privatim, sed universo generi humano tanquam publice, consulit,] quid cum singulis agatur, Deus scit qui agit, atque ipsi, cum quibus agitur, sciunt. Quid autem agatur cum genere humano, per historiam commendari voluit, et per prophetiam.—S. Augustin. de vera Relig. cap. xxv. [Op., tom. i. col. 763. D.]

and that sufficiently applied, *ex parte objecti,* which if I did admit, would open a gap to all enthusiasms, and dreams of fanatical men." Now for this yet I thank him. For I do not only "seem not to admit," but I do most clearly reject, this frenzy in the words going before.

XIII.—4. The last way, which gives reason leave to come in, and prove what it can,[f] may not justly be denied by any reasonable man. For though reason without grace cannot see the way to heaven, nor believe this book, in which God hath written the way; yet grace is never placed but in a reasonable creature, and proves by the very seat which it hath taken up, that the end it hath is to be spiritual eye-water, to make reason see what by "nature only it cannot,"[g] but never to blemish reason in that which it can, "comprehend." Now the use of reason is very general; and man, do what he can, is still apt to search and seek for a reason why he will believe; though, after he once believes, his faith grows stronger than either his reason or his knowledge:[h]

[f] Utitur tamen sacra doctrina [etiam] ratione humana, non quidem ad probandum fidem ipsam, [quia per hoc tolleretur meritum fidei,] sed ad manifestandum aliqua alia, quæ traduntur in hac doctrina — Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 8. ad Secundum.—Passibus *rationis* novus homo tendit in Deum: [inquit] S. Augustin. de vera relig. cap. xxvi. [Op., tom. i. col. 764. F.] passibus, verum est, sed nec æquis, nec solis. [S. Augustine's words are: Iste dicitur novus homo et interior et cœlestis, habens ex ipsa proportione, non annis, sed provectibus, distinctas quasdam spirituales ætates suas.]—[AD TERTIUM dicendum, quod] invisibilia Dei altiori modo, quantum ad plura, percipit fides, quam ratio naturalis ex creaturis in Deum procedens.—Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] ii. A[rt. 3. respons.] ad Tertium.

[g] Animalis homo non percipit.—1 Cor. ii. 14.

[h] Quia [aliæ] scientiæ certitudinem habent ex naturali lumine rationis humanæ, quæ potest errare: [hæc autem, sc.] Theologia, [quæ docet et objectum et notitiam fidei, sicut et fidem ipsam], certitudinem habet ex lumine divinæ scientiæ, quæ decipi non potest. — Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst. i. A[rt.] 5. [in respons.]—[Cum igitur etiam ego vicissim laudavero quod credo, et quod credis irrisero, quid putas nobis esse judicandum, quidve faciendum, nisi ut eos relinquamus, qui nos invitant certa cognoscere, et postea imperant ut incerta credamus; et eos sequamur, qui nos invitant prius credere, quod nondum valemus intueri,] ut, ipsa fide valentiores facti, quod credimus intelligere mereamur, [non jam hominibus, sed ipso Deo intrinsecus mentem nostram illuminante atque firmante?]—S. Augustin. contra Epistolam Manichæi, quam vocant Fundamenti, cap. xiv. [Op., tom. viii. col. 160. D.]—Hoc autem ita intelligendum est, ut scientia certior sit certitudine evidentiæ; fides vero certior firmitate adhæsionis. Majus lumen in scientia, majus robur in fide: et hoc, quia in fide, et ad fidem actus imperatus voluntatis concurrit. Credere enim est actus intellectus vero assentientis productus [procedens] ex voluntatis imperio.—[Gabr.] Biel. in III. Sentent. Distinct. xxiii. Quæst. ii. Art. 1. [These are not, except in portions, the exact words of Gabriel Biel, but rather an account of his whole argument. Part of the quotation is to be found in Nic. de Lyra, apud Bibl. Sacr. cum Gloss. ordinar, &c. in Johan. iv. 42. sc. Firmiter credere, quia in fide major est certitudo

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and great reason for this, because it goes higher, and so upon a safer principle, than either of the other can in this life.

XIV.—In this particular the books called the Scripture are commonly and constantly reputed to be the word of God, and so infallible verity to the least point of them. Doth any man doubt this? The world cannot keep him from going to weigh it at the balance of reason, whether it be the word of God or not. To the same weights he brings the tradition of the Church, the inward motives in Scripture itself, all testimonies within, which seem to bear witness to it; and in all this there is no harm: the danger is when a man will use no other scale but reason, or prefer reason before any other scale. For the word of God, and the book containing it, refuse not to be weighed by reason.[i] But the scale is not large enough to contain, nor the weights to measure out, the true virtue and full force of either. Reason, then, can give no supernatural ground into which a man may resolve his faith, That Scripture is the word of God infallibly: yet Reason can go so high, as it can prove that Christian religion, which rests upon the authority of this book, stands upon surer grounds of nature, reason, common equity, and justice, than any thing in the world which any infidel or mere naturalist hath done, doth or can adhere unto, against

adhærentiæ, quam in scientia, quamvis non sit tanta certitudo evidentiæ. And part occurs in Thom. Aquin. Secund. Secund. Quæst. iv. Art. 1. vide infra, p. 119. note [h].]—Unde Thom. [Aquin. inquit, [AD TERTIUM dicendum quod] Intellectus credentis determinatur ad unum, non per rationem, sed per voluntatem; et ideo assensus hic accipitur pro actu intellectus, secundum quod a voluntate determinatur ad unum.—Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] ii. A[rt.] 1.

[i] Si vobis, *rationi* et veritati consentanea videntur, in pretio habete, &c. de mysteriis religionis.—Justin. Martyr. [Apolog. Prim. cap.] ii. [These words do not seem to be an exact translation of Justin Martyr, but an account of the general argument of the exordium of his first Apology.]—Igitur, si fuit dispositio *rationis* [super filium Dei ex virgine proferendum, cur non ex virgine acceperit corpus, quod de virgine protulit?]—Tertull. lib. de Carne Christi, cap. xvii. C. [Op., p. 321. ed. Rigalt.] —Rationabile est credere Deum esse autorem Scripturæ.—Henr. a Gand. Summ. tom. i. Art. ix. Q[uæst.] 3. [The statements in the Quæstio referred to, upon which the conclusion referred to by Laud depends, seem these: — Quare cum sacra Scriptura directa dit humano generi a Deo per medios prophetas et apostolos et eorum successores: certitudo notitiæ veritatis hujus scientiæ non potest attribui alicui mediorum, nisi quia in ipso cognoscitur primum dirigens scilicet virtus divina refulgens in miraculis circa medios ad nos scientiam istam deferentes.—Art. ix. Quæst. 3. § 13. p. 180. Non est igitur incerta Dei auctoritas circa hanc Scripturam, nec levitatis est ei credere.—Ibid. § 14. p. 181. Conclusio 2. of this Quæstio is: "Rationale est credere auctorem hujus scientiæ fuisse Deum." —P. 181.]

it, in that which he makes, accounts, or assumes as religion to himself. SECTION XVI.

XV.—The ancient Fathers relied upon the Scriptures, no Christians more: and, having to do with philosophers (men very well seen in all the subtilties which natural reason could teach or learn), they were often put to it, and did as often make it good, that they had sufficient warrant to rely, so much as they did, upon Scripture. In all which disputes, because they were to deal with infidels, they did labour to make good the authority of the book of God by such arguments as unbelievers themselves could not but think reasonable, if they weighed them with indifferency. For though I set the mysteries of faith above reason, which is their proper place; yet I would have no man think they contradict reason, or the principles thereof. No sure: for reason by her own light can discover how firmly the principles of religion are true; but all the light she hath will never be able to find them false. Nor may any man think that the principles of religion, even this, That Scriptures are the word of God, are so indifferent to a natural eye, that it may with as just cause lean to one part of the contradiction as to the other. For though this truth, That Scripture is the word of God, is not so demonstratively evident *a priori*, as to enforce assent; yet it is strengthened so abundantly with probable arguments, both from the light of nature itself and human testimony, that he must be very wilful and self-conceited that shall dare to suspect it.

XVI.—Nay, yet farther,[k] It is not altogether impossible

[k] Hooker, [Eccl. Polit.] Book. iii. ch. viii. [sect. 14. Works, vol. i. pp. 575, 576. ed. Keble. "If infidels or atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own persuasion which Scripture itself hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which case the ancient Fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to rely upon the Scripture, endeavoured still to maintain the authority of the books of God by arguments such as unbelievers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judged thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible, or greatly hard, even by such kind of proofs so to manifest and clear that point, that no man living shall be able to deny it, without denying some apparent principle such as all men acknowledge to be true."]—Si [enim] Plato ipse viveret, et me interrogantem non aspernaretur, [vel potius, si quis ejus discipulus, eo ipso tempore quo vivebat, eum interrogaret,] &c.—S. Augustin. de vera Relig. cap. iii. [Op., tom. i. col. 748. C.]—[Et quoniam de auctoritatis beneficentia, quantum in præsentia satis visum est, locuti sumus,] videamus quatenus ratio possit progredi a visibilibus ad invisibilia, [et

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to prove it, even by reason, a truth infallible, or else to make them deny some apparent principle of their own. For example: It is an apparent principle, and with them, That God, or the absolute prime agent, cannot be forced out of any possession; for if He could be forced by another greater, He were neither prince, nor absolute, nor God,[1] in their own theology. Now they must grant, That that God and Christ, which the Scripture teaches, and we believe, is the only true God, and no other with Him, and so deny the Deity which they worshipped, or else deny their own principle about the Deity, That God cannot be commanded and forced out of possession. For[m] "their gods, Saturn, and Serapis, and Jupiter himself, have been adjured by the name of the true and only God, and have been forced out of the bodies they possessed, and confessed themselves to be foul and seducing devils; and their confession was to be supposed true in point of reason; for they that were adored as gods, would never belie themselves into devils, to their own reproach, especially in the presence of them that worshipped them, were they not forced." This many of the unbelievers saw: therefore they could not, in very force of reason, but they must either deny their God, or deny their principle in nature. Their long custom would not forsake their God, and their reason could not forget their principle. If reason therefore might judge among them, they could not worship anything that was under command. And if it be reasonable to do and believe this, then why not reasonable also to believe, That Scripture is His Word, given to teach Himself and Christ, since there they find Christ "doing

Matt. xii. 22.

a temporalibus ad æterna conscendens.]—Ibid. cap. xxix. [col. 766. A.]

[1] Si vim spectes, Deus valentissimus est.—Aristot. de Mundo, cap. vii. [Ταῦτα χρὴ καὶ περὶ θεοῦ διανοεῖσθαι, δυνάμει μὲν ὄντος ἰσχυροτάτου, κάλλει δὲ εὐπρεπεστάτου, κ. τ. λ.—Op., tom. iii. p. 152. ed. Bekker.]—Domini et Moderatores omnium. — Cic. de Legg. [lib.] ii. [cap. 7. His words are: Sit igitur hoc a principio persuasum civibus, dominos esse omnium ac moderatores Deos, eaque, quæ gerantur, eorum geri ditione ac numine, &c.]

[m] Ipse Saturnus, et Serapis, et Jupiter, et quicquid Dæmonum colitis, victi dolore, quod sunt, eloquuntur. Nec utique in turpitudinem sui, nonnullis præsertim vestrorum assistentibus, mentiuntur. Ipsis testibus esse eos Dæmonas de se verum confitentibus credite. Adjurati enim per deum verum et solum, inviti, [miseri, corporibus inhorrescunt; et vel exiliunt statim, vel evanescunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adjuvat, aut gratia curantis aspirat.]—Arnob. viii. contra Gent.; or Minutius Felix, as is now thought: [sc. in Dialogo Min. Fel. qui inscribitur Octavius, cap. viii. p. 253. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1672.]

that," and "giving power to do it after," which themselves saw executed upon their devil-gods? SECTION XVI.

XVII.—Besides, whereas all other written laws have scarce had the honour to be duly observed, or constantly allowed worthy approbation, in the particular places where they have been established for laws; this law of Christ, and this canon of Scripture, the container of it, is, or hath been, received in almost all nations under heaven;[n] and wheresoever it hath been received, it hath been both approved for unchangeable good, and believed for infallible verity. This persuasion could not have been wrought in men of all sorts, but by working upon their reason, unless we shall think all the world unreasonable that received it. And certainly God did not give this admirable faculty of reasoning to the soul of man for any cause more prime than this, to discover, or to judge and allow, within the sphere of its own activity, and not presuming further, of the way to Himself, when and howsoever it should be discovered. Matt. [Mark] xvi. 17.

XVIII.—One great thing that troubled rational men, was that which stumbled the Manichee, (an heresy it was, but more than half pagan,) namely, That somewhat must be believed, before much could be known. Wise men use not to believe, but what they know; and the Manichee[o] scorned the orthodox Christian as light of belief, promising to lead no disciple after him, but upon evident knowledge. This

[n] [Tu in eos] libros, [qui] quoquo modo se habeant, sancti tamen divinarum [que] rerum pleni prope totius generis humani confessione diffamantur, [sine duce irruis, et de his sine præceptore audes ferre sententiam.]—S. Augustin. de utilitat. credendi, cap. vii. [Op., tom. viii. col. 56. B.]—[Civitatem Dei dicimus, cujus ea] Scriptura [testis est, quæ non fortuitis motibus animorum, sed plane] summæ dispositione providentiæ, super omnes omnium gentium literas, omnia sibi genera ingeniorum humanorum divina excellens authoritate subjecit.—S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xi. cap. i. [Op., tom. vii. col. 271. D.]—At [vero] in omni orbe terrarum, in Græcia, atque universis [exteris] nationibus, innumeri sunt et immensi, qui relictis patriis legibus, [et his quos putabant Deos,] ad observantiam Moysis [legis et discipulatum se] Christi [cultumque tradiderunt.]—Origen. [Ruffin. interpret.] lib. iv. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, cap. i. [*πᾶσα μὲν Ἑλλὰς καὶ βάρβαρος ἡ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἡμῶν, ζηλῶτας ἔχει μυρίους, καταλιπόντας τοὺς πατρῴους νόμους καὶ νομιζομένους θεοὺς, τῆς τηρήσεως τῶν Μωσέως νόμων, καὶ τῆς μαθητείας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγων.*—Op., tom. i. p. 157. ed. Benedict.]

[o] [Jam vero apud Hipponem—regium presbyter scripsi librum de utilitate Credendi, ad amicum meum quem deceptum a Manichæis, adhuc eo errore noveram detineri, et] irridere in Catholicæ Fidei disciplina, quod juberentur homines credere, non autem [quid esset verum certissima ratione docerentur.]—S. Augustin. Retractat. lib. i. cap. 14. [Op., tom. i. col. 21. E.]

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stumbles many; but yet the principle, That somewhat must be believed before much can be known, stands firm in reason still. For, if in all sciences there be some principles which cannot be proved; if reason be able to see this, and confess it; if almost all artists have granted it; if in the mathematics, where are the exactest demonstrations, there be *quædam postulata*, some things to be first demanded and granted, before the demonstration can proceed; who can justly deny that to Divinity, a science of the highest object, God Himself, which he easily and reasonably grants to inferior sciences, which are more within his reach? And as all sciences suppose some principles without proving, so have they almost all some text, some authority, upon which they rely in some measure: and it is reason they should. For though these sciences make not their texts infallible, as Divinity doth; yet full consent, and prudent examination, and long continuance, have won reputation to them, and settled reputation upon them, very deservedly. And were these texts more void of truth than they are, yet it were fit and reasonable to uphold their credit, that novices and young beginners in a science, which are not able to work strongly upon reason, nor reason upon them, may have authority to believe, till they can learn to conclude from principles, and so to know. Is this also reasonable in other sciences, and shall it not be so in Theology, to have a text, a Scripture, a rule, which novices may be taught first to believe, that so they may after come to the knowledge of those things, which out of this rich principle and treasure are deducible?[p] I yet see not how right reason can deny these grounds; and if it cannot, then a mere natural man may be thus far convinced, That the text of God is a very credible text.

XIX.—Well, these are the four ways, by most of which

[p] And therefore S. Augustin. de doct. Christ. lib. ii. cap. viii. would have men make themselves perfect in reading the letter of the Scripture, even before they understood it. [Erit igitur divinarum Scripturarum sollertissimus indagator, qui primo totas legerit,] notasque habuerit; et si nondum intellectu, [jam] tamen lectione, duntaxat [eas quæ appellantur Canonicæ.—Op., tom. iii. par. i. col. 23. C.] No question but to make them ready against they understood it; and as schoolmasters make their scholars con their grammar rules by heart, that they may be ready for their use, when they better understand them.

men offer to prove the Scripture to be the word of God, as by a divine and infallible warrant. And, it seems, no one of these doth it alone. (1.) The tradition of the present Church is too weak, because that is not absolutely divine. (2.) The light, which is in Scripture itself, is not bright enough; it cannot bear sufficient witness to itself. (3.) The testimony of the Holy Ghost, that is most infallible, but ordinarily is not so much as considerable in this question; which is not, how, or by what means, we believe, but how the Scripture may be proposed as a credible object, fit for belief. (4.) And for reason, no man expects that that should prove it: it doth service enough, if it enable us to disprove that which misguided men conceive against it. If none of these, then, be an absolute and sufficient means to prove it, either we must find out another, or see what can be more wrought out of these. And to all this again, A. C. says nothing.

XX.—For the tradition of the Church, then, certain it is, we must distinguish the Church, before we can judge right of the validity of the tradition. For if the speech be of the prime Christian Church, the Apostles, disciples, and such as had immediate revelation from heaven; no question, but the voice and tradition of this Church is divine, not *aliquo modo*, "in a sort," but simply; and the word of God from them is of like validity, written or delivered. And against this tradition, of which kind this, That the books of Scripture are the word of God, is the most general and uniform, the Church of England never excepted. And when S. Augustine[q] said, "I would not believe the Gospel, unless the authority of the Catholic Church moved me," which place you urged at the Conference, though you are now content to slide by it, some of your own will not endure it should be understood, save of the Church in the time of the Apostles[r]

[q] [Evangelium mihi fortasse lecturus es, et inde Manichæi personam tentabis asserere. Si ergo invenires aliquem, qui Evangelio nondum credit, quid faceres dicenti tibi, Non credo?] Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoverit auctoritas.—S. Augustin contra Epistolam [Manichæi, quam vocant] Fund[amenti,] cap. v. [Op., tom. viii. col. 153, 154. G. A.]

[r] Ockam. Dialog. part. i. cap. 4. [apud Goldast. Monarch. S. Rom. Imp. tom. ii. p. 402. ed. Francof. 1614.] Intelligitur solum de Ecclesia quæ fuit tempore Apostolorum. —[Ockam's words are: Aliquando vero nomen Ecclesiæ non solum totam congregationem catholicorum viventium, sed etiam fideles mortuos comprehendit. Et isto modo ultimo..... accipit nomen Ecclesiæ Augustin. cum asserit, quod Non crederet Evangelium, &c. Ista enim Ecclesia scrip-

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only; and some,[s] of the Church in general, not excluding after ages. But sure to include Christ and His Apostles.

tores Evangelii et omnes Apostolos comprehendit; sicut probatum est. Quare ex auctoritate Augustini sane intellecta inferri non potest, quod magis sit credendum summo pontifici, canonum conditori, quam evangelio. .... Conceditur tamen, quod magis credendum est *Ecclesiæ*, quæ est multitudo catholicorum omnium, qui fuerunt a temporibus Prophetarum et Apostolorum usque modo, quam evangelio: non quia de evangelio sit aliqualiter dubitandum, sed quia totum majus est sua parte.]—[T. C. (*i. e.* Thorold the Jesuit,) in his reply to the present work, published under the title: "Labyrinthus Cantuariensis; or Dr. Laud's Labyrinth, Paris, 1658." p. 78.; complains of Laud for saying "some," and quoting only Ockam. Stillingfleet in his reply to T. C. "A rational account of the grounds of the Protestant religion: being a vindication of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference, from the pretended answer by T. C.," part i. ch. 6. sect. 19. Works, vol. iv. p. 191. ed. 1709. adds the following passage from Gerson: "Et hic aperitur modus intelligendi illud Augustini, Evangelio non crederem, &c. Ibidem enim Ecclesiam sumit pro primitiva congregatione fidelium eorum, qui Christum viderunt, audierunt, et sui testes extiterunt.—Joh. Gerson. Lect. ii. de vita spirituali, ad coroll. 7." (Op., tom. iii. col. 24. C. ed. Dupin. Antwerp. 1706.) And with respect to the passage from Ockam, in which, as Thorold rightly remarks, (p. 79.) "having perused it very diligently, there are neither those words cited (by Laud), nor anything like them," Stillingfleet (ibid.) answers satisfactorily that, "In Durandus we have those very words, which his Lordship by a lapse of memory attributes to Ockam; for Durandus plainly says: Hoc autem quod dictum est de approbatione Scripturæ per Ecclesiam, intelligitur solum de Ecclesia quæ fuit tempore Apostolorum, qui fuerunt repleti Spiritu Sancto, et nihilominus viderunt miracula Christi, et audierunt Ejus doctrinam, et ob hoc fuerunt convenientes testes omnium quæ Christus fecit aut docuit, ut per eorum testimonia Scriptura, continens facta et dicta Christi, approbaretur.—Durand. lib. iii. Distinct. xxiv. Quæst. i. Sect. 9." (fol. ccxc. col. 3. ed. Paris. 1508.) And to the objection urged by Thorold, that the passage from Ockam "doth speak, not of the Apostolic Church only, but of the Church in all ages, comprehending the Apostles and Evangelists in it," Stillingfleet (ibid. p. 192.) answers, "What advantage this is to your cause I cannot imagine ..... For they who speak of the Church in that comprehensive sense, do only suppose the infallibility to have been in the primitive Apostolical Church, but the successive Church to be only the channel of conveyance of that testimony down to us; and so they say no more than we do. Thus Driedo expounds that place of Augustine: Augustinus cum dicit, Ego Evangelio non crederem, &c., intelligit de Ecclesia Catholica, quæ fuit ab initio Christianæ fidei, secundum seriem successionis Episcoporum crescens, ad hæc usque tempora, quæ sane Ecclesia complectitur collegium Apostolorum. Driedo, (de Eccl. Script. et Dogmatib.) tom. i. lib. iv. cap. 4." (De dogmat. var. et apocryph. p. 564. ed. Lovan. 1533.)]

[s] [Gabrielis] Biel, [sacræ theosophiæ licentiati nostræ tempestatis profundissimi, sacri] canonis missæ [tam mystica quam litteralis expositio, &c.] Lect. xxii. [fol. xxx. ed. Johan. Cleyn. Lugd. 1514. Accipitur etiam adhuc Ecclesia pro congregatione non tantum omnium fidelium actu existentium, sed omnium qui fuerunt] a tempore Christi et Apostolorum [usque nunc sibi succedentium: et distinguitur a Synagoga Moysi. Et sic accipit beatus Augustinus in Epistola fundamenti, dicens, Evangelio non crederem nisi Ecclesiæ auctoritas me compelleret.—In this lecture on the words of the Canon, "In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro tota tua Ecclesia sancta," Biel is explaining the various acceptations of the term Ecclesia, and he argues that as the Evangelist is part of the Church, and the whole greater than a part, so the authority of the Church is greater than that of the Evangelist.]—And so doth S. Augustine take *Ecclesia*, [in his treatise] contra [Epistol.] Fundam. [ubi supra.]

And the certainty is there, abundance of certainty in itself; but how far that is evident to us, shall after appear.

XXI.—But this will not serve your turn. The tradition of the present Church must be as infallible as that of the primitive. But the contrary to this is proved before,[t] because this voice of the present Church is not simply divine. To what end, then, serves any tradition of the present Church? To what? Why, to a very good end. For, first, it serves by a full consent to work upon the minds of unbelievers, to move them to read and to consider the Scripture, which (they hear by so many wise, learned, and devout men) is of no meaner esteem than the word of God. And, secondly, it serves among novices, weaklings, and doubters in the faith, to instruct and confirm them, till they may acquaint themselves with, and understand, the Scripture, which the Church delivers as the word of God. And thus, again, some of your own understand the fore-cited place of S. Augustine, "I would not believe the Gospel," &c. For he speaks it either of novices, or doubters in the faith, or else of such as were in part infidels.[u] You, at the Conference, though you omit it here, would needs have it, that S. Augustine spake even of the faithful;[x] which I cannot yet think: for he speaks to the

[t] [Ubi sup.] sect. xvi. no. 6. [p. 77.]

[u] [Qua ex re intelligitur quid sibi voluerit Augustinus cum ait, Evangelio non crederem, &c. . . . Videlicet negotium Augustini erat cum Manichæis, qui absque controversia suo cuidam evangelio credi volebant, et Manichæorum fidem adstruere. Rogat igitur August. ecquid facturi sint, si in hominem incidant, qui ne Evangelio quidem credat; quove genere persuasionis sint eum in suam sententiam adducturi. Certe se affirmat non aliter potuisse adduci ut evangelium amplecteretur, quam ecclesiæ auctoritate victum. Non itaque docet fundatam esse evangelii fidem in ecclesiæ auctoritate, verum simpliciter nullam esse certam viam qua] sive infideles, sive in fide novitii, [ad suos libros ingrediantur, nisi ecclesiæ catholicæ unum eundemque consensum. — Melch.] Canus, de loc. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 8. [pp. 59, 60.]—[Probatio enim omnis a notioribus procedit.] Neganti [ergo simpliciter,] aut nescienti omnino [totam] Scripturam, [ex Scriptura nihil probatur. Utrobique tamen ecclesiæ auctoritas succurrit, quæ tum dubitanti de una parte facile persuadet, ut qua ratione ceteras admisit, nimirum propter auctoritatem ecclesiæ, eadem quoque ratione et illam partem admittere non dubitet; tum etiam totam Scripturam vel neganti vel nescienti sua quoque auctoritate persuadet, ut qua ratione fidem Christi accepit, nimirum ex prædicatione ecclesiæ, eadem quoque ratione et scripturas credat, quas commendat ecclesia.]—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] iv. [De potestate ecclesiæ in se,] Quæst. i. art. 3. Op., tom. i. p. 736.]

[x] [Postremo hoc tribuit ecclesiæ Augustinus, (inquit Stapletonus,) in omnibus locis prius allegatis, ut canonem Scripturæ consignet fidelibus: Ergo loquitur de se fideli ac catholico. Respondeo: Primo, hoc pugnare cum ipso Augustino, ut dicat se jam fidelem ac catholicum non crediturum evangelio nisi ob ecclesiæ tantum auctoritatem. . . . Tertio,] Quid si fateamur fideles etiam ecclesiæ auctoritate commoveri, ut Scripturas recipiant?

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Manichees, and they had a great part of the infidel in them.[y] And the words immediately before these are, "If thou shouldst find one *qui Evangelio nondum credit,* which did not yet believe the Gospel, what wouldst thou do to make him believe? *Ego vero non,* Truly I would not," &c. So to these two ends it serves, and there need be no question between us. But, then, every thing that is the first inducer to believe, is not by and by either the principal motive or the chief and last object of belief, upon which a man may rest his faith. Unless we shall be of Jacobus Almain's opinion, that we are *per prius et magis,* "first and more bound," to believe the Church than the Gospel.[z] Which your own learned men, as you may see by Mel[chior] Canus,[a] reject as extreme foul; and so indeed it is. The first knowledge, then, after the *quid nominis* is known by grammar, that helps to open a man's understanding, and prepares him

Non tamen inde sequitur eos hoc modo penitus persuaderi, aut nulla alia fortioreque ratione induci. Quis autem Christianus est, quem Ecclesia Christi, commendans scripturam Christi, non commoveat? [Aliud autem est commoveri, aliud persuaderi?] —Whitaker. Disputat. de Sacra Scriptura, Controv. 1. Quæst. iii. cap. 8. ubi citat locum hunc S. Augustini, [sc. in Epist. contra Fundam, ubi sup. p. 93. note q.] [Op., tom. i. p. 325. ed. Aurel. Allobrog. et Genev. 1610. —Cf. his reply to Stapleton, &c. Op., tom. ii. p. 310. et seq.]

[y] Quibus [ergo] obtemperavi dicentibus, Credite Evangelio, [cur eis non obtemperem dicentibus mihi, Noli credere Manichæis?—S. Augustin.] ibid. [Op., tom. viii col. 154. A.] Therefore he [S. Augustine] speaks of himself, when he did not believe.

[z] Certum est quod tenemur credere omnibus contentis in sacro canone: quia ecclesia credit ex ea ratione solum. Ergo per prius et magis tenemur credere ecclesiæ, quam evangelio.—[Jac.] Almain. in III. [Sentent.] Dist. xxiv. [Quæst. unic.] Conclus. 6. Dub. 6. And to make a show of proof for this, he falsifies S. Augustine most notoriously, and reads that known place, not, Nisi me commoveret, as all read it, but, compelleret. Patet, quia dicit Augustinus, evangelio non crederem, nisi ad hoc me compelleret ecclesiæ auctoritas: [Sed non tenemur credere evangeliis appocriphis: quia ecclesia non exhibet ea tanquam credenda: ergo tota ratio quare tenemur credere evangelio, epistolis apostolorum et prophetarum, est quia præsentantur ab ecclesia. Ergo a fortiori tenemur credere veritati ecclesiæ quam evangelio. Opuscula, fol. lxxix. s. a. Par. 1517?]—Ibid. And so also Gerson reads it. [Est autem hæc ecclesiæ auctoritas tanta ut diceret Augustinus, Evangelio non crederem nisi me auctoritas ecclesiæ catholicæ compelleret, quanquam vicissim dici possit, Ecclesiæ non crederem, si non auctoritas sacræ Scripturæ impelleret. Et ita diversis respectibus auctoritas utraque mutua se confirmat.]—In Declarat. Veritatum quæ credendæ sunt [de necessitate salutis: (script. an. 1416.) Op., tom. i. col. 22. C. ed. Dupin. Antwerp. 1706.] But in a most ancient manuscript in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, the words are, Nisi me conmoveret, &c.

[a] [Spiritu itaque Sancto ecclesiam afflatam certe credo, non ut veritatem auctoritatemve libris canonicis tribuat, sed ut doceat illos, non alios, esse canonicos. Nec si nobis aditum præbet ad hujusmodi sacros libros cognoscendos, protinus ibi acquiescendum est; sed ultra oportet progredi, et solida Dei veritate niti.—Melch.] Canus, de loc. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 8. fol. 34. B. [p. 59.] [ubi sup.] sect. xvi. [no. 8. p. 77. note b.]

to be able to demonstrate a truth, and make it evident, is his logic: but when he hath made a demonstration, he resolves the knowledge of his conclusion, not into his grammatical or logical principles, but into the immediate principles out of which it is deduced. So in this particular a man is probably led by the authority of the present Church, as by the first informing, inducing, persuading means, to believe the Scripture to be the word of God; but when he hath studied, considered, and compared this word with itself and with other writings, with the help of ordinary grace and a mind morally induced and reasonably persuaded by the voice of the Church, the Scripture then gives greater and higher reasons of credibility to itself than tradition alone could give. And then he that believes resolves his last and full assent "that Scripture is of divine authority," into internal arguments found in the letter itself, though found by the help and direction of tradition without, and grace within. And the resolution that is rightly grounded, may not endure to pitch and rest itself upon the helps, but upon that divine light which the Scripture, no question, hath in itself, but is not kindled till these helps come. "Thy word is a light:"[b] so David. A light? Therefore it is as much *manifestativum sui*, as *alterius*, "a manifestation to itself," as to "other things" which it shows: but still, not till the candle be lighted; not till there hath been a preparing instruction, what light it is. Children call the sun and moon candles—God's candles: they see the light as well as men, but cannot distinguish between them, till some tradition and education hath informed their reason. And *animalis homo*,[c] "the natural man," sees some light of moral counsel and instruction in Scripture, as well as believers; but he takes all that glorious lustre for candlelight, and cannot distinguish between the sun and twelve to the pound, till tradition of the Church, and God's grace put to it, have cleared his understanding. So tradition of the present Church is the first

[b] [Repudiatis igitur ... iis qui] sanctarum Scripturarum lumen, [et spiritalis populi gratiam, quod Novum Testamentum vocatur, habere noluerunt.]—S. Augustin. lib. de Vera Religione, cap. vii. [Op., tom. i. col. 752. D.] —[Quid obstrepitis pertinacia tantæ veritati?] Quid lucem Scripturarum vanis umbris [obnubilare conamini?] —S. Augustin. lib. i. de moribus Eccl. Cathol. [et Manichæor.] cap. 35. [Op., tom. i. col. 715. C.]

[c] [Ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος.] 1 Cor. ii. 14.

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moral motive to belief. But the belief itself, That the Scripture is the word of God, rests upon the Scripture,[d] when a man finds it to answer, and exceed all that which the Church gave in testimony, as will after appear. And as in the voice of the primitive and apostolical Church, there was simply divine authority, delivering the Scripture as God's word;[e] so, after tradition of the present Church hath taught and informed the soul, the voice of God is plainly heard in Scripture itself. And then here is double authority, and both divine, that confirms Scripture to be the word of God:—Tradition of the Apostles delivering it; and, The internal worth and argument in the Scripture, obvious to a soul prepared by the present Church's tradition and God's grace.

XXII.—The difficulties which are pretended against this are not many, and they will easily vanish. For, first, you pretend we go to private revelations for light to know Scripture. No, we do not; you see it is excluded out of the very state of the question: and we go to the tradition of the present Church, and by it, as well as you. Here we differ: we use the tradition of the present Church as the first motive, not as the last resolution, of our faith. We resolve only into prime tradition Apostolical and Scripture itself.[f]

[d] Origen, περὶ ἀρχῶν, lib. iv. cap. 1. went this way, yet was he a great deal nearer the prime addition than we are. For being to prove that the Scriptures were inspired from God, he saith, [Igitur quam poterimus breviter] de hoc assignabimus ex ipsis divinis Scripturis, quæ nos competenter moverint.—[Ruffino interpret. φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων ὀλίγα ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ διαλάβωμεν, τὰ κινοῦντα ἡμᾶς, ὡς περὶ θείων γραμμάτων, εἰς τοῦτο παρατιθέμενοι.—Origen. Op., tom. i. p. 156. ed. Benedict.]

[e] Principaliter tamen (etiam et hic) credimus propter Deum, non Apostolos: [inquit] Henr. a Gand. [His words are:—Et licet per Prophetas, et Apostolos intermedios ista doctrina tradita sit, et auctoritate eorum divina auctoritas nobis in eis credita sit, tamen propter Christi auctoritatem, immo Dei in Christo, ei ipsi principaliter credendum est, quoniam ita est in agentibus per ordinem ad aliquem effectum determinatum, quod nullum mediorum dicitur esse agens per se, nisi quia agit in virtute primi agentis, aliter enim judicaretur agens per accidens.] — Henr. a Gand. Summ. par. i. Art. ix. Quæst. 3. [§ 13. p. 180.—Ideo absolute dicendum, quod huic scientiæ principaliter credendum est propter Dei auctoritatem, et nulli alii nisi in quantum ex virtute Dei refulgente circa ipsum constet eum mediatorem Dei in hoc fuisse.—ibid. § 14.] Now, if where the Apostles themselves spake, *ultimata resolutio fidei* was *in Deum*, not *in ipsos per se*, much more shall it be *in Deum* than *in præsentem ecclesiam:* and into the writings of the Apostles, than into the words of their successors made up into a tradition.

[f] Calvin. Instit. lib. i. cap. 7. § 2. Christiana Ecclesia Prophetarum scriptis, et Apostolorum prædicatione initio fundata fuit, ubicunque reperietur ea doctrina, &c.—[Op., tom. viii. p. 11. ed. Amstelod. 1667.

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XXIII.—Secondly, you pretend we do not, nor cannot, know the prime Apostolical tradition, but by the tradition of the present Church; and that, therefore, if the tradition of the present Church be not God's unwritten word, and divine, we cannot yet know Scripture to be Scripture by a divine authority. Well: suppose I could not know the prime tradition to be divine, but by the present Church, yet it doth not follow that therefore I cannot know Scripture to be the word of God by a divine authority, because divine tradition is not the sole and only means to prove it. For suppose I had not, nor could have, full assurance of Apostolical tradition divine; yet the moral persuasion, reason, and force of the present Church is ground enough to move any reasonable man that it is fit he should receive the Scripture, and esteem very reverently and highly of it. And this once done, the Scripture hath then in and home arguments enough to put a soul, that hath but ordinary grace, out of doubt, that Scripture is the word of God, infallible and divine.

XXIV.—Thirdly, you pretend that we make the Scripture absolutely and fully to be known, *lumine suo*, by the light and testimony which it hath in, and gives to, itself. Against this you give reason for yourselves, and proof from us. Your reason is, "If there be sufficient light in Scripture to show itself, then every man, that can and doth but read it, may know it presently to be the divine word of God, which we see by daily experience men neither do, nor can." First, it is not absolutely nor universally true, There is sufficient light; therefore every man may see it.[g] Blind men are men, and cannot see it; and "sensual men,"[h] in the Apostle's judgment, are such. Nor may we deny and put out this light as insufficient, because blind eyes cannot, and perverse eyes will not, see it, no more than we may deny meat to be

1 Cor. ii. 14.

[g] And where Hooker uses this very argument, as he doth, book iii. ch. 8, his words are not, "If there be sufficient light," but, "If that light be *evident*." [Hooker's words are: "Scripture teacheth all supernatural revealed truth, without the knowledge whereof salvation cannot be attained. The main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the oracles of God himself. This in itself we cannot say is evident. For there are men that hear it would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they hear that every whole is more than every part of that whole, because this in itself is evident. The others we know that all do not acknowledge when they hear it."—Eccl. Polit. Book iii. ch. viii. 12. Works, vol. i. p. 474. ed. Keble.]

[h] [ψυχικὸς. 1 Cor. ii. 14.]

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sufficient for nourishment, though men that are heart-sick cannot eat it. Next, we do not say that there is such a full light in Scripture, as that every man upon the first sight must yield to it; such light as is found in prime principles, "Every whole is greater than a part of the same," and this, "The same thing cannot be, and not be, at the same time, and in the same respect." These carry a natural light with them, and evident; for the terms are no sooner understood than the principles themselves are fully known, to the convincing of man's understanding; and so they are the beginning of knowledge, which, where it is perfect, dwells in full light: but such a full light we do neither say is, nor require to be, in Scripture; and if any particular man do, let him answer for himself. The question is only of such a light in Scripture as is of force to breed faith, that it is the word of God; not to make a perfect knowledge. Now faith, of whatsoever it is, this or other principle, is an evidence,[i] as well as knowledge; and the belief is firmer than any knowledge can be, because it rests upon divine authority which cannot deceive; whereas knowledge, or at least he that thinks he knows, is not ever certain in deductions from principles. But the evidence is not so clear;[k] for it is of

Heb. xi. 1.

"things not seen,"[l] in regard of the object; and in regard of the subject that sees, it is *in ænigmate*,[m] "in a glass, or dark speaking." Now, God doth not require a full demonstrative knowledge in us, that the Scripture is His word, and therefore in His providence hath kindled in it no light for that; but He requires our faith of it, and such a certain demonstration as may fit that. And for that He hath left sufficient light in Scripture to reason and grace meeting, where the soul is morally prepared by the tradition of the Church, unless you be of Bellarmine's opinion, "That to believe there are any divine Scriptures is not *omnino* necessary to salvation."[n]

[i] ἔλεγχος. Heb. xi. 1.

[k] [Vide supra,] § 16. No. 13. [p. 87.]

[l] Heb. xi. 1.

[m] [ἐν αἰνίγματι.] 1 Cor. xiii. 12. And A. C. confesses, p. 52, that this very thing in question may be known infallibly, when it is known but obscurely. Et Scotus in III. [Sentent.] Dist. xxiii. Quæst. i. fol. 41. B. [Et hoc modo dicendo, fides non habet certitudinem ex objecto, sed ex veracitate testis, scilicet Dei: et] hoc modo facile est videre quomodo fides est cum ænigmate et obscuritate: quia habens fidem non credit articulum esse verum ex evidentia objecti, sed propter hoc, quod assentit veracitati infundentis habitum, et in hoc revelantis credibilia.—[Op., tom. vii. p. 462.]

[n] Bellarmin. lib. iii. de Ecclesia,

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XXV.—The authority which you pretend against this, is out of Hooker:[o] "Of things necessary, the very chiefest is to know, what books we are bound to esteem holy; which point is confessed impossible for the Scripture itself to teach." Of this Brereley,[p] the storehouse for all priests

cap. 14. [Op., tom. ii. col. 149. B.] Credere ullas esse divinas Scripturas, non est omnino necessarium ad salutem. [Bellarmine's words are:—Multa sunt de fide, quæ non sunt absolute necessaria ad salutem. Sane credere historias Testamenti Veteris, vel Evangelia Marci et Lucæ esse canonica scripta, imo ullas esse divinas Scripturas, non est omnino necessarium ad salutem: nam sine hac fide multi salvati sunt, antequam Scripturæ scriberentur, et postea tempore Novi Testamenti multæ barbaræ nationes.] I will not break my discourse to rifle this speech of Bellarmine: it is bad enough in the best sense that favour itself can give it. For if he mean by *omnino*, that it is not altogether or simply necessary to believe there is divine Scripture, and a written word of God; that is false: that being granted, which is among all Christians, that there is a Scripture: and God would never have given a supernatural unnecessary thing. And if he means by *omnino*, that it is not in any wise necessary, then it is sensibly false. For the greatest upholders of tradition that ever were, made the Scripture very necessary in all the ages of the Church: so it was necessary, because it was given; and given, because God thought it necessary. Besides, upon Roman grounds, this I think will follow: That which the tradition of the present Church delivers, as necessary to believe, is *omnino* necessary to salvation: But that there are divine Scriptures, the tradition of the present Church delivers, as necessary to believe: Therefore, to believe there are divine Scriptures, is *omnino* (be the sense of the word what it can) necessary to salvation. So Bellarmine is herein foul and unable to stand upon his own ground. And he is the more, partly, because he avouches this proposition for truth after the New Testament written; and, partly, because he might have seen the state of this proposition carefully examined by Gandavo, and distinguished by times.—[Henr. a Gand.] Summ. par. 1. Art. viii. Quæst. 4. in fine. [The whole Quæst. is on this point.—(§ 7. in fin.) Unde nec fides sufficit in nobis singula credenda monstrare, sed oportet ea ex litera respicere, vel a doctore audire. Secundum quod scimus centurionem Cornelium, quamvis exauditas orationes ejus, et elcemosynas respectas ei Angelus nunciavit, Petrus tamen traditum imbuendum, per quem non solum sacramenta susciperet, sed etiam quid credendum, quid sperandum, quid diligendum esset audiret, ut dicit Augustinus, et tamen per fidem interius a Deo prius illustratus fuisse creditur.—Henr. a Gand. Art. viii. Quæst. 4. § 7. in fin. p. 166.—Ad tertium, quod erat conscribenda in usum hominum, dicendum quod verum est, sed pro tempore cum opus erat, ut dictum est.—ibid. § 9. p. 166. —Ad primum in oppositum, quod labilis est memoria, et ideo indigemus Scripturæ, dicendum, quod verum est, sed hoc non habet nisi ex inundantia peccatorum. Unde nec in statu innocentiæ, nec statim post peccatum hoc contingebat, et ideo nec illis temporibus erat hæc scientia conscribenda, sed aliæ ut dictum est.—ibid. § 10. p. 166.]

[o] Book i. ch. xiv. [Sect i. Eccl. Polit. Works, vol. i. p. 335. ed. Keble. His words are: "If only those things be necessary, as surely none else are, without the knowledge and practice whereof it is not the will and pleasure of God to make any ordinary grant of salvation; it may be notwithstanding, and oftentimes hath been, demanded, how the books of Holy Scripture contain in them all necessary things, when of things necessary, the very chiefest," &c.]

[p] Protestants' Apology [for the Roman Church,] Tractate i. Sect. 10. No. iii. [pp. 254, 255.—By John Brereley, Priest: Permissu Superiorum. An. MDCVIII.—This work was also translated into Latin: Apologia Protestantium pro Romana Ecclesia, &c. per Guilielmum Raynerium, Latine versa.—Lut. Par. 1615.]

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that will be idle, and yet seem well read, tells us, that "Hooker gives a very sensible demonstration: 'It is not the word of God, which doth, or possibly can, assure us, that we do well to think it is His word; for if any one book of Scripture did give testimony to all, yet still that Scripture, which giveth credit to the rest, would require another [Scripture] to give credit unto it: neither could we ever come unto any pause, to rest our assurance this way; so that unless, beside Scripture, there were something which might assure, &c.'"[q] And "this he acknowledgeth"[r] (saith Brereley) 'is the authority of God's Church.'" Certainly, Hooker gives a true and sensible demonstration; but Brereley wants fidelity and integrity in citing him. For in the first place, Hooker's speech is, "Scripture itself cannot teach this;" nor can the truth say that Scripture itself can. It must needs ordinarily have tradition, to prepare the mind of a man to receive it. And in the next place, where he speaks so sensibly, that Scripture cannot bear witness to itself, nor one part of it to another; that is grounded upon nature, which admits no created thing to be witness to itself; and is acknowledged by our Saviour: "If I bear witness to Myself, My witness is not true,"[s] that is, is not of force to be reasonably accepted for truth. But then it is more than manifest, that Hooker delivers his demonstration of Scripture alone. For if Scripture hath another proof, nay many other proofs, to usher it and lead it in, then, no question, it can both prove and approve itself. His words are: "So that unless, beside Scripture, there be, &c." "Beside Scripture:" therefore he excludes not Scripture, though he call for another proof to lead it in, and help in assurance, namely, Tradition, which no man, that hath his brains about him, denies. In the two other places, Brereley falsifies shamefully; for holding up all that Hooker says in these words, "This (other means to assure us besides Scripture) is the authority of God's Church," he wrinkles that worthy

[q] Book ii. ch. iv. [Sect. 2. Eccl. Polit. Works, vol. i. p. 371. ubi sup. p. 82. note [o].]

[r] Book ii. ch. vii. [Sect. 3. Eccl. Polit. Works, vol. i. p. 404. vide infra, p. 103. note [t].] and Book iii. ch. viii. [Sect. 14. Eccl. Polit. Works, vol. i. p. 475. vide infra, p. 103. note [u].]

[s] S. Joh. v. 31.—He speaks of Himself as man.

author desperately, and shrinks up his meaning. For in the former place abused by Brercley, no man can set a better state of the question between Scripture and tradition, than Hooker doth. His words are these: "The Scripture is the ground of our belief; the authority of man (that is the name he gives to tradition) is the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture."[t] I ask now, when a man is entered, and hath viewed a house, and upon viewing likes it, and upon liking resolves unchangeably to dwell there; doth he set up his resolution upon the key that let him in? No sure! but upon the goodness and commodiousness which he sees in the house. And this is all the difference, that I know, between us in this point; in which, do you grant, as you ought to do, that we resolve our faith into Scripture as the ground; and we will never deny that tradition is the key that lets us in. In the latter place, Hooker is as plain, as constant to himself and truth. His words are: "The first outward motive, leading men so to esteem of the Scripture, is the authority of God's Church, &c. But afterwards, the more we bestow our labour in reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it; so that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath ministered farther reason."[u] Here then again, in his judgment, tradition is the first inducement; but the farther reason and ground is the Scripture. And resolution of faith ever settles upon the farthest reason it can, not upon the first inducement. So that the state of this question is firm, and yet plain enough, to him that will not shut his eyes.

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XXVI.—Now here, after a long silence, A. C. thrusts A. C. p. 52.

[t] Book ii. ch. vii. [Sect. 3. Eccl. Polit. Works, vol. i. p. 404. Hooker's words in full are: "For whatsoever we believe concerning salvation by Christ, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key, &c."]

[u] Book iii. ch. viii. [Sect. 14. Eccl. Polit. Works, vol. i. p. 475. Hooker's words are: "And by experience we all know that the first outward motive, leading men so to esteem of the Scripture, is the authority of God's Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it, even at the first, an impudent thing for any man, bred and brought up in the Church, to be of a contrary mind without cause. Afterwards, the more, &c."]

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himself in again, and tells me, "That if I would consider the tradition of the Church, not only as it is the tradition of a company of fallible men, in which sense the authority of it, as himself confesses, is but human and fallible, &c.; but, as the tradition of a company of men, assisted by Christ and His Holy Spririt; in that sense I might easily find it more than an introduction, indeed as much as would amount to an infallible motive." Well, I have considered the tradition of the present Church both these ways; and I find that A. C. confesses, that, in the first sense, the tradition of the Church is mere human authority, and no more: and therefore, in this sense, it may serve for an introduction to this belief, but no more. And in the second sense, "as it is not the tradition of a company of men only, but of men assisted by Christ and His Spirit;" in this second sense, I cannot find that the tradition of the present Church is of divine and infallible authority, till A. C. can prove that this company of men, (the Roman prelates and their clergy he means,) are so fully, so clearly, so permanently assisted by Christ and His Spirit, as may reach to infallibility, much less[1] to a divine infallibility, in this or any other principle which they teach. For every assistance of Christ and the blessed Spirit, is not enough to make the authority of any company of men divine and infallible; but such and so great an assistance only, as is purposely given to that effect. Such an assistance, the Prophets under the Old Testament, and the Apostles under the New, had; but neither the high-priest with his clergy in the Old, nor any company of prelates or priests in the New, since the Apostles, ever had it. And therefore, though at the entreaty of A. C. I have "considered" this very well, yet I cannot, no not in this assisted sense, think the tradition of the present Church divine and infallible, or such company of men to be worthy of divine and infallible credit, and sufficient to breed in us divine and infallible faith. Which I am sorry A. C. should affirm so boldly as he doth. What! That company of men, the Roman bishop and his clergy, of divine and infallible credit, and sufficient to breed in us divine and infallible faith! Good God! Whither will these men go? Surely they are "wise in their generation," but that makes them

[1] [much less .... *carent* Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

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never a whit the more "the children of light." And could they put this home upon the world, as they are gone far in it, what might they not effect? How might they, and would they, then "lord" it over the faith of Christendom, contrary to S. Peter's rule, whose successors certainly in this they are not! But I pray, if this company of men be infallibly assisted, whence is it that this very company have erred so dangerously as they have, not only in some other things, but even in this particular, by equalling the tradition of the present Church to the written word of God? Which is a doctrine unknown to the primitive Church,[x] and which frets upon the very foundation itself, by jostling with it. So belike, he that hath but half an indifferent eye, may see this assisted company have erred; and yet we must wink in obedience, and think them infallible.

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Luke xvi. 8.

1 Pet. v. 3.

XXVII.—But, A. C. would have me consider again, That A. C. p. 52.

[x] S. Basil goes as far for traditions as any. For he says: Parem vim habent ad pietatem.—Lib. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. xxvii. [Op., tom. iii. p. 54. D. ed. Benedict. Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παραδεξάμεθα· ἅπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν· καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, οὐκοῦν ὁστίς γε κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν θεσμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπείραται.] But first, he speaks of Apostolical tradition, [λέξιν ἡμῖν ἐκ πατέρων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσαν], not of the tradition of the present Church. Secondly, the learned take exceptions to this book of S. Basil, as corrupted. [ex. grat. "This (of Traditions) is matter of opinion, not of practice; and so toucheth not the face of the Church. Exceptions have been made by Erasmus, and other learned men, to this book (de Spiritu Sancto). We oppose to it out of Basil's treatise *de Fide*, which never was questioned till now, or lately by the Cardinal (Perron), these words: Haud dubio manifestissimum hoc infidelitatis argumentum fuerit, et signum superbiæ certissimum, si quis eorum quæ scripta sunt aliquid velit rejicere, aut eorum quæ non scripta introducere." (Φανέρα ἔκπτωσις κ. τ. λ. ubi sup. p. 61. note [q].)] Bp. Andrewes' Opuscul. cont. Perron. [*i. e.* Stricturæ: or a briefe answer to the xviii. chapter of the first book of Cardinall Perron's reply, written in French to King James's answer, &c. London. 1629.] p. 9. Thirdly, S. Basil himself, Serm. de fide, [Op., tom. ii. p. 224. B. ubi sup. p. 69. note [k].] professes that he uses sometimes Agrapha, sed ea solum quæ non sunt aliena a pia secundum Scripturam sententia.—ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις, ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεία τῶν νοσούντων κατηνάγκασε, καὶ ταύταις πολλάκις ἀγράφοις μέν, ὁμως δ' οὖν οὐκ ἀπεξενωμέναις τῆς κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν εὐσεβοῦς διανοίας.] So he makes the Scripture their touchstone or trial, and therefore must of necessity make Scripture superior, inasmuch as that, which is able to try another, is of greater force and superior dignity in that use, than the thing tried by it. And Stapleton himself confesses: [Sexto modo] traditio [vocari potest, quæ non omnium aut temporum, aut locorum, in quibus Catholica viget religio, sed vel] recentior et posterior, vel particularis, [et paucorum consuetudo est. Hæc vero si contra fidem et mores nihil contineat, laudabiliter retineri potest, nec temere abroganda est... tamen] nullo modo cum Scriptura, vel cum traditionibus prius explicatis, comparanda est.—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] v. [de Potest. Eccl. circa doctrin. non script.] Quæst. v. art. 2. [Op., tom. i. p. 794. C.]

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it is as easy to take the tradition of the present Church in the two fore-named senses, as the present Scriptures printed and approved by men of this age. For in the first sense, the very Scriptures, saith he, considered as printed and approved by men of this age, can be no more than of human credit. But in the second sense, as printed and approved by men assisted by God's Spirit, for true copies of that which was first written, then we may give infallible credit to them. Well, I have considered this too; and I can take the printing and approving the copies of Holy Writ in these two senses; and I can and do make a difference between copies printed and approved by mere moral men, and men assisted by God's Spirit: and yet for the printing only, a skilful and an able moral man may do better service to the Church than an illiterate man, though assisted in other things by God's Spirit. But when I have considered all this, what then? The Scripture being put in writing, is a thing visibly existent; and if any error be in the print, it is easily corrigible by former copies.[y] Tradition is not so easily observed, nor so safely kept. And howsoever, to

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come home to that which A. C. infers upon it, namely, That the tradition of the present Church may be accepted in these two senses: and if this be all that he will infer, (for his pen here is troubled and forsakes him, whether by any check of conscience or no, I know not,) I will [grant,] and, you see, have granted it already without more ado, with this caution, That every company of men, assisted by God's Spirit, are not assisted to this height, to be infallible by divine authority.

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XXVIII.—For all this, A. C. will needs give a needless proof of the business, namely, That there is the promise of

Luke x. 16. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. John xiv. 16.

Christ's and His Holy Spirit's continual presence and assistance, not only to the Apostles, but to their successors also, the lawfully sent pastors and doctors of the Church in all ages; and that this promise is no less, but rather more expressly to them in their preaching by word of mouth, than in writ-

[y] [Vide infra.] Sect. xviii. No. 4. [for a passage from] S. Augustin. contra Faustum, lib. xxxii. cap. 16. [Op., tom. viii. col. 459. C. Quid faceretis, dicite mihi, nisi clamaretis, nullo modo vos potuisse falsare codices, qui jam in manibus essent omnium Christianorum? Quia mox, ut facere cœpissetis, vetustiorum exemplarium veritate convinceremini.]

ing, or reading, or printing, or approving of copies of what was formerly written by the Apostles. And to all this I shall briefly say, That there is a promise of Christ's and the Holy Spirit's continual presence and assistance. I do likewise grant most freely, that this promise is, on the part of Christ and the Holy Ghost, most really and fully performed. But then this promise must not be extended further than it was made. It was made of continual presence and assistance,—that I grant; and it was made to the Apostles and their successors,—that I grant too: but in a different degree. For it was of continual and infallible assistance to the Apostles; but to their successors, of continual and fitting assistance, but not infallible. And therefore, the lawfully sent pastors and doctors of the Church in all ages have had, and shall have, continual assistance; but by A. C.'s leave, not infallible, at least, not divine and infallible, either in writing, reading, printing, or approving copies. And I believe A. C. is the first that durst affirm this. I thought he would have kept the Pope's prerogative entire, that he only might have been infallible; and not he neither, but *in cathedra,* sat down and well advised. And "well advised!" Yes, that is right. But he may be sat,[z] and not well advised, even *in cathedra.* And now, shall we have all the lawfully sent pastors and doctors of that Church in all ages, infallible too? Here is a deal of infallibility indeed, and

[z] Nam multæ sunt Decretales hæreticæ, sicut dicit Ocham. Et firmiter hoc credo; sed non licet dogmatizare oppositum, quoniam sunt determinatæ, nisi manifeste constet. [Quando enim est questio de fide materia deferenda est ad summum pontificem: non ut ferat sententiam; sed ut concilium congreget et concilium indefectibiliter sententiabit.] —Jac. Almain. in III. Sent. Distinct. xxiv. Quæst. unic. Conclus. 6. Dub. 6. in fine. [fol. lxxix.] And Alphonsus a Castro both says and proves, Cælestinum papam errasse, non ut privatam personam, sed ut papam. [His words are: Cælestinum papam etiam errasse circa matrimonium fidelium, quorum alter labitur in hæresim, res est omnibus manifesta. Neque hic Cælestini error talis fuit, qui soli negligentiæ imputari debeat, ita ut illum errasse dicamus velut privatam personam, et non ut Papam, qui in qualibet re sacra definienda consulere debet viros doctos. . . . . Si ergo nulli homini jure tenemur in interpretatione sacrarum literarum credere, propterea quod quilibet homo solus errare potest, erit necessario judicium interpretationis penes totam ecclesiam, penes quam jus fuerat discernendi Sacras Scripturas ab humanis.]—Lib. i. adv. Hæres. cap. iv. [col. 20, 21.]—And the Gloss confesses, Eum errare posse, in [Decret. ii. par. xi.] Caus. xxiv. Quæst. i. cap. (ix.) A recta ergo, [nec hæreticis novitatibus depravata succubuit: *Gloss.* Quæro . . . . si de ipso Papa, qui Ecclesia dicitur . . . . sed certum est quod Papa errare possit. xix. de *Anastas.* 40. d. *Si Papa,* &c.]

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yet error store. The truth is, the Jesuits have a month's mind to this infallibility. And though A. C., out of his bounty, is content to extend it to all the lawfully sent pastors of the Church, yet to his own society questionless he means it chiefly: as did the apologist, to whom Casaubon replies [in a letter] to Fronto Ducæus. The words of the apologist[a] are: "Let day and night, ... life and death be joined together, and then there will be some hope, that heresy may fall upon the person of a Jesuit." Yea marry, this is something indeed: now we know where infallibility is to be found. But for my present occasion, touching the lawfully sent pastors of the Church, &c. I will give no other confutation of it, than that M. Fisher and A. C., if they be two men, are lawfully sent pastors and doctors of the Church; at least I am sure, they will assume they are: and yet they are not infallible; which, I think, appears plain enough in some of their errors manifested by this discourse and elsewhere. Or, if they do hold themselves infallible, let them speak it out, as the apologist did.

XXIX.—As for the three places of Scripture, which A. C. cites, they are of old alleged and well known in this controversy. The first is in S. Luke x. where Christ saith, "He that heareth you, heareth Me." This was absolutely true in the Apostles,[b] who kept themselves to that which was revealed

Luke x. 16.

[a] Nam in fide quidem Jesuitam errare non posse, atque adeo esse hoc unicum τῶν ἀδυνάτων, cæteris, quæ solent a poetis plurima commemorari, posthac annumerandum, si nescis, mi Fronto, et puto nescire, docebo te ab apologista doctus, hoc ipsum disertis verbis affirmante. Sic ille cap. iii. ejus exemplaris quod ad serenissimum Regem fuit missum, pagina 119. Jungantur in unum, ait, dies cum nocte, tenebræ cum luce, calidum cum frigido, sanitas cum morbo, vita cum morte; et erit tum spes aliqua posse in caput Jesuitæ hæresin cadere. [Magnum hoc, deus bone, et singulare Societatis vestræ privilegium.]—Isa. Casaubon. Epist. ad Front. Ducæum, [dat.] Lond. [vii. Non. Jul.] 1611. [Isaaci Casaubon. Epist. decxx. p. 397. ed. Almeloveen. Roterod. 1709.—The "Apologist" alluded to was Bellarmine himself. See Thuan. Continuat. Histor. pp. 51, 52.]

[b] Per quod docet quicquid per sanctos Apostolos dicit, acceptandum esse, quia qui illos audit, Christum audit, &c.—S. Cyrillus [Alexandr.], apud Thom. [Aquin. in] Caten. [Aurea. No commentary on S. Luke is extant among S. Cyril's published works; but in the tenth vol. of the Classici Auctores, published by Cardinal Angelo Mai, is printed nearly the whole of the commentary inserted in the Catena Aurea. Fragments of the same commentary are also published in the ninth vol. of the Scriptores Veteres, by the same editor; but it does not appear that the present passage in the original has been recovered.]—Et[enim] Dominus [omnium] dedit Apostolis suis potestatem Evangelii, per quos et veritatem, hoc est, Dei filium cognovimus; quibus et dixit Dominus, Qui vos audit &c.—S. Irenæus, præfat. in lib. iii. advers. Hær. fine. [Op., p. 198. ed. Grabe.]

by Christ: but it was to be but conditionally true in their successors,[c] "He that heareth you, heareth Me;" that is, so long and so far[d] as you speak My words, and not your own.[e] For where the command is for preaching, the restraint is added. "Go," saith Christ, "and teach all nations." But you may not preach all things what you please, but "all things which I have commanded you." The publication is yours, the doctrine is Mine: and where the doctrine is not Mine, there your publication is beyond, or short of, your commission. The second place is in S. Matthew xxviii. There Christ says again, "I am with you always, unto the end of the world." Yes, most certain it is, present by His spirit: for else in bodily presence He continued not with His Apostles, but during His abode on earth. And this promise of His spiritual presence was to their successors: else, why "to the end of the world?" The Apostles did not, could not, live so long. But then to the successors the promise goes no further than "I am with you always;" which reaches to continual assistance, but not to divine and infallible.[f] Or, if he think me mistaken, let him shew me any

Mat. xxviii. 20.

Mat. xxviii. 19, 20.

[c] Nec hæc jacto, sed dolens profero, cum te judicem Dei constituas et Christi, qui] dicit ad Apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos, qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt, Qui audit vos, &c.—S. Cyprian. lib. iv. Epist. 9. [Epist. lxix. ad Florentium Pupianum, Op., p. 122. ed. Benedict.] But S. Cyprian doth not say, that this speech of our Saviour's was æqualiter dictum, alike and equally spoken and promised to the Apostles and the succeeding bishops. And I believe A. C. will not dare to say in plain and express terms, that this speech, "He that heareth you, heareth Me," doth as amply belong to every Roman priest as to S. Peter and the Apostles. No, a great deal of difference will become them well.

[d] "Be ye followers of me, even as I am of Christ."—1 Cor. ii. 1. and 1 Thess. i. 6.

[e] And so venerable Beda expressly, both for hearing the word, and for contemning it. "For neither of these," saith he, "belong only to them which saw our Saviour in the flesh, but to all *hodie quoque:* but with this limitation, if they hear or despise *Evangelii verba*, not the preachers' own."—Beda in S. Luc. x. 15, 16. [apud Caten. Auream. His words are: Et ne quis putaret hanc increpationem, illis tantummodo civitatibus vel personis convenire, quæ Dominum in carne videntes spernebant, et non omnibus qui hodie quoque Evangelii verba despiciunt, consequenter adjunxit, dicens, Qui vos audit, &c.... Ut scilicet in audiendo quisque vel spernendo Evangelii prædicationem, non viles quasque personas, sed Dominum Salvatorem, immo ipsum Patrem, spernere, &c.—Op., tom. v. col. 330. ed. Colon. 1612.]

[f] Rabanus Maur[us] goes no further than "that to the end some will always be in the world fit for Christ by His spirit and grace to inhabit." [His words are: Ex hoc autem intelligitur, quod usque ad finem sæculi non sunt defecturi (defuturi) in mundo, qui] divina mansione et inhabitatione [sunt] digni. —Raban. [Maur.] in S. Matth. xxviii. 19, 20. [apud Caten. Auream. Comment. in Matth. lib. vii. Op., tom. v. p. 159. G. ed. Colon. 1626.] — [Exhortor ut... ad accipiendam coronam spiritali virtute] pergatis, habentes Dominum protectorem et ducem, [qui dixit, Ecce ego vobiscum, &c.]

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one father of the Church that extends the sense of this place to divine and infallible assistance, granted hereby to all the Apostles' successors. Sure I am S. Gregory[g] thought otherwise. For he says plainly, "That in those gifts of God which concern other men's salvation, of which preaching of the Gospel is one, the Spirit of Christ, the Holy Ghost, doth not always abide in the preachers," be they never so lawfully sent pastors or doctors of the Church. And if the Holy Ghost doth not always abide in the preachers, then most certainly He doth not abide in them to a divine infallibility always.

John xiv. 16.

The third place is in S. John xiv. where Christ says, "The Comforter, the Holy Ghost, shall abide with you for ever." Most true again. For the Holy Ghost did abide with the Apostles according to Christ's promise there made, and shall abide with their successors for ever, to comfort and preserve them.[h] But here is no promise of divine infallibility made unto them. And for that promise which is made, and expressly of infallibility, S. John xvi., though not cited by A. C., that is confined to the Apostles only, for the settling of them "in all truth." And yet not simply all: for there

John xvi. 13.

saith S. Cyprian, lib. iv. Epist. 1. [Epist. lxxxi. ad Rogatianum et cæteros confessores, Op. p. 163, ed. Benedict.] But he doth not say, How far forth.—And, Loquitur fidelibus sicut uni corpori, [saith] S. Chrysostom, Homil. in S. Matth. [His words are: *οὐ μετ' ἐκείνων δὲ μόνον εἶπεν ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πάντων τῶν μετ' ἐκείνους πιστευσάντων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος οἱ ἀπόστολοι μένειν ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑνὶ σώματι διαλέγεται τοῖς πιστοῖς.*—S. Chrysost. in Matth. Hom. xc. (al. xci.) cap. 2. Op., tom. vii. p. 841. D. ed. Benedict.] And if S. Chrysostom enlarge it so far, I hope A. C. will not extend the assistance, given or promised here to the whole body of the faithful, to an infallible and divine assistance in every of them, as well as in the pastors and doctors.

[g] In [his igitur] donis, quibus salus aliorum quæritur, qualia sunt prophetiæ et interpretationes sermonum, &c., Spiritus Sanctus nequaquam semper in prædicatoribus permanet.—S. Greg. [Magn.] Moral. lib. ii. cap. 29. (vet. xlii.) in princ. ed. Basil. 1551. [His words are: Alia namque sunt dona Illius, sine quibus ad vitam nequaquam pertingitur; alia, quibus vitæ sanctitas pro aliorum utilitate declaratur. Mansuetudo namque, humilitas, patientia, fides, spes, caritas, dona Ejus sunt; sed ea sine quibus ad vitam homines pervenire nequaquam possunt. Prophetiæ autem, virtus curationum, genera linguarum, interpretatio sermonum, dona Ejus sunt; sed quæ virtutis Ejus præsentiam pro correctione intuentium ostendunt. In his igitur donis, sine quibus ad vitam perveniri non potest, Sanctus Spiritus sive in prædicatoribus suis, sive in electis omnibus, semper manet; in illis autem, quibus per ostensionem Illius non nostra vita servatur, sed aliorum quæritur, nequaquam semper in prædicatoribus permanet.—S. Greg. Magn. Moral. lib. ii. in cap. I. beati Job. cap. lvi. Op., tom. i. col. 73. ed. Benedict.]

[h] [Ut maneat vobiscum in æternum, *q. d.*] Iste consolator non auferetur a vobis, sicut subtrahitur humanitas mea per mortem, sed æternaliter erit vobiscum; hic per gratiam, [sed] in futuro per gloriam. —Lyra, in S. Joh. xiv. 16. [apud Bibl. Sacr. cum Gloss. ordinar. &c.] You see there the Holy Ghost shall be present by consolation and grace, not by infallible assistance.

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are some truths, saith S. Augustine,[i] which no man's soul can comprehend in this life. Not simply all; but all those truths, *quæ non poterant portare*, "which they were not able to bear," when He conversed with them.[k] Not simply all: but all that was necessary for the founding, propagating, establishing, and confirming the Christian Church. But if any man take the boldness to enlarge this promise, in the fulness of it, beyond the persons of the Apostles themselves, that will fall out which S. Augustine hath in a manner prophesied: "every heretic will shelter himself and his vanities under this colour of infallible verity."[l]

XXX.—I told you a little before,[m] that A. C.'s pen was troubled, and failed him: therefore I will help to make out his inference for him, that his cause may have all the strength it can. And, as I conceive, this is that he would have:—The tradition of the present Church is as able to work in us divine and infallible faith, that the Scripture is the word of God, as that the Bible, or books of Scripture, now printed and in use, is a true copy of that which was first written by the penmen of the Holy Ghost, and delivered to the Church. It is most true, the tradition of the present Church is alike operative and powerful in and over both these works; but neither divine nor infallible in either. But as it is the first moral inducement to persuade that Scripture is the word of God, so is it also the first, but moral still, that the Bible we now have, is a true copy of that which was first written. But then, as in the former, so in this latter, for the true copy, the last resolution of our faith cannot possibly rest upon the naked tradition of the present Church, but must, by and with it, go higher to other helps and assurances:

A. C. p. 52.

[i] [Proinde quod ait, Docebit vos] omnem veritatem, [vel, Deducet vos in omni veritate,] non arbitror in hac vita in cujusquam mente [posse] compleri: [quis enim vivens in hoc corpore, quod corrumpitur et aggravat animam, possit omnem cognoscere veritatem, cum dicat Apostolus, Ex parte scimus?]—S. Augustin. in S. Johan. [cap. xvi. 13.] Tract. xcvi. (4.) versus fin. [Op. tom. iii. par. 2. col. 735. F.]

[k] Spiritus sanctus, [quem promisit Dominus se discipulis suis esse missurum], qui eos doceret omnem veritatem, quam tunc, [quando] cum eis loquebatur, portare non poterant.—S. Augustin. in S. Johan. [cap.] xvi. 12, 13. Tract. xcvii. (1.) in princ. [Op. tom. iii. par. 2. col. 736. D.]

[l] Omnes autem insipientissimi Hæretici, qui se Christianos vocari volunt, audacias figmentorum suorum, quas maxime exhorret sensus humanus, hac occasione Evangelicæ sententiæ colorare conantur, [ubi Dominus ait, Adhuc multa, &c.]—S. Augustin. in S. Johan. cap. xvi. 12, 13, Tract. xcvii. (3.) circa med. [ibid. col. 738. B.]

[m] [Ubi sup. Sect. xvi.] No. 27. [p. 105.]

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where, I hope, A. C. will confess we have greater helps to discover the truth or falsehood of a copy, than we have means to look into a tradition; or especially to sift out this truth, That it was a divine and infallible revelation by which the originals of Scripture were first written: that being far more the subject of this inquiry than the copy, which, according to art and science, may be examined by former preceding copies, close up to the very Apostles' times.

A. C. p. 53. XXXI.—But A. C. hath not done yet: for in the last place he tells us, that tradition and Scripture, without any vicious circle, do mutually confirm the authority either of other. And truly, for my part, I shall easily grant him this, so he will grant me this other: namely, that though they do mutually, yet they do not equally, confirm the authority either of other. For Scripture doth infallibly confirm the authority of Church traditions, truly so called; but tradition doth but morally and probably confirm the authority of the Scripture. And this is manifest by A. C.'s own similitude: "For," saith he, "it is as a king's ambassador's word of mouth, and his king's letters bear mutual witness to each other." Just so indeed: for his king's letters of credence, under hand and seal, confirm the ambassador's authority infallibly to all that know seal and hand: but the ambassador's word of mouth confirms his king's letters but only probably; for else, why are they called letters of credence, if they give not him more credit than he can give them? But that which follows I cannot approve: to wit, "That the lawfully sent preachers of the Gospel are God's legates, and the Scriptures God's letters, which He hath appointed His legates to deliver and expound." So far it is well, but here's the sting: "that these letters do warrant, that the people may hear and give credit to these legates of Christ, as to Christ the king Himself." Soft: this is too high a great deal. No legate was ever of so great credit as the king himself.[n] Nor was any priest, never so lawfully sent, ever of that authority that Christ himself. No, sure: for "ye call Me Master and Lord; and ye do well, for so I am," saith our Saviour. And certainly, this did not suddenly drop out of A. C.'s

John xiii. 13.

[n] Will A. C. maintain that any *Legate a latere* is of as great credit as the Pope himself?

pen: for he told us once before, "That this company of men which deliver the present Church's tradition, that is, the lawfully-sent preachers of the Church, are assisted by God's Spirit to have in them divine and infallible authority, and to be worthy of divine and infallible credit, sufficient to breed in us divine and infallible faith." Why, but is it possible these men should go thus far to defend an error, be it never so dear unto them? They as Christ! Divine and infallible authority in them! "Sufficient to breed in us divine and infallible faith!" I have often heard some wise men say, that the Jesuit in the Church of Rome, and the precise party in the reformed Churches, agree in many things, though they would seem most to differ. And surely this is one: for both of them differ extremely about tradition; the one in magnifying it, and exalting it into divine authority; the other vilifying and depressing it almost beneath human. And yet, even in these different ways, both agree in this consequent,—That the sermons and preachings by word of mouth of the lawfully sent pastors and doctors of the Church, are able to breed in us divine and infallible faith; nay, are the very word of God.[q] So A. C. expressly: and no less than so, have some accounted of their own factious words, to say no more, than as the word of God.[r] I ever took sermons, and so do still, to be most necessary expositions and applications of Holy Scripture, and a great ordinary means of saving knowledge; but I cannot think them, or the preachers of them, divinely infallible. The ancient fathers of the Church preached far beyond any of these of either faction; and yet

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A. C. p. 52.

[q] For this A. C. says expressly of tradition, p. 52. And then he adds, "that the promise for this was no less, but rather more, expressly made to the lawfully-sent pastors and doctors of the Church in all ages, in their teaching by word of mouth, than in writing," &c. p. 53.

[r] For the freeing of factious and silenced ministers, is termed "the restoring of God's word to its liberty;" in the godly author [W. Prynne] of the late Newes from Ipswich, p. 5. ["Certainly till his Majesty shall see these purgations (viz. of certain passages alleged to have been erased by Archbishop Laud from the Fast-book,) rectified, superstition and idolatry removed, God's sabbaths duly observed, the suppressed preachers and preaching of God's word restored, &c. . . . . What then can we expect but plagues upon plagues, till such desperate persecutors be cut off, and God's word and ministers restored to their former liberty, by our most gracious Sovereign?"—Newes from Ipswich, &c. . . . . First printed at Ipswich, and now reprinted for T. Bates. 1641.]

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no one of them durst think himself infallible, much less, that whatsoever he preached was the word of God. And it may be observed too, that no men are more apt to say, That all the fathers were but men, and might err, than they that think their own preachings are infallible.

XXXII.—The next thing, after this large interpretation of A. C., which I shall trouble you with, is, That this method and manner of proving Scripture to be the word of God, which I here use, is the same which the ancient Church ever held, namely, tradition, or ecclesiastical authority, first; and then all other arguments, but especially internal, from the Scripture itself. This way the Church went in S. Augustine's time.[s] He was no enemy to Church-tradition; yet when he would prove that the Author of the Scripture, and so of the whole knowledge of divinity, as it is supernatural, is *Deus in Christo*, "God in Christ," he takes this as the all-sufficient way, and gives four proofs, all internal to the Scripture: first, the miracles; secondly, that there is nothing carnal in the doctrine; thirdly, that there hath been such performance of it; fourthly, that by such a doctrine of humility, the whole world almost hath been converted. And whereas, *ad muniendam fidem*, for the defending of the faith, and keeping it entire, there are two things requisite—Scripture and Church-tradition,—Vincent[ius] Lirinens[is][t] places authority of Scriptures first, and then tradition. And since it is apparent that tradition is first in order of time, it must necessarily follow that Scripture is first in order of nature; that is, the chief upon which faith rests and resolves itself.

John iv.

And your own school confesses this was the way ever. The

[s] And S. Augustine himself, contra Faustum, lib. xiii. cap 5. [Op., tom. viii. col. 254. E.] proves by an internal argument the fulfilling of the prophets. [His words are: Usque adeo nihil credi confirmatam] Scriptura[rum auctoritatem,] quæ fidem suam rebus ipsis probat, quæ per temporum successiones hæc impleri [et effici ostendit, quæ tamen, ante quam fierent, pronuntiavit.]—And Henr. a Gand. Summ. par. 1. A[rtic.] ix. Q[uæst.] 3: [the four arguments are stated in Art. ix. Quæst. 3. §§ 8, 9, 10, 11. p. 179. with long quotations from S. Aug. de vera Relig.] cites S. Augustine's book de vera Religione. In which book, though these four arguments are not found in terms together, yet they fill up the scope of the whole book.

[t] [Quod sive ego, sive quis alius vellet exurgentium hæreticorum fraudes deprehendere, laqueosque vitare, et in fide sana sanus atque integer permanere,] duplici modo munire fidem [suam, Domino adjuvante, deberet.] Primo [scilicet] Divinæ legis auctoritate; tum deinde Ecclesiæ Catholicæ traditione.—[Vin. Lirinens.] contra Hær. cap. 1. [p. 4.]

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woman of Samaria is a known resemblance, but allowed by yourselves: for "*quotidie*,"[u] daily with them that are without, Christ enters by the woman, that is, the Church, and they believe by that fame which she gives, &c.: but when they come to hear Christ Himself, they believe His words[1] before the words of the woman: for when they have once found Christ,[x] they do more believe His words in Scripture, than they do the Church which testifies of Him; because then, *propter illam*, for the Scripture, they believe the Church; and, if the Church should speak contrary to the Scripture, they would not believe it." Thus the school taught then; and thus the gloss commented then; and when men have tired themselves, hither they must come. The key that lets men into the Scriptures, even to this knowledge of them, that they are the word of God, is the tradition of the Church: but when they are in, they hear Christ Himself immediately

[1] [Word... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[u] Henr. a Gand. Summ. par. 1. Artic. x. Q[uæst.] 1. [§ 10. Ad fidem autem jam genitam confirmandam et corroborandam in fideli, maxime valet auctoritas intellecta Sacræ Scripturæ, cui fidelis adhæret, etsi videret illos per quos fidem acceperat a fide resilire, et per impossibile totam Ecclesiam in aliis a fide discedere, ut possit dicere illud quod Samaritani ad Christum vocati per mulierem postquam Christum audierunt dixerunt ad eam. Dixerunt enim illud Jo. 4. "Jam non propter Tuam loquelam credimus, ipsi enim audivimus, et scimus, quia Hic est vere Salvator mundi," ubi dicit Glos. super illud; "Et mansit ibi. Sic quotidie apud illos, qui foris sunt, nunciatur Christus per mulierem id est Ecclesiam, et credunt per istam famam, inde apud eos manet," scilicet præsens in Sacra Scriptura, in qua Ipse immediate loquitur fidelibus: unde dicitur in alia Gl. "Prius audierunt famam, postea comperierunt præsentem, nec satis est, sed apud se manere faciunt, ut Ipsius verbis instruantur, quæ præferunt verbis mulieris." Sic certe fidelis, Sacra Scriptura cognita, et in ipsa Christo invento, plus verbis Christi in ea credit, quam cuicunque prædicatori, quam etiam Ecclesiæ testificanti, quia propter illam jam credit Ecclesiæ, et si ipsa quidem contraria Scripturæ diceret, ipsi non crederet, et ideo talis robur fidei in auctoritate hujus scientiæ perfectissime consistit.] —Sic quotidie, &c.—Gloss. [ordinar.] in S. Joh. cap. iv. [ut sup. apud Henr. a Gand.]

[x] Plus verbis Christi, &c. [Henr. a Gand. ut sup. note [u]. The gloss quoted in the above extract continues: Quia licet doctrina alicujus aliquis inducatur ad credendum, tamen fides innititur divinæ veritati secundum se; .... Qui licet excitati fuerunt per mulieris verbum tamen magis crediderunt per Christum .... Per quod significatur, quod licet doctrina philosophica fidei nostræ sit in pluribus accommoda, tamen non credimus propter illam, sed propter sacram scripturam, et potissime propter Christi doctrinam.—Gloss. Ordinar. in S. Johan. cap. iv. 39. et seq.]—[Respondeamus ergo et dicamus latitudinem Christianæ credentiæ sic esse disposita, ut] primam fidem tribuamus Scripturis canonicis; secundam, sub isto, definitionibus et consuetudinibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, [juxta illum articulum in Symbolo, Credo unam Sanctam Ecclesiam, &c.] Post istas [habent Christiani credere], non [quidem] sub pœna perfidiæ, sed proterviæ, [vel crassæ contumaciæ,] studiosis viris [et amatoribus veritatis.]—[Thom.] Waldensis, Doctrinal. Fidei, tom. i. lib. 2. art. ii. cap. 23. no. 9. [fol. 107. col. 3. ed. Paris. 1532.]

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John x. 4.

speaking in Scripture to the faithful;[y] and "His sheep" do not only "hear," but know, "His voice." And then here is no vicious circle indeed of proving the Scripture by the Church, and then round about, the Church by the Scripture. Only distinguish the times and the conditions of men, and all is safe. For a beginner in the faith, or a weakling, or a doubter about it, begins at tradition, and proves Scripture by the Church; but a man strong and grown up in the faith, and understandingly conversant in the word of God, proves the Church by the Scripture. And then upon the matter, we have a double divine testimony, altogether infallible, to confirm unto us, that Scripture is the word of God. The first is the tradition of the Church of the Apostles themselves, who delivered immediately to the world the word of Christ: the other, the Scripture itself; but after it hath received this testimony. And into these we do, and may safely, resolve our faith. As for the tradition of after ages, in and about which miracles and divine power were not so evident, we believe them, by Gandavo's full confession,[z] because they do not preach other things than those former (the Apostles) left in *scriptis certissimis,* "in most certain Scripture." And it appears by men in the middle ages, that these writings were vitiated in nothing, by the concordant consent in them of all succeeders, to our own time.

XXXIII.—And now by this time, it will be no hard thing to reconcile the fathers, which seem to speak differently in no few places, both one from another, and the same from themselves, touching Scripture and tradition; and that as well in this point, to prove Scripture to be the word of God, as for concordant exposition of Scripture in all things else. When therefore the fathers say, We have the Scriptures by tradition,[a] or the like, either they mean the tradition of the

[y] In Sacra Scriptura Ipse immediate loquitur fidelibus.—Ibid. [Henr. a Gand. ubi sup. note [u].]

[z] Quod autem credimus posterioribus, circa quos non apparent virtutes divinæ, hoc est, quia non prædicant alia quam quæ illi in scriptis certissimis reliquerunt: quæ constat per medios in nullo fuisse vitiata ex consensione concordi in eis omnium succedentium usque ad tempora nostra.—Henr. a Gand. Summ. par. 1. A[rtic.] ix. Q[uæst.] 3. [§ 13. p. 180.]

[a] Scripturas habemus ex traditione. —S. Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. iv. [πολὺ σοῦ φρονιμώτεροι καὶ εὐλαβέστεροι ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες.—Cateches. iv. cap. 34. (al. 22.) Op., p. 68. E. ed. Benedict.] —[Nondum enim erat diligenter illa baptismi quæstio pertractata, sed

Apostles themselves delivering it; and there, when it is known to be such, we may resolve our faith: or, if they speak of the present Church, then they mean that the tradition of it is that by which we first receive the Scripture, as by an according means to the prime tradition. But because it is not "simply divine," we cannot resolve our faith into it, nor settle our faith upon it, till it resolve itself into the prime tradition of the Apostles, or the Scripture, or both; and there we rest with it. And you cannot shew an ordinary consent of fathers: nay, can you, or any of your quarter, shew any one father of the Church, Greek or Latin, that ever said, We are to resolve our faith, that Scripture is the word of God, into the tradition of the present Church? And again, when the fathers say, We are to rely upon Scripture only,[b] they are never to be understood with exclusion of tradition, in what causes soever it may be had. Not but that the Scripture is abundantly sufficient, in and to itself, for all things,[c] but because it is deep, and may be drawn into different senses, and so be mistaken, if any man will presume upon his own strength, and go single without the Church. SECTION XVI.

XXXIV.—To gather up whatsoever may seem scattered in this long discourse, to prove that Scripture is the word of God, I shall now, in the last place, put all together, that so the whole state of the question may the better appear.

First, then, I shall desire the reader to consider, that (1.)

tamen saluberrimam consuetudinem tenebat ecclesia, in ipsis quoque schismaticis et hæreticis corrigere quod pravum est, non iterare quod datum est; sanare quod vulneratum est, non curare quod sanum est. Quam consuetudinem credo ex Apostolica Traditione venientem: sicut] multa quæ non inveniuntur in literis [eorum], (sc. Apostolorum), [neque in conciliis posterioribus, et tamen, quia per universam custodiuntur ecclesiam,] non nisi ab ipsis tradita et commendata creduntur.—S. Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatist. lib. ii. cap. 7. [Op., tom. ix. col. 102. E.]

[b] [Nemini autem dubium esse oportet, ad divinarum rerum cognitionem divinis utendum esse doctrinis.] Neque enim scientiam cœlestium per sensus [humana imbecillitas consequetur, &c.]—S. Hilar. de Trinit. lib. iv. [cap. 14. Op., col. 835. C. ed. Benedict.]—[Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de quacunque alia re quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque vestram, non dicam nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, Licet si nos, sed omnino quod secutus adjecit], Si angelus de cœlo annunciaverit præterquam quod in Scripturis [legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit.]—S. Augustin. contra [literas] Petiliani, lib. iii. cap. 6. [Op., tom. ix. col. 301. E.]

[c] Quum sit perfectus Scripturarum canon, sibique ad omnia satis superque sufficiat, [ut ei ecclesiasticæ intelligentiæ jungatur auctoritas?]—Vin. Lirinens. contra Hær. cap. ii. [pp. 4, 5.] And if it be *sibi ad omnia*, then to this, to prove itself, at least after tradition hath prepared us to receive it.

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every rational science requires some principles quite without its own limits, which are not proved in that science, but presupposed. Thus rhetoric presupposes grammar, and music, arithmetic. Therefore it is most reasonable that Theology should be allowed to have some principles also, which she proves not, but presupposes.[d] And the chiefest of these is, That the Scriptures are of divine authority.

(2.) Secondly, That there is a great deal of difference in the manner of confirming the principles of divinity, and those of any other art or science whatsoever.

For the principles of all other sciences do finally resolve, either into the conclusions of some higher science, or into those principles which are *per se nota*, "known by their own light," and are the grounds and principles of all science. And this is it, which properly makes them sciences, because they proceed with such strength of demonstration, as forces reason to yield unto them. But the principles of divinity resolve not into the grounds of natural reason,—for then there would be no room for faith, but all would be either knowledge or vision,—but, into the maxims of divine knowledge supernatural. And of this we have just so much light, and no more, than God hath revealed unto us in the Scripture.

(3.) Thirdly, That though the evidence of these supernatural truths, which divinity teaches, appears not so manifest as that of the natural; yet they are in themselves much more sure and infallible then they.[e] For they proceed immediately from God, that Heavenly Wisdom, which being the foundation of ours, must needs infinitely precede ours, both in nature

[d] Omnis scientia præsupponit fidem aliquam.—S. Prosper. in Psalm. cxxiii. [Perhaps the passage alluded to by Laud in citing this maxim may be: Vide igitur Deum primo per fidem, ut postea possis videre per speciem.—S. Prosper. Aquitan. Expos. in Ps. cxx. 4. Op., col. 446. D. ed. Paris. 1711.] And S. Cyril. Hierosolym. Cateches. v. [cap. 3. (al. 2.) Op., p. 72. E. καὶ οὐ παρ' ἡμῖν γε μόνοις, τοῖς τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν, μέγα τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἐστὶν ἀξίωμα ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κύσμῳ τελούμενα, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τῇ πίστει τελεῖται] shews how all things in the world do *fide consistere*. Therefore most unreasonable to deny that to divinity, which all sciences, nay all things, challenge: namely, some things to be presupposed and believed.

[e] Si vis credere manifestis, invisibilibus magis quam visibilibus oportet credere. Licet dictum sit admirabile, verum est, &c.—S. Chrysostom. Hom. xlvi. ad Pop. [*i. e.* in S. Matth. Homil. xiii. vide infra, p. 124. note p.] And there he proves it.—Aliæ scientiæ certitudinem habent ex naturali lumine rationis humanæ, quæ potest [errare]: hæc (sc. Theologia) autem [certitudinem habet] ex lumine divinæ scientiæ, quæ decipi non potest.—Thom. [Aquin. Secund.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 5. in conclus.

and excellence. "He that teacheth man knowledge, shall not He know?"[f] And therefore, though we reach not the order of their deductions, nor can in this life come to the vision of them, yet we yield as full and firm assent, not only to the articles, but to all the things rightly deduced from them, as we do to the most evident principles of natural reason. This assent is called faith; and "faith being of things not seen," would quite lose its honour,[g] nay itself, if it met with sufficient grounds in natural reason whereon to stay itself. For faith is a mixed act of the will and the understanding; and the will inclines the understanding[h] to

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Psa. xciv. [10.]

Heb. xi. 1.

[f] Psal. xciv. 10. Our old English translation reads it, "Shall not He punish?" that is, Shall not He know when, and why, and how to punish?

[g] Si sit ratio convincens, et propter eam quis credat, alias non crediturus, tollitur meritum fidei.—[Gabr.] Biel. in III. [Sentent.] D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] unica. [Dub. 4. T.] in fine. [His words are: Ultimo dubitatur utrum ratio naturalis, inducta ad ostendendum fidei veritatem, diminuat fidei meritum ... Respondetur sic in beatum Thomam Secund. Secund. Quæst ii. art. 10. quod ratio humana, inducta ad ea quæ fidei sunt, dupliciter se habere possit. Uno modo ut præcedens: puta cum aliquis assentit veritati fidei propter rationem convincentem, alias non crediturus. Et sic ratio inducta diminuit meritum fidei, imo totum tollit: ita quod sic assentiendo non meretur.]—Non est dicendus credere, cujus judicium subigitur aut cogitur. — Stapleton. Triplicat. adversus Whitaker. [pro ecclesiæ auctoritate,] cap. vi. p. 64. [Op., tom. i. p. 1157. A.]

[h] [Ecce promittitur (in his verbis sc. Cum venerit Ille, arguet mundum &c.,) convictio et redargutio, tamen non perversio .... Est enim] fides [voluntaria,] nec fit in nobis nisi volentibus, [convictio autem fit etiam nolentibus.]— [Cardinal.] Tolet. in S. Johan. xvi. Annot. 33. [seu potius, 13. Comment. in Johan. Evangel. tom. ii. col. 154. F. ed. Lugd. 1615.] —[Recte itaque idem Spiritus arguit mundum, et de peccato, quia non credit in Christum; et de justitia, quia] qui voluerunt crediderunt, [quamvis in quem crediderunt non viderunt.]— S. Augustin. Serm. lx. de verb. Dom. cap. 5. [Serm. cxliii. de verbis Evangelii Johan. xvi. Ego veritatem &c. Op., tom. v. col. 693. A.]—[Non est dicendus credere, cujus judicium subigitur aut cogitur, quia] fides actus est non solius intellectus, sed etiam voluntatis, quæ cogi non potest; imo magis voluntatis quam intellectus: sed etiam, quatenus illa operationis principium est, et assensum, qui proprie fidei actus est, sola elicit; nec ab intellectu voluntas, sed a voluntate intellectus, in actu fidei determinatur.—Stapleton. Triplicat. adversus Whitaker. cap. vi. &c. [ubi sup. note g.] — [Actus autem fidei est] credere ..... [qui] actus est intellectus determinati ad unum ex imperio voluntatis.—Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] iv. A[rt.] 1. in conclus. — [Et sic dico quod] non potest dari aliquis assensus fidei, quicunque sit ille, qui non dependeat in suis causis mediate vel immediate ab actu voluntatis.—Jac. Almain. in III. Sent. D[istinct.] xxiv. Conclus. 6. Dub. 4. fol. lxxix.—And S. Augustine says, Fidei locum esse cor: [in these words: Quantaslibet tamen adversum nos erigat machinas, quando non tenet locum cordis ubi fides habitat, ejectus est foras.]— Tractat. lii. in S. Johan. [cap. xii. Op., tom. iii. par. 2. col. 642. D.] Where the heart is put for the whole soul, which equally comprehends both the will and the understanding.—And so doth [Gabr.] Biel also, [Hæc est fides implicita qua fidelis credit quicquid ecclesia credit; utilissima est fideli: nam si fuerit in corde, defendit ab omni hæretica pravitate: ut dicit Ocham &c. ... Non enim aliquatenus hæreticari valet, qui corde credit quicquid Ecclesia credit.]—in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] unic. Art. i. [Coroll. 4.] F.

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yield full approbation to that whereof it sees not full proof. Not but that there is most full proof of them, but because the main grounds which prove them are concealed from our view, and folded up in the unrevealed counsel of God; God in Christ resolving to bring mankind to their last happiness by faith, and not by knowledge, that so the weakest among men may have their way to blessedness open. And certain it is, that many weak men believe themselves into heaven, and many over-knowing Christians lose their way thither, while they will believe no more than they can clearly know. In which pride and vanity of theirs they are left, and have these things "hid from them."

Matt. xi. 25.

(4.) Fourthly, That the credit of the Scripture, the book in which the principles of faith are written, as of other writings also, depends not upon the subservient inducing cause that leads us to the first knowledge of the author, which leader here is the Church; but upon the author himself, and the opinion we have of his sufficiency, which here is the Holy Spirit of God, whose penmen the Prophets and Apostles were. And therefore the mysteries of divinity contained in this book, as the incarnation of our Saviour, the resurrection of the dead, and the like, cannot finally be resolved into the sole testimony of the Church, who is but a subservient cause to lead to the knowledge of the author, but into the wisdom and sufficiency of the author, Who being omnipotent and omniscient, must needs be infallible.

(5.) Fifthly, That the assurance we have of the penmen of the Scriptures, the holy Prophets and Apostles, is as great as any can be had of any human authors of like antiquity. For it is morally as evident to any pagan, that S. Matthew and S. Paul writ the Gospel and Epistles which bear their names, as that Cicero or Seneca wrote theirs. But that the Apostles were divinely inspired whilst they writ them, and that they are the very word of God expressed by them, this hath ever been a matter of faith in the Church, and was so even while the Apostles themselves lived,[i] and was never a

[i] The Apostles, indeed, they "knew," for they had clear revelation: they to whom they preached might believe, but they could not know without the like revelation. So S. John xix. 35. "He that saw knows that he says true, that you, which saw not, might believe."—Deus in Prophetis, et sic in Apostolis, quos immediate illuminabat, causabat evidentiam.—Jac. Almain. in

matter of evidence and knowledge, at least as knowledge is opposed to faith. Nor could it at any time then be more demonstratively proved than now. I say, not *scientifice*, not demonstratively: for, were the Apostles living, and should they tell us that they spake and writ the very oracles of God, yet this were but their own testimony of themselves, and so not alone able to enforce belief on others. And for their miracles, though they were very great inducements of belief, yet were neither they evident and convincing proofs, alone and of themselves; both because there may be counterfeit miracles,[k] and because true ones are neither infallible

III. Sent. D[istinct.] xxiv. Q[uæst.] unic. Conclus. 6. [His words are: Notandum quod prophetæ et apostoli qui fuerunt fundamenta nostra fidei habuerunt notitias certas et evidentes de aliquibus revelatis et certitudinem per argumentum topicum sicut habuerunt Judæi per miracula. . . . Quæritur ergo circa hoc utrum habebant notitiam evidentem? videtur quod sic: quia Deus se solo potest causare omne genus notitiarum; sc. evidentiam, fidem, &c. Et sic quæritur utrum causaverit evidentiam in prophetis quos immediate illuminabat Deus interius sine quocunque signo exteriori: credo quod causabat in eis evidentiam.—fol. lxxv.] But for the residue of men, it is no more, but as Thomas hath it: [AD SECUNDUM dicendum, quod argumentari ex auctoritate est maxime proprium hujus doctrinæ, eo quod principia hujus doctrinæ per revelationem habentur. Et sic] oportet quod credatur auctoritati eorum, quibus revelatio facta est. — Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. [Quæst.] i. A[rt.] 8.

[k] Non est evidens vel ista esse vera miracula, vel ista fieri ad illam veritatem comprobandam.—Jac. Almain. in III. Sent. D[istinct.] xxiv. Q[uæst.] unic. Concl. 6. Therefore the miracles which Christ and His Apostles did, were fully sufficient to beget faith to assent, but not evidence to convince. [Almain's words are: Jam movetur dubium: Utrum audiens prædicari articulum, et videns fieri miracula, pro approbatione articuli acquirat aliquem assensum vel habitum distinctum ab habitu fidei? videtur quod sic: audiens prædicari articulum sine miraculis acquirit fidem, sed cum hoc videns miraculum acquirit majorem assensum. (Responsio:) Ergo respondet Ocham quarto quodlibeto: q. vii. quod audiens articulum prædicari, et videns miracula, non acquirit alium præter fidem, quamvis acquirat intentionem. Patet sic: nunquam acquiritur evidentia per medium quod potest de se generare assensum falsum sicut verum: sed ista miracula cum prædicatione possunt æque generare assensum falsum sicut verum. Patet sic: ille qui prædicaret legem Machometi, et faceret apparentia miracula sicut fecerunt magi Pharaonis, ita bene generaret assensum sicut ille qui prædicat articulum verum, et facit vera miracula; ergo de se illud medium potest ita generare assensum falsum sicut verum: dico quod nunquam acquiritur evidentia nisi per simplicem terminorum notitiam aut per notitias evidentes: prior tamen assensus illius articuli quem prædicat non causatur ex simplici terminorum notitia, neque ex isto assensu solo, 'ista sunt vera miracula:' sed causatur ex isto assensu, 'ista sunt vera miracula, et ista sunt ad veritatem illius articuli probandam.' (Resolutio Doctoris.) Jam dico quod utraque istarum est inevidens: 'ista sunt vera miracula:' non enim est evidens neque potest causari assensus ex simplici terminorum apprehensione quod judicet firmiter ista sunt vera miracula. Similiter ista non est evidens, 'ista fiunt ad illam veritatem comprobandam:' nam aliquis dicat mihi: stat quod ille mentitur: non causatur ergo propter quæcunque miracula assensus articuli inevidentis, quia non est evidens quod sint vera miracula, neque quod fiant ad pro-

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nor inseparable marks of truth in doctrine.[1] Not infallible, for they may be marks of false doctrine in the highest degree: not proper and inseparable, for all which wrote by inspiration did not confirm their doctrine by miracles.[m] For we do not find that David, or Solomon, with some other of the prophets, did any; neither were any wrought by S. John

Deut. xiii. 1—3.
2 Thess. ii. 9.
Mark xiii. 22.
John x. 41.

bandam veritatem articuli, et sic non causatur alius assensus præter fidem. —fol. lxxvi.]

[1] Cautos nos fecit sponsus, quia et miraculis decipi non debemus.—[S. Augustin. in S. Johan. Evang. [cap. iii. 29.] Tractat. xiii. [in illa verba, Post hæc venit Jesus, &c. Op., tom. iii. par. 2. col. 399. A.] And he that says we ought not to be deceived, acknowledges that we may be deceived, even by miracles. And arguments which can deceive, are not sufficient to convince, though they be sometimes too full of efficacy to pervert. And so plainly Almain out of Ocham. Nunquam acquiritur evidentia per medium quod de se generat falsum assensum sicut verum.—Jac. Almain. in III. Sent. D[istinct.] xxiv. Q[uæst.] unic. Conc. 6. [ubi sup. note [k].] And therefore that learned Roman Catholic, who tells us the Apostles' miracles made it evident that their doctrine was true and divine, went too far. "Credible" they made it, but not "evident." And therefore he is after forced to confess "that the soul sometimes assents not to the miracles, but in great timidity, which cannot stand with clear evidence." And after again, "that the soul may renounce the doctrine formerly confirmed by miracles, unless some inward and supernatural light be given, &c." And neither can this possibly stand with evidence. And therefore Bellarmine goes no farther than this: [Undecima nota est gloria miraculorum, sunt autem duo fundamenta præmittenda. Unum] quod miracula sint [necessaria] ad novam fidem [vel extraordinariam missionem] persuadendam. [Alterum, quod sint] efficacia et sufficientia, [nam ex priore deducemus &c.—Bellarmin.] de notis ecclesiæ, lib. iv. cap. 14. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 206. D.] To induce and persuade, but not to convince. And Thomas will not grant so much, for he says expressly: Miraculum non est sufficiens causa inducens fidem: quia videntium unum et idem miraculum, quidam credunt, et quidam non [credunt.]—Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] vi. A[rt.] 1. in conclus.—And Ambrosius Catharinus, in Rom. x. 15, is downright at Nulla fides est habenda signo: [his verbis: sc. Ostendunt, quæso, quisnam miserit eos? Nemo enim a se ipso mittitur. Quod si Deus invisibiliter illos mittit, ostendant nobis signum: quanquam etsi darent signum, nulla fides est habenda signo. Quomodo autem prædicabunt] examinanda sunt. —[Ambros. Catharin. in omnes Divi Pauli Epistolas, &c. p. 100. ed. Paris. 1566.] — And Anastasius Nicænus Episcopus, apud Baron. ad An. 360. Num. 21. [his verbis: sc. Fui et aspexi hæreticum (sc. Macedonianum) Cyzici . . . prædictus episcopus hæreticus . . . efficit ut loqueretur mortuus . . . Propterea non oportet, quemlibet, qui signa facit, tanquam sanctum admittere, sed examinare convenienter ei qui dicit, Nolite omni spiritui credere, &c.]—[Denique vel ipsa etiam opera miraculorum: nam hæc etiam adulterari possunt, et ita exterius fingi ut] non sint necessaria signa veræ fidei. . . . [Sola autem externa signa aut opera non sufficiunt ad veram ecclesiam constituendam.]—Suarez, defensio fidei Catholicæ, [contra Anglican. &c.] lib. i. cap. vii. § 3. [col. 34. F. ed. Colon. 1614.]

[m] Operatio virtutum alteri datur, 1 Cor. xii. 10. To one and another, he saith, not to all, &c.—[Sed quia Iste Deus et homo esse dignatus est, in eo quod Deus est, audi ut recreeris; in eo quod homo est, audi ut imiteris: Discite, inquit, a Me, non mundum fabricare, et creare naturas. . . nec ipse dicit, Discite a me febres ab ægrotantibus pellere,] fugare dæmonia, mortuos suscitare . . . [nec hoc dicit, Discite a Me. Hæc enim] dedit quibusdam discipulis suis, quibusdam non dedit: (i. e. to do miracles.)—S. Augustin. Serm. xxii. de verbis Apostol. cap. 5. [Serm. clxiv. de verbis Apostol. Gal. vi. Invicem onera vestra, &c. cap. 5. Op., tom. v. col. 792. G.]

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the Baptist. So, as credible signs, they were, and are still, of as much force to us as it is possible for things on the credit of relation to be: for the witnesses are many, and such as spent their lives in making good the truth which they saw. But that the workers of them were divinely and infallibly inspired in that which they preached and writ, was still to the hearers a matter of faith,[n] and no more evident, by the light of human reason, to men that lived in those days than to us now. For, had that been demonstrated or been clear, as prime principles are, in its own light, both they and we had apprehended all the mysteries of divinity by knowledge, not by faith. But this is most apparent was not. For, had the Prophets or Apostles been ordered by God to make this demonstratively or intuitively, by discourse or vision, appear as clear to their auditors as to themselves it did, that whatsoever they taught was divine and infallible truth, all men which had the true use of reason must have been forced to yield to their doctrine. Isaiah could never have been at *Domine quis?* "Lord, who hath believed our report?" Isa. liii. 1. Nor Jeremy at *Domine, factus sum,* "Lord, I am in derision daily." Jer. xx. 7. Nor could any of S. Paul's auditors have "mocked at him," as some of them did, for "preaching the resurrection," [Acts xvii. 32.] if they had had as full a view as S. Paul himself had in "the assurance," which God gave of it, in and by "the resurrection of Christ."[o] But the way of knowledge was not that which God thought fittest for man's salvation. Acts xvii. 31. For man having sinned by pride, God thought fittest to humble him at the very root of the tree of knowledge, and

[n] Here it may be observed how warily A. C. carries himself. For when he hath said, "that a clear revelation was made to the Apostles," which is most true; and so the Apostles knew that which they taught *simpliciter a priori*, most demonstratively from the prime cause, God Himself: then he adds, p. 51. "I say, clear *in attestante*." That is, the revelation of this truth was clear in the Apostles that witnessed it. But to make it knowledge in the auditors, the same, or like revelation, and as clear, must be made to them. For they could have no other "knowing" assurance: "credible" they might, and had. So A. C. is wary there, but comes not home to the business; and so might have held his peace. For the question is not, What clear evidence the Apostles had? but, What evidence they had which heard them?

[o] Acts xvii. 32. And had Zedekiah and the people seen it as clearly as Jeremy himself did, that the word he spake was God's word and infallible, Jerusalem, for aught we know, had not been laid desolate by the Chaldeans. But because they could not see this by the way of knowledge, and would not believe it by way of faith, they, and that city, perished together. Jer. xxxviii. 17.

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make him deny his understanding, and submit to faith, or hazard his happiness. The credible object all the while, that is, the mysteries of religion and the Scripture which contain them, is divine and infallible; and so are the penmen of them by revelation. But we and all our forefathers, the hearers and readers of them, have neither knowledge nor vision of the prime principles in or about them, but faith only.[p] And the revelation, which was clear to them, is not so to us, nor therefore the prime tradition itself delivered by them.

(6.) Sixthly, That hence it may be gathered that the assent which we yield to this main principle of divinity, "that the Scripture is the word of God," is grounded upon no compelling or demonstrative ratiocination, but relies upon the strength of faith more than any other principle whatsoever.[q] For all other necessary points of divinity may, by undeniable discourse, be inferred out of Scripture itself, once admitted; but this, concerning the authority of Scripture, not possibly: but must either be proved by revelation, which is not now to be expected; or presupposed and granted as manifest in itself, like the principles of natural knowledge, which reason alone will never grant; or by tradition of the Church both prime and present, with all other rational helps, preceding or accompanying the internal light in Scripture itself, which

[p] [Hæc ideo credimus, quia et illud de Elia, et hoc de Christo, sancta] Scriptura testatur, cui nemo pius nisi qui credit, [nisi impius nemo non credit.]—S. Augustin. contra Faustum, lib. xxvi. cap. 6. [Op., tom. viii. col. 437. F.] Now no man believes the Scripture, that doth not believe that it is the word of God. I say, which doth not "believe;" I do not say, which doth not "know." Oportet quod credatur auctoritati eorum quibus revelatio facta est. — Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 8. ad secundum, [ubi sup. p. 121. note [i].]—ὅτι δὲ ψυχὴν ἔχομεν [πόθεν δῆλον, εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ὁρωμένοις μέλλεις πιστεύειν, καὶ περὶ θεοῦ, καὶ περὶ ἀγγέλων, καὶ περὶ νοῦ, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀμφιβάλλεις, καὶ οὕτως σοι πάντα οἰχήσεται τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας δόγματα. καίτοιγε εἰ τοῖς φανεροῖς πιστεύειν βουλεύει, τοῖς ἀοράτοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὁρωμένοις πιστεύειν δεῖ· εἰ καὶ παράδοξον τὸ εἰρημένον, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀληθὲς, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι σφόδρα ὡμολογημένον.—S. Chrysostom. in Matt. Homil. xiii. Op., tom. vii. p. 175. C.] Quod vero animam habemus, unde manifestum? Si enim visibilibus credere velis, et de Deo, et de angelis, et de mente, et de anima dubitatis; et sic tibi omnia veritatis dogmata deperibunt. Et certe si manifestis credere velis, invisibilibus magis quam visibilibus credere oportet. Licet enim admirabile sit dictum, verum tamen, et apud mentem habentes valde certum, vel in confesso.—Ex Homil. xiii. S. Chrysostom. in S. Matt. [Op.,] tom. i. edit. Front. [Ducæi,] Paris, 1636.

[q] And this is the ground of that which I said before, Sect. xv. No. 1. [ubi sup. pp. 61, 62.] that the Scripture only, and not any unwritten tradition, was the foundation of our faith: namely, when the authority of Scripture is first yielded unto.

though it give light enough for faith to believe, yet light enough it gives not to be a convincing reason and proof for knowledge. And this is it which makes the very entrance into divinity inaccessible to those men, who, standing high in the opinion of their own wisdom, will believe nothing but that which is irrefragably proved from rational principles. For as Christ requires a denial of a man's self, that he may be able to follow Him: so as great a part as any of this denial of his whole self, for so it must be, is the denial of his understanding, and the composing of the unquiet search of this grand inquisitor into the secrets of Him that made it, and the overruling the doubtfulness of it by the fervency of the will.[r]

Luke ix. 23.

(7.) Seventhly, That the knowledge of the supreme cause of all, which is God, is most remote, and the most difficult thing reason can have to do with. The *quod sit*, that there is a God, blear-eyed reason can see;[s] but the *quid sit*,

[r] Intellectus credentis determinatur [ad unum] non per rationem, [sed] per voluntatem.—Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] ii. A[rt.] 1. ad tertium, [ubi sup. p. 88. note [h]]. And what power the will hath in case of men's believing, or not believing, is manifest, Jer. xliv. But this is spoken of the will compared with the understanding only, leaving the operations of grace free over both.

[s] Communis enim sententia est patrum et theologorum aliorum, demonstrari posse naturali ratione Deum esse; sed a posteriori et per effectus. Sic Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] 1. A[rt.] 2. [Ad secundum dicendum quod, cum demonstratur causa per effectum, necesse est uti effectu loco definitionis causæ ad probandum causam esse: et hoc maxime contingit in Deo, quia ad probandum aliquid esse, necesse est accipere pro medio, quid significet nomen, non autem quod quid est, quia quæstio quid est, sequitur ad quæstionem, an est: Nomina autem Dei imponuntur ab effectibus, &c.]—Et, [S. Joann.] Damascen. Orthodox. Fid. lib. i. cap. 3. [tom. i. p. 125. C. ed. Lequien. "Οτι μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ θεὸς, τοῖς μὲν τὰς ἁγίας γραφὰς δεχομένοις, τήν τε παλαίαν καὶ καινὴν διαθήκην, φημὶ, οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλεται, οὔτε δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλείστοις· ὡς γὰρ ἔφημεν, ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ εἶναι θεὸν, φυσίκως ἡμῖν ἐγκατέσπαρται.]—Et, [Jac.] Almain in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxiv. Q[uæst.] unic. [Almain implies the same, but denies that the natural knowledge of God is that of demonstration: he says, Illa propositio, 'Deus est,' est demonstrabilis apud beatos, et non apud viatores: cum non possint habere medium per quod demonstraretur: puta notitiam simplicem et incomplexam Dei.—fol. lxxiiij.]—But what may be demonstrated by natural reason, by natural light may the same be known. And so the Apostle himself, Rom. i. 20. Invisibilia Dei a creatura mundi per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur. And so Calvin most clearly, Instit. lib. i. cap. 5. § 1. [Op., tom. viii. p. 5. Ad hæc quia ultimus beatæ vitæ finis in Dei cognitione positus est; ne cui præclusus esset ad felicitatem aditus, non solum hominum mentibus indidit illud quod diximus religionis semen, sed ita se patefecit in toto mundi opificio, ac se quotidie palam offert, ut] aperire oculos nequeant, quin aspicere Eum cogantur: though Bellarmine would needs be girding at him, de Gratia et libero Arbitrio, lib iv. cap. 2. [Joannes Calvinus loco notato scribit, Ethnicos solo lumine naturæ cognovisse generatim Deum esse aliquem, non tamen in veri Dei notitiam, qui unus et solus est, devenisse... At contra

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1 Tim. vi. [16.]

what that God is, is infinitely beyond all the fathoms of reason.[t] He is a light indeed, but such as no man's reason can come at for the brightness.[u] If any thing, therefore, be attainable in this kind it must be by revelation,[x] and that must be from Himself: for none can reveal but he that comprehends;[y] and none doth or can comprehend God but Himself.[z] And when He doth reveal, yet He is no farther

sentiunt fere omnes theologi.—Bellarmin. Op., tom. iv. col. 624. C.]—Videtur autem et ratio iis quæ apparent attestari: Omnes enim homines de Diis (ut ille loquitur) habent existimationem.—Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. i. cap. 22. [Ἔοικε δ' ὁ τε λόγος τοῖς φαινομένοις μαρτυρεῖν, καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα τῷ λόγῳ. Πάντες γὰρ ἀνθρώποι περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν ὑπόληψιν, καὶ πάντες τὸν ἀνωτάτω τῷ θείῳ τόπον ἀποδιδόασι, καὶ βάρβαρος καὶ Ἕλληνες, ὅσοι περ' εἶναι νομίζουσι θεοὺς, δῆλον ὅτι ὡς τῷ ἀθανάτῳ τὸ ἀθάνατον συνηρτημένον.—Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. i. cap. 3. Op., tom. ii. p. 217. ed. Bekker.]

[t] [Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ θεὸς, δῆλον· τί δὲ ἐστὶ κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ φύσιν, ἀκατάληπτον τοῦτο παντελῶς, καὶ ἄγνωστον.—S. Joann.] Damascen. Orthodox. Fid. lib. i. cap. 4. [Op., tom. i. p. 127. A. ed. Lequien.]

[u] 1 Tim. vi. 16. Et ne vestigium sic accedendi relinquit S. Augustinus, [his verbis: sc.] Nec si augeas imaginatione cogitationis lucem solis [quantum potes, sive quo sit major, sive quo sit clarior, millies tantum, aut] innumerabiliter, [neque hoc est Deus. Nec sicut cogitantur angeli mundi spiritus cœlestia corpora inspirantes, atque ad arbitrium quo serviunt Deo mutantes atque versantes, nec si omnes, cum sint millia millium, in unum collati unus fiant,] nec tale aliquid [Deus est.—S. Augustin.] de Trinit. lib. viii. cap. 3. [Op., tom. viii. col. 867. C.]—Solus modus accedendi, preces sunt.—Boetius, de Consolatione Philosophiæ, lib. v. prosa 3. [Op., p. 1103. ed. Basil. 1570. His words are: Igitur nec sperandi aliquid, nec deprecandi ulla ratio est. Quid enim vel speret quisquam, vel etiam deprecetur, quando optanda omnia indeflexa series connectit? Auferetur igitur unicum illud inter homines Deumque commercium, sperandi scilicet et deprecandi. Si quidem justæ humilitatis pretio inestimabilem vicem divinæ gratiæ promeremur, qui solus modus est, quo cum Deo colloqui homines posse videantur, illique inaccessæ luci prius quoque quam impetrent, ipsa supplicandi ratione conjungi, &c.]

[x] [Necessarium fuit homini ad salutem, quod ei nota fierent quædam per revelationem divinam,] quæ rationem humanam excedunt . . . Necessarium igitur fuit, præter physicas disciplinas, quæ per rationem investigantur sacram doctrinam per revelationem haberi. — Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 1.

[y] And therefore Biel is express, That God could not reveal any thing that is to come, nisi illud esset a Deo præscitum seu prævisum (*i. e.* unless God did fully comprehend that which He doth reveal).—[Gabr.] Biel. in III. Sent. D[istinct.] xxiii. Q[uæst.] ii. A[rt.] 1. [Ad primum dicitur quod contingentia quorundam articulorum fidei non tollit, nec minuit certitudinem fidei non plus quam necessitas articulorum. Tum quia certitudo fidei, quæ est quædam infallibilitas, non innititur necessitati veritatis creditæ, sed divinæ revelationi quæ fallere non potest: non plus quoniam revelat contingentia, quam dum revelat necessaria; quia revelari non potest esse futurum nisi illud sit a Deo præscitum seu prævisum.]

[z] Nullus [igitur] intellectus creatus videndo Deum, potest cognoscere omnia quæ Deus facit, vel potest facere. Hoc enim esset comprehendere Ejus virtutem: [sed horum, quæ Deus facit, vel facere potest, tanto aliquis intellectus plura cognoscit, quanto perfectius Deum videt.]—Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] xii. A[rt.] 8. in conclus.—Ad argumentum: [sc. Quicunque videt speculum, videt ea, quæ in speculo resplendent: sed] omnia quæcunque fiunt, vel fieri possunt, in Deo resplendent, sicut in quodam speculo: respondet Thom. [his verbis: sc.] Ad secundum [dicendum,] quod videns speculum non est necessarium, quod

discernible than Himself pleases.[a] Now, since reason[b] teaches that the soul of man is immortal and capable of felicity;[c] and since that felicity consists in the contemplation of the highest cause, which again is God Himself; and since Christ therein confirms that dictate, that man's eternal happiness is to know God, and Him whom He hath sent;[d] and since nothing can put us into the way of attaining to that contemplation but some revelation of Himself, and of the way to Himself; I say, since all this is so, it cannot reasonably be thought by any prudent man that the all-wise God should create man with a desire of felicity, and then leave him utterly destitute of all instrumental helps to make the attainment possible; since "God and nature do nothing but for

SECTION XVI.

John xvii. [3.]

omnia in speculo videat, nisi speculum visu suo comprehendat.—Thom. [Aquin.] ubi sup. A[rt.] 8. ad Secundum. Now no man can comprehend this glass, which is God Himself.

[a] Deus enim est speculum voluntarium, revelans quæ et quot vult alicui beato: non est speculum naturaliter repræsentans omnia: [nec leguntur talia in Deo quasi in libro; sed viso Deo, si vult, producit Deus cognitionem rei illius vel istius.]—[Gabr.] Biel. Suppl. in IV. Sent. [per Wendelinum Stambachum ejus auditorem collectum,] D[istinct.] xlix. Q[uæst.] iii. propos. 3. [fol. cclxxi. col. 3. ed. Paris. 1521.]

[b] For if reason well put to its search did not find this out, how came Aristotle to affirm this by rational disquisition? Λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν [μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον· οὐθὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κοινωνεῖ σωματικὴ ἐνέργεια.] Restat, ut mens sola extrinsecus accedat, eaque sola divina sit, nihil enim cum ejus actione communicat actio corporalis.—Aristot. de generatione animalium, lib. ii. cap. 3. [Op., tom. v. p. 248. ed. Bekker.] This cannot be spoken of the soul, were it mortal. And therefore I must needs be of Paulus Benius's opinion, who says plainly, and proves it too, Turpiter affixam a quibusdam Aristoteli mortalitatis animæ opinionem.—[Pauli] Benii [Eugubini] in Timæum Platonis Decad[es tres,] Decad. Primæ, lib. iii. [p. 126. ed. Romæ, 1594.]

[c] For if reason did not dictate this also, whence is it that Aristotle disputes of the way and means of attaining it? Lib. i. Moral. cap. 9. [Τί οὖν κωλύει λέγειν εὐδαίμονα τὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν τελείαν ἐνεργοῦντα, καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀγαθοῖς ἱκανῶς κεχορηγημένον, μὴ τὸν τυχόντα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τέλειον βίον; ἢ προσθετέον, καὶ βιωσόμενον οὕτως, καὶ τελευτήσοντα κατὰ λόγον;—Aristot. Ethic. Nicomach. lib. i. cap. 9. Op., tom. ix. p. 18. ed. Bekker.] And takes on him to prove, That felicity is rather an honourable than a commendable thing. cap. 12. [τῶν ἀρίστων οὐκ ἔστιν ἔπαινος . . . . . οὐδεὶς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπαινεῖ. . . . . ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔπαινος τῆς ἀρετῆς . . . . . ἐστὶν ἡ εὐδαιμονία τῶν τιμίων καὶ τελείων·—ibid. p. 20.] And after all this, he adds, Deo beata tota vita est, hominibus autem eatenus, quatenus similitudo quædam ejusmodi operationis ipsis in est.—Aristot. lib. x. Moral. cap. 8. [ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια μακαριότητι διαφέρουσα θεωρητικὴ ἂν εἴη· καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δὴ ἂν εἴη ἡ ταύτῃ συγγενεστάτη εὐδαιμονικωτάτη . . . . . τοῖς μὲν γὰρ θεοῖς ἅπας ὁ βίος μακάριος· τοῖς δ' ἀνθρώποις, ἐφ' ὅσον ὁμοιωμά τι τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνεργείας ὑπάρχει·—Aristot. Ethic. Nicomach. lib. x. cap. 8. Op., tom. ix. p. 212.]

[d] Ultima beatitudo hominis consistit in quadam supernaturali Dei visione, ad quam quidem visionem homo pertingere non potest, nisi per modum addiscentis a Deo doctore, [secundum illud Joannis, vi. 45.] Omnis qui audivit a Patre et didicit [venit ad Me.] — Thom. [Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] ii. A[rt.] 3. in conclus.

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an end,"[e] and help there can be none sufficient but by revelation; and once grant me that revelation is necessary, and then I will appeal to reason itself, and that shall prove abundantly one of these two: That either there was never any such revelation of this kind from the world's beginning to this day—and that will put the *frustra* upon God in point of man's felicity;—or, that the Scriptures which we now embrace as the word of God is that revelation. And that is it we Christians labour to make good against all atheism, profaneness and infidelity.

(8.) Last of all, To prove that the book of God, which we honour as His word, is this necessary revelation of God and His truth, which must, and is alone able to, lead us in the way to our eternal blessedness, or else the world hath none, comes in a cloud of witnesses; some for the infidel, and some for the believer; some for the weak in faith, and some for the strong, and some for all. For then first comes in the tradition of the Church—the present Church, so it is no heretical or schismatical belief; then the testimony of former ages, so it is no new belief; then the consent of times, so it is no divided or partial belief; then the harmony of the prophets, and them fulfilled, so it is not a "devised" but a forespoken belief; then the success of the doctrine contained in this book, so it is not a belief stifled in the cradle, but it hath spread through the world in despite of what the world could do against it, and increased from weak and unlikely beginnings to incredible greatness; then the constancy of this truth, so it is no moon-belief, for in the midst of the world's changes, it hath preserved its creed entire through many generations; then, that there is nothing carnal in the doctrine, so it is a chaste belief. And all along it hath gained, kept, and exercised more power upon the minds of men, both learned and unlearned, in the increase of virtue and repression of vice, than any moral philosophy or legal policy that ever was. Then comes the inward light and excellency of the text itself, and so it is no dark or dazzling

2 Pet. i. 16.

[e] Deus et natura nihil frustra faciunt. [ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μάτην ποιοῦσιν.]—Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. i. cap. 32. [cap. 4. in fin. Op., tom. ii. p. 219. ed. Bekker.]—Frustra autem est quod non potest habere suum usum.—Thom. [Aquin.] ibid. [*i. e.* in Aristot. lib. de Cœlo et Mundo, Lect. viii. p. 18. apud tom. ii. Op., S. Thom. Aquin. ed. Venet. 1595.]

belief. And it is an excellent text: for see the riches of natural knowledge which are stored up there as well as supernatural. Consider how things quite above reason consent with things reasonable. Weigh it well what majesty lies there hid under humility: what depth[f] there is with a perspicuity unimitable: what "delight"[g] it works in the soul that is devoutly exercised in it: how the sublimest wits find in it enough to amaze them, while the simplest want not enough to direct them:[h] and then we shall not wonder, if,—with the assistance of God's Spirit,[i] Who alone works faith and belief of the Scriptures and their divine authority, as well as other articles,—we grow up into a most infallible assurance; such an assurance as hath made many lay down their lives for this truth: such as that, "though an angel from heaven should preach unto us another Gospel," we would not believe him or it. No, though we should see as great and as many miracles done over again to dissuade us from it, as were at first to win the world to it. To which firmness of assent, by the operation of God's Spirit, the will confers as much or more strength, than the understanding clearness; the whole assent being an act of faith, and not of knowledge. And therefore the question should not have been asked of me by F. "How I knew?" but, "Upon what motives I did believe Scripture to be the word of God?" And I would have him take heed lest hunting too close after

SECTION XVI.

Gal. i. 8.

[f] [Divinus enim sermo . . . . habet in publico unde parvulos nutriat: servat in secreto unde mentes sublimium in admiratione suspendat.] Quasi quidam [quippe] est fluvius, [ut ita dixerim,] planus et altus, in quo et agnus ambulet, et elephas natet.—S. Gregor. [Magn. Epistola,] Præfat. in Lib. Moral. [scil. Expos. in libr. Job.] cap. 4. [Op., tom. i. col. 5. E. ed. Benedict.]

[g] In Lege Domini voluntas ejus.—Psa. i. 2.—Dulcior super mel et favum.—Psa. xviii. 11. et passim.

[h] [Sed quia] multa dicuntur submissis et humi repentibus animis accommodatius, ut per humana in divina consurgant; multa etiam figurate, ut studiosa mens et quæsitis exercetur utilius, et uberius lætetur inventis.—S. Augustin. de Moribus Eccl. Cathol. [et Manich. lib. i.] cap. 17. [Op., tom. i. col. 698. F.]—Sed nihil sub spirituali sensu continetur Fidei necessarium, quod Scriptura per literalem sensum alicubi manifeste non tradat.—Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 10. Resp. ad 1[mum].

[i] [Sic ecclesiæ auctoritas potest nos primo commovere, ut scripturas agnoscamus: postea vero cum scripturas ipsi legimus ac intelligimus, tum veram fidem concipimus et] credimus [quidem, non quia ecclesia credendum esse judicat, sed cum] ob alia multa certiora argumenta (quam est testimonium ecclesiæ), tum propter hoc potissimum, quod Spiritus Sanctus nobis intus has esse Dei voces persuadeat. — Whitaker, Controv. de Sacra Scriptura, Controvers. 1. [de Scripturæ auctoritate,] Q[uæst.] iii. cap. 8. [Op., tom. i. p. 325. col. 2.]

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(9.)

a way of knowledge, he lose the way of faith, and teach other men to lose it too.

So then the way lies thus, as far as it appears to me, The credit of Scripture to be divine, resolves finally into that faith which we have touching God Himself, and in the same order. For as that, so this, hath three main grounds, to which all other are reducible. The first is, the tradition of the Church: and this leads us to a reverend persuasion of it. The second is, the light of Nature: and this shows us how necessary such a revealed learning is, and that no other way it can be had.[k] Nay more, that all proofs brought against any point of faith, neither are nor can be demonstrations but soluble arguments. The third is, The light of the Text itself: in conversing wherewith, we meet with the Spirit of God[l] inwardly inclining our hearts, and sealing the full assurance of the sufficiency of all three unto us. And then, and not before, we are certain that the Scripture is the word of God, both by divine and by infallible proof. But our certainty is by faith, and so voluntary; not by knowledge of such principles as in the light of nature can enforce assent, whether we will or no.

I have said thus much upon this great occasion, because this argument is so much pressed without due respect to Scripture. And I have proceeded in a synthetical way, to build up the truth for the benefit of the Church, and the satisfaction of all men Christianly disposed. Whereas, had I desired only to rid my hands of these captious Jesuits,—for certainly this question was captiously asked,—it had been sufficient to have restored the question, thus, "How do you know the testimony of the Church (by which, you say, you know Scripture to be the word of God) to be divine and infallible?" If they prove it by Scripture, as all of them do, and as A. C. doth, how do they know that Scripture to be

A. C. p. 53. Et vid. Sect. xvi. No. 28. [ubi sup. p. 106.]

[k] Cum fides infallibili veritati innitatur: et ideo cum impossibile sit de vero demonstrari contrarium: sequitur omnes probationes, quæ contra fidem inducuntur, non posse esse demonstrationes, sed solubilia argumenta. — Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] part. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 8. in conclus.

[l] Fidei ultima resolutio est in Deum illuminantem.—S. Augustin. cont. Fund. cap. 14. [His words are: Eos sequamur, qui nos invitant prius credere, quod nondum valemus intueri, ut, ipsa fide valentiores facti, quod credimus intelligere mereamur, non jam hominibus, sed ipso Deo intrinsecus mentem nostram illuminante atque firmante.—Op., tom. viii. col. 160. E. ubi sup. p. 87. note [h].]

Scripture? It is but a circular assurance of theirs, by which they found the Church's infallibility upon the testimony of the Scripture, and the Scripture's infallibility upon the testimony of the Church: that is upon the matter, the Church's infallibility upon the Church's infallibility. But I labour for edification, not for destruction. And now, by what I have here said I will weigh my answer, and his exception taken against it. SECTION XVII.

℣. The ℬ. said, That the books of Scripture are principles to be supposed, and needed not to be proved. [A.C.p.49.]

§ 17. ℬ. Why, but did I say that this principle,—the books of Scripture are the word of God,—is to be supposed as needing no proof at all to a natural man? or to a man newly entering upon the faith? yea, or perhaps to a doubter, or weakling in the faith? Can you think me so weak? It seems you do. But sure I know there is a great deal of difference between ethnics that deny and deride the Scripture and men that are born in the Church. The first have a farther way about to this principle; the other in their very Christian education suck it in, and are taught so soon as they are apt to learn it, that the books, commonly called the Bible or Scripture, are the word of God. And I dealt with you as with a Christian,[m] though in error, while you call Catholic. The words before spoken by me were, "That the Scripture only, not any unwritten tradition, was the foundation of faith." The question between us and you is, "Whether the Scripture do contain all necessary things of faith?" Now in this question, as in all nature and art, the subject, the Scripture, is and must be supposed:[n] the query between the Roman Catholics and the Church of England being only of the predicate, the thing uttered of it, namely, whether it contain all fundamentals of faith, all necessaries for salvation within it? Now since the question, proposed in very form of art, proves not, but supposes, the subject,[o] I think I gave a satisfying

[m] Dixi sicut ei congruebat, ad quem scribebam. — S. Augustin. Retractat. lib. i. cap. 13. [Op., tom. i. col. 20. E.]

[n] Nor is it such a strange thing to hear that Scripture is such a supposed principle among Christians. Quod a Scriptura evidenter deducitur, est evidenter verum, suppositis Scripturis.—Bellarm. de Eccl. Milit. lib. iv. [i. e. de notis Ecclesiæ,] cap. 3. § 3. [Op., tom. ii. col. 167. C.]

[o] De subjecto enim quæritur semper; non subjectum ipsum.

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answer, That to you and me, and in this question, Scripture was a supposed principle, and needed no proof. And I must tell you, that in this question of the Scripture's perfect continent, it is against all art, yea, and equity too, in reasoning to call for a proof of that here, which must go unavoidably supposed in this question. And if any man will be so familiar with impiety to question it, it must be tried in a preceding question and dispute by itself. Yet here not you only, but Bellarmine[p] and others, run quite out of the way to snatch at advantage.

[A.C. p 50.] **F.** Against this I read what I had formerly written in

[1] [to... A.C.] my reply against[1] M. John White: wherein I plainly showed that this answer * was not good, and that no other answer could be made, but by admitting some word of God unwritten to assure us of this point.

* [The Chaplain saith, That somebody told him, "that the **C.** untied the knot:" But why doth not the Chaplain tell how he did untie the knot? It seemeth the knot was not so well untied, when the Jesuit had a reply so ready, as is insinuated, by his only going again and reading in the book which he had so rudely written. Although a *præcognitum* in faith need not be so clearly known as a *præcognitum* in science, yet there must be this proportion, that as *primum præcognitum*, the first thing foreknown in a science, must be *primo cognitum*, first known, and must not need another thing pertaining to that science to be *prius cognitum*, known before it; so if in faith the Scriptures be the first and only foundation, and consequently the first thing known, *primum præcognitum*, it must be in faith *primo cognitum*, first known, and must not need any other thing pertaining to faith to be *prius cognitum*, known before it. And so Church-tradition, which is one thing pertaining to faith, could not, as the Chaplain saith it is, and as indeed it is, be known first, and be an introduction to the knowledge of Scripture. Moreover, like as sciences which suppose a principle proved in a higher science, cannot have certainty of that principle, but either by having seen that principle evidently proved by other principles borrowed of that higher science, or by giving credit to some that have seen, or have by succession received it from others that have seen it evidently so proved: so faith cannot have certainty of her first principles, but either by seeing proof from the knowledge of the Blessed, which ordinarily no man now seeth, or by giving credit immediately to some who have seen, as to Christ Who clearly saw, or to the Apostles to whom clear revelation,—I say, clear *in attestante*,—was made, or by giving credit to others who by succession have had it from the first seers. In which last case, the certainty of these principles can be no greater than is the authority of that succession. If it be merely human and fallible, the science and faith is human and fallible. Neither can any science or faith be divine and infallible, unless the authority of that succession be at least in some sort divine and infallible.

The Chaplain therefore, who, as it seemeth, will not admit Church-tradition to be in any sort divine and infallible, while it doth introduce the belief of Scriptures to be divine books, cannot sufficiently defend the faith introduced of that point to be infallible, unless he admit an infallible impulsion of the private spirit *ex parte subjecti*, without any infallible sufficiently applied reason *ex parte objecti*, which he seemeth not, nor hath reason, to do: for this were

[p] Quarto, necesse est [nosse, extare libros aliquos vere divinos, quod certe nullo modo ex Scripturis haberi posset. — Bellarmin.] de verbo Dei, lib. iv. cap. 4 [Op., tom. i. col. 175. B.] And the Jesuit here, apud A. C. p. 49.

to open the gap to enthusiasms of all upstart Anabaptists, and would take away due proportion of object and subject, and the sweet order of things which Divine Providence hath appointed. It may be that if he would but consider the tradition of the Church, not only as of a company of fallible men, in which sort the authority of it is but human and fallible, but also as it is the tradition of a company which, by its own light, sheweth itself to be assisted by Christ and His Holy Spirit, far more clearly than Scripture, by its own light, doth shew itself to be the infallible Word of God; he would find no difficulty in that respect to account the authority of Church-tradition to be infallible, and consequently not only able to be an introduction, but also an infallible motive reason, or at least condition *ex parte objecti*, to make both itself, and the books of Scripture, appear infallibly, though obscurely, to our soul, disposed and illuminated by God's Spirit, to have in them divine and infallible authority, and to be worthy of divine and infallible credit, sufficient to breed in us divine and infallible faith.

Neither do I see why the Chaplain may not consider the tradition of the present Church these two ways, as well as the present Scriptures printed and approved by men of this age. For if the Scriptures, printed and approved by men of this age, must be considered not only as printed and approved by men, in regard the credit given to them thus considered can be no more than human, but also as printed, and, by authority of men assisted by God's Spirit, approved to be true copies of that which was first written by the Holy Ghost's penmen, before we can give infallible credit unto them, I see no reason why the like twofold consideration of the tradition of the present Church may not be admitted; especially when as the promise of Christ and His Holy Spirit's continual presence and assistance (Luke x. 16; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; John xiv. 16,) was made no less, but rather more, expressly to the Apostles and their successors, the lawfully-sent pastors and doctors of the Church in all ages, in their teaching by word of mouth, than in writing, or reading, or printing, or approving copies of what was formerly written by the Apostles.

Perhaps the Chaplain will ask me, how I know that any Church, or company of men of this age, or any age since the Apostles, have the promise of Christ and His Holy Spirit's assistance? I answer that I know it both by tradition and Scripture, considered in the twofold manner aforesaid, both which, without any vicious circle, mutually confirm the authority of each other, as a king's ambassador's word of mouth, and his king's letter, bear mutual witness of each other. And I do not want other both outward and inward arguments, or motives of credibility, which are sufficient not only to confirm the faith of believers, but also to persuade well-disposed infidels, that both the one and the other were sent from God: and that one is the infallible Word of God, speaking in and by His legates, the lawfully-sent preachers of the Church; the other, the infallible Word of God, speaking in and by His letters, the holy Scriptures, which He hath appointed His said legates to deliver and expound unto us, and which among other things do warrant that we may hear and give credit to these legates of Christ, as to Christ the King Himself.—A. C. marg. note to p. 50.]

§ 18. **23.** I.—Indeed here you read out of a book, which you called your own, a large discourse upon this argument. But surely I so untied the knot of the argument that I set you to your book again. For yourself confess that against this you read what you had formerly written. Well, whatever you read there, certain it is you do a great deal of wrong to M. Hooker[q] and myself, that, because we call it a supposed or presumed principle among Christians, you should fall by and by into such a metaphysical discourse[r] to prove, that

[q] [Eccl. Polit.] Book iii. chap. viii. [Sect. 14. ubi sup. p. 103.]

[r] Whereas Bellarmine says expressly, that in the controversies between you and us: [Agendum est enim non de stillicidiis et fundis, non de rebus

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that which is a *præcognitum*,[s] foreknown in science, must be of such light that it must be known of and by itself alone; and that the Scripture cannot be so known to be the word of God.

II.—I will not now enter again into that discourse, having said enough already, how far the beam, which is very glorious, especially in some parts of Scripture, gives light to prove itself. You see, neither Hooker, nor I, nor the Church of England, for aught I know, leave the Scripture alone to manifest itself by the light which it hath in itself. No; but when the present Church hath prepared and led the way, like a preparing morning light to sunshine, then, indeed, we settle for our direction, but not upon the first opening of the morning light, but upon the sun itself. Nor will I make needless inquiry how far, and in what manner, a *præcognitum*, or supposed principle in any science, may be proved in a higher, to which that is subordinate or accepted in[1] a prime: nor how it may in divinity, where *præ-* as well as *post-cognita*, things fore-, as well as after,-known, are matters, and under the manner of faith, and not of science strictly: nor whether a *præcognitum*, a pre-supposed principle in faith, which rests upon divine authority, must needs have as much and equal light to natural reason, as prime principles have in nature, while they rest upon reason: nor whether it may justly be denied to have sufficient light because not equal. Your own school grants, "That in us, which are the subjects both of faith and knowledge, and in regard of the evidence given in unto us, there is less light, less evidence in the principles of faith, than in the principles of knowledge, upon which there can be no doubt."[t] But I think the school will never grant

[1] [for.... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

levibus, quæ parum refert, utrum sic an aliter se habeant:] non de metaphysicis subtilitatibus, quæ sine periculo ignorari, et interdum etiam cum laude oppugnari possunt, &c.—Bellarm. Præfat. Operibus præfix. § 3. [Op., tom. i.]

[s] [Porro] his omnibus quæstionibus præmittenda erit, [quasi magnum quoddam proœmium,] controversia de verbo Dei. Neque enim disputari potest, nisi prius in aliquo communi principio cum adversariis conveniamus: convenit autem inter nos et omnes omnino hæreticos, verbum Dei esse regulam fidei, ex qua de dogmatibus judicandum sit: esse commune principium ab omnibus concessum, unde argumenta ducantur: [denique esse gladium spiritualem, qui in hoc certamine recusari non possit.]—Bellarmin. Præfat. Operibus præfix. § ult. [Op., tom. i.] And if it be *commune principium ab omnibus concessum*, then I hope it must be taken as a thing supposed, or as a *præcognitum*, in this dispute between us.

[t] Colligitur aperte ex Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 5. [Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod nihil prohibet id, quod est certius secundum naturam, esse quoad nos minus certum, propter debilitatem

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that the principles of faith, even this in question, have not sufficient evidence. And you ought not to do, as you did, without any distinction, or any limitation, deny a *præcognitum*, or prime principle in the faith, because it answers not in all things to the prime principles in science, in their light and evidence;—a thing in itself directly against reason.

III.—Well, though I do none of this, yet first I must tell you that A. C. here steps in again, and tells me, "That though a *præcognitum* in faith need not be so clearly known as a *præcognitum* in science, yet there must be this proportion between them, that, whether it be in science or in faith, the *præcognitum*, or thing supposed as known, must be *prius cognitum*, first known, and not need another thing pertaining to that faith or knowledge to be known before it. But the Scripture, saith he, needs tradition to go before it, and introduce the knowledge of it. Therefore the Scripture is not to be supposed as a *præcognitum*, and a thing fore-known." Truly I am sorry to see in a man very learned such wilful mistakes. For A. C. cannot but perceive, by that which I have clearly laid down before,[u] that I intended not to speak precisely of a *præcognitum* in this argument: but when I said, "Scriptures were principles to be supposed," I did not, I could not, intend, they were *prius cognitæ*, known before tradition; since I confess everywhere that tradition introduces the knowledge of them. But my meaning is plain—that the Scriptures are and must be principles supposed, before you can dispute this question, "Whether the Scriptures contain in them all things necessary to salvation."[x] Before which question it must

intellectus nostri. . . . Unde dubitatio, quæ accidit in aliquibus circa articulos fidei, non est propter incertitudinem rei, sed propter debilitatem intellectus humani: et tamen minimum, quod potest haberi de cognitione rerum altissimarum, desiderabilius est, quam certissima cognitio quæ habetur de minimis rebus.] — [Tametsi enim] articulorum fidei veritas non potest nobis esse evidens absolute, [tamen potest esse evidens ex hypothesi, id est, supposita veritate Scripturarum.] —Bellarmin. de notis Ecclesiæ, lib. iv. cap. 3. § 2. [Op., tom. ii. col. 167. C.]

[u] Sect. xvii. xviii. No. 2. [ubi sup. p. 131, and p. 134.]

[x] And my immediate words in the Conference, upon which the Jesuit asked, How I knew Scripture to be Scripture? were (as the Jesuit himself relates it, apud A. C. p. 48.) "That the Scripture only, not any unwritten tradition, was the foundation of our faith." Now the Scripture cannot be the only foundation of faith, if it contain not all things necessary to salvation; which the Church of Rome, denying against all antiquity, makes it now become a question. And in regard of this, my answer was, That the Scriptures are and must be principles supposed, and *præcognitæ*, before the handling of this question.

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necessarily be supposed and granted on both sides, that the Scriptures are the word of God. For if they be not, it is instantly out of all question, that they cannot include all necessaries to salvation. So it is a *præcognitum,* not to tradition, as A. C. would cunningly put upon the cause, but to the whole question of the Scriptures' sufficiency. And yet if he could tie me to a *præcognitum* in this very question, and provable in a superior science, I think I shall go very near to prove it in the next paragraph, and entreat A. C. to confess it too.

IV.—And now having told A. C. this, I must secondly follow him a little farther. For I would fain make it appear as plainly as in such a difficulty it can be made, what wrong he doth truth and himself in this case. And it is the common fault of them all. For when the Protestants answer to this argument—which, as I have showed, can properly have no place in the question between us about tradition—they[y] which grant this as a *præcognitum,* a thing foreknown—as also I do—were neither ignorant nor forgetful that things presupposed, as already known, in a science, are of two sorts: for either they are plain and fully manifest in their own light; or they are proved and granted already, some former knowledge having made them evident. This principle then—the Scriptures are the oracles of God—we cannot say is clear, and fully manifest to all men simply, and in self-light, for the reasons before given. Yet we say, after tradition hath been our introduction, the soul that hath but ordinary grace added to reason, may discern light sufficient to resolve our faith that the sun is there. This principle, then, being not absolutely and simply evident in itself, is presumed to be taught us otherwise. And if otherwise, then it must be taught in and by some superior science, to which Theology is subordinate. Now men may be apt to think, out of reverence, that Divinity can have no science above it. But your own school teaches me that it hath. "The sacred doctrine of Divinity in this sort is a science, because it proceeds out of principles that are known by the light of a superior knowledge, which is the knowledge of God and the blessed in

[y] Hooker, [Eccl. Polit.] Book iii. chap. viii. [Sect. 14. ubi sup. p. 103, and p. 133.]

heaven."[z] In this superior science this principle—the Scriptures are the oracles of God—is more than evident in full light. This superior science delivered this principle in full revealed light to the Prophets and Apostles: this infallible light of this principle made their authority derivatively divine:[a] by the same divine authority they wrote, and delivered the Scripture to the Church: therefore from them immediately the Church received the Scripture, and that uncorrupt, though not in the same clearness of light which they had. And yet, since no sufficient reason hath [been], or can be,

[z] [RESPONDEO dicendum,] Sacram doctrinam esse scientiam. Sed sciendum est, quod duplex est scientiarum genus. Quædam enim sunt, quæ procedunt ex principiis notis lumine naturali intellectus, sicut Arithmetica, Geometria, et hujusmodi. Quædam vero sunt, quæ procedunt ex principiis notis lumine superioris scientiæ: sicut perspectiva procedit ex principiis notificatis per geometriam, et musica ex principiis per arithmeticam notis. Et] hoc modo sacra doctrina est scientia; quia procedit ex principiis notis lumine superioris scientiæ, quæ scilicet est scientia Dei et beatorum. [Unde sicut musica credit principia tradita sibi ab arithmetico, ita doctrina sacra credit principia revelata sibi a Deo.]—Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rt.] 2.—And what says A. C. now to this of Aquinas? Is it not clear in him that this principle, The Scriptures are the word of God, of divine and most infallible credit, is a *præcognitum* in the knowledge of Divinity, and provable in a superior science, namely, the knowledge of God and the blessed in heaven? Yea, so clear, that, as I told you he would, A. C. confesses it, p. 51. But he adds: "That because no man ordinarily sees this proof, therefore we must go either to Christ, Who saw it clearly; or to the Apostles, to whom it was clearly revealed; or to them who by succession received it from the prime seers." So now because Christ is ascended, and the Apostles gone into the number of the blessed, and made in a higher degree partakers of their knowledge; therefore we must now only go unto their successors, and borrow light from the tradition of the present Church. For that we must do; and it is so far well. But that we must "rely upon this tradition, as divine and infallible, and able to breed in us divine and infallible faith," as A. C. adds, pp. 51, 52, is a proposition, which, in the times of the primitive Church, would have been accounted very dangerous, as indeed it is. For I would fain know why leaning too much upon tradition may not mislead Christians, as well as it did the Jews. But they, saith S. Hilary, [Ipse respondit, omnem plantationem, quæ non a Patre sit, eradicandam dicens, id est,] traditionem [hominum eruendam,] cujus favore legis præcepta transgressi sunt.—[S. Hilar.] Canon. xiv. in S. Matth. [xv. 13. (al. Comment. in S. Matth. cap. xiv. 1.) Op., col. 685. A. ed. Benedict.]—Yet to this height are they of Rome now grown, that the traditions of the present Church are infallible: and by out-facing the truth, lead many after them. And as it is, Jer. v. 31, "The prophets prophesy untruths, and the priests receive gifts, and My people delight therein: what will become of this in the end?"

[a] [Ad secundum, quod Deus non creditur esse auctor hujus scientiæ, nisi quia homo hoc testificatur: dicendum quod] non creditur Deus esse auctor hujus scientiæ, quia homines hoc testati sint in quantum homines nudo testimonio humano, sed in quantum circa eos effulsit virtus divina, et ita Deus eis, et sibi ipsi in eis, testimonium perhibuit. [Quod autem credimus posterioribus circa quos non apparent virtutes divinæ, hoc est quia non prædicant alia quam quæ illi in scriptis certissimis reliquerunt, quæ constat per medios in nullo fuisse vitiata ex consensione concordi in eis omnium succedentium usque ad tempora nostra.]—Henr. a Gand. Summ. p[ar.] i. A[rt.] ix. Q[uæst.] 3. [§. 13. p. 180.]

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given, that in any substantial thing it hath been corrupted,[b] it remains firm at this day, and that proved in the most supreme science; and therefore now to be supposed, at least by all Christians, that the Scripture is the word of God. So my answer is good, even in strictness, that this principle is to be supposed in this dispute.

V.—Besides, the Jews never had, nor can have, any other proof that the Old Testament is the word of God, than we have of the New. For theirs was delivered by Moses and the Prophets, and ours was delivered by the Apostles, which were Prophets too. The Jews did believe their Scripture by a
John ix. 29. Divine authority; for so the Jews argue themselves: "We know that God spake with Moses." And that, therefore, they could no more err in following Moses, than they could in following God Himself.[c] And our Saviour seems to infer
John v. 47. as much, where He expostulates with the Jews thus: "If you believe not Moses his writings, how should you believe Me?" Now how did the Jews know that God spake to Moses? How? why, apparently the same way that is before set down. First, By tradition. So S. Chrysostom: "We know why: By whose witness do you know? By the testimony of our ancestors." [d] But he speaks not of their immediate ancestors, but their prime, which were Prophets, and whose testimony was divine; into which, namely their writings, the Jews did resolve their faith. And even that Scripture of the Old
2 Pet. i. 19. Testament was a "light," and a "shining light" too; and, therefore, could not but be sufficient when tradition had gone before. And yet, though the Jews entered this way to their belief of the Scripture, they do not say, "*Audivimus*, We have heard that God spake to Moses," but, "We know it." [e]

[b] Corrumpi non possunt, quia in manibus sunt omnium Christianorum . . . quisquis [enim] hoc primitus ausus esset, multorum codicum vetustiorum collatione confutaretur: maxime, quia non una lingua, sed multis, [eadem] Scriptura contineretur. [Nam etiam nunc] nonnullæ autem codicum mendositates, vel de antiquioribus, vel de lingua præcedente, emendantur.—S. Augustin. lib. xxxii. cont. Faustum, c. 16. [Op., tom. viii. col. 459. D. ubi sup. p. 106. note [y].]

[c] Maldonat[us, Comment.] in S. Joann. ix. [29. Scire se Mosi, quem ipsi præceptorem sequuntur, locutum esse Deum;] itaque non magis errare posse eum sequentes, quam si Deum Ipsum sequerentur.

[d] [S. Chrysostom.] Hom. lvii. in S. Johann. ix. [29. Hom. lviii. Op., tom. viii. p. 340. C.] ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν [ὅτι Μωσεῖ λελάληκεν ὁ θεός·] τίνος εἰπόντος; τίνος ἀπαγγείλαντος; τῶν προγόνων, φησὶ, τῶν ἡμετέρων.

[e] S. Chrysostom. ubi supra: καὶ οὐκ εἶπαν, ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν, [ὅτι Μωσεῖ λελάληκεν ὁ θεός,] ἀλλ' ὅτι οἴδαμεν.

So they resolved their faith higher, and into a more inward principle, than an ear to their immediate ancestors and their tradition. And I would willingly learn of you, if you can show it me, wherever any one Jew, disputing with another about their Law, did put the other to prove that the Old Testament was the word of God. But they still supposed it. And when others put them to their proof, this way they went. And yet you say: SECTION XIX.

℣. That no other answer could be made, but by admitting some word of God unwritten, to assure us of this point. [A.C.p.51.]

℟. I.—I think I have showed that my answer is good, and that no other answer need be made. If there were need, I make no question but another answer might be made to assure us of this point, though we did not admit of any word of God unwritten. I say, to assure us; and you express no more. If you had said, "to assure us by Divine faith," your argument had been the stronger. But if you speak of assurance only in the general, I must then tell you—and it is the great advantage which the Church of Christ hath against infidels—a man may be assured, nay infallibly assured, by ecclesiastical and human proof. Men that never saw Rome, may be sure and infallibly believe that such a city there is, by historical and acquired faith. And if consent of human story can assure me this, why should not consent of Church story assure me the other, that Christ and His Apostles delivered this body of Scripture as the oracles of God? For Jews, enemies to Christ, they bear witness to the Old Testament; and Christians, through almost all nations, give in evidence to both Old and New.[f] And no Pagan, or other § 19.

[f] [Consequetur namque omnium literarum summa perversio, et omnium qui memoriæ mandati sunt librorum abolitio, si quod tanta populorum religione roboratum est,] tanta hominum et temporum consensione firmatum, [in hanc dubitationem adducitur, ut ne historiæ quidem vulgaris fidem possit gravitatemque obtinere.]—S. Augustin. lib. de moribus Eccles. Cathol. [et Manich. lib. i.] cap. 29. [Op., tom. i. col. 707. F.]—[Tu in] eos libros, [qui,] quoquo modo se habent, sancti tamen divinarum-[que] rerum pleni, prope totius generis humani confessione diffamantur, [sine duce irruis, et de his sine præceptore audes ferre sententiam.]—S. Augustin. de util. credendi, cap. vii. [Op., tom. viii. col. 56. B.]—Et, [Sibylla porro, vel Sibyllæ, et Orpheus, et nescio quis Hermes, et si qui alii vates, vel theologi, vel sapientes, vel philosophi gentium, de Filio Dei vera prædixisse,

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enemies of Christianity, can give such a worthy and consenting testimony for any authority upon which they rely, or almost for any principle which they have, as the Scripture hath gained to itself. And as is the testimony, which it receives, above all "writings of all nations," [g] so here is assurance in a great measure, without any divine authority, in a word written or unwritten. A great assurance, and it is infallible too; only then we must distinguish infallibility. For, first, a thing may be presented as an infallible object of belief, when it is true and remains so: for truth, *qua talis*, as it is truth, cannot deceive. Secondly, a thing is said to be infallible, when it is not only true, and remains so, actually, but when it is of such invariable constancy, and upon such ground, as that no degree of falsehood at any time, in any respect, can fall upon it. Certain it is that by human authority, consent, and proof, a man may be assured infallibly that the Scripture is the word of God, by an acquired habit of faith, *cui non subest falsum*, "under which nor error nor falsehood is:" but he cannot be assured infallibly by divine faith, *cui subesse non potest falsum*, "into which no falsehood can come," but by a divine testimony.[h] This testimony is absolute in Scripture itself, delivered by the Apostles for the word of God, and so sealed to our souls by the operation of the Holy Ghost. That which makes way for this, as an introduction and outward motive,[i] is the tradition of the present Church; but that neither simply divine, nor sufficient alone into which we may resolve our faith, but only as is before[k] expressed.

seu dixisse, perhibentur, valet quidem aliquid ad paganorum vanitatem revincendam, non tamen ad istorum auctoritatem amplectendam; cum illum Deum nos colere ostendimus, de quo nec illi tacere potuerunt, qui suos congentiles populos idola et dæmonia colenda partim docere ausi sunt, partim prohibere ausi non sunt.—S. Augustin.] contra Faustum, lib. xiii. cap. 15. [Op., tom. viii. col. 260. A.B.]

[g] [Civitatem Dei dicimus, cujus ea Scriptura testis est, quæ non fortuitis motibus animorum, sed plane summæ dispositione providentiæ,] super omnes omnium gentium literas, [omnia sibi genera ingeniorum humanorum divina excellens auctoritate subjecit.]—S. Augustin. de civitate Dei, lib. xi. cap. 1. [Op., tom. vii. col. 271. D.]

[h] Incertum [ergo] esse non potest hos esse libros canonicos, [et habere pondus auctoritatis suæ, quibus Ecclesia declarata per omnes gentes, et ab apostolis propagata, testimonium certum reddit.]—[Thom. Waldens. Doctrinal. Fidei, tom. i. lib. 2. art. ii. cap. 20. No. 3. fol. 102. col. 1. ed. Paris. 1532.]

[i] Canus, Loc. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 8. facit Ecclesiam causam sine qua non. [His words are: Non est enim Ecclesiæ auctoritas ratio per se prorsus ad credendum, sed causa sine qua non crederemus.—P. 59. ed. Lovan. 1569.]

[k] Sect. xvi. [No. 6. ubi sup. p. 77.]

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II.—And now to come close to the particular. The time was, before this miserable rent in the Church of Christ—which I think no true Christian can look upon but with a bleeding heart—that you and we were all of one belief. That belief was tainted, in tract and corruption of times, very deeply. A division was made, yet so that both parts held the Creed, and other common principles of belief. Of these this was one of the greatest, "That the Scripture is the word of God:"[l] for our belief of all things contained in it depends upon it. Since this division there hath been nothing done by us to discredit this principle. Nay, we have given it all honour, and ascribed unto it more sufficiency, even to the "containing of all things necessary to salvation," with *satis superque*,[m] enough and more than enough: which yourselves have not done, do not. And for begetting and settling a belief of this principle, we go the same way with you, and a better besides. The same way with you; because we allow the tradition of the present Church to be the first inducing motive to embrace this principle: only we cannot go so far in this way as you, to make the present tradition always an infallible word of God unwritten; for this is to go so far in, till you be out of the way. For tradition is but a lane in the Church: it hath an end, not only to receive us in, but another after, to let us out into more open and richer ground. And we go a better way than you; because after we are moved, and prepared, and induced by tradition, we resolve our faith into that written word, and God delivering it: in which we find materially, though not in terms, the very tradition that led us thither. And so we are sure by divine authority that we are in the way, because at the end we find the way proved. And do what can be done, you can never settle the faith of man about this great principle, till you rise to greater assurance than the present Church alone can give.

[l] Sic in alia causa, [sc. de definitione hominis,] S. Augustinus [his verbis: sc. Illud est magis quod mihi hoc loco quærendum videtur, cum] inter omnes pene constet, aut certe, id quod satis est, inter me atque illos cum quibus nunc agitur hoc conveniat, [ex anima et corpore nos esse compositos, quid est ipse homo, utrumque horum quæ nominavi, an corpus tantummodo, an tantummodo anima?]—De moribus Eccl. Cathol. [et Manichæor. lib. i.] cap. 4. [Op., tom. i. col. 689. F.]

[m] [Cum sit perfectus scripturarum canon, sibique ad omnia satis superque sufficiat, quid opus est, ut ei ecclesiasticæ intelligentiæ jungatur auctoritas? Quia videlicet &c.]—Vin. Lirinens. contra Hæres. cap. ii. [p. 5.]

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And therefore once again to that known place of S. Augustine.[n] The words of the Father are, *Nisi commoveret,* "unless the authority of the Church moved me;" but not alone, but with other motives: else it were not *commovere,* "to move together." And the other motives are resolvers, though this be leader. Now, since we go the same way with you, so far as you go right; and a better way than you, where you go wrong; we need not admit any other word of God than we do. And this ought to remain as a pre-supposed principle among all Christians, and not so much as come into this question, about the sufficiency of Scripture, between you and us. But you say that

[A.C. p.53.] ℱ. From this the Lady called * us, and desiring to hear, whether the ℬ. would grant the Roman Church to be the right Church, the ℬ. granted that it was.

§ 20. ℬ. I.—One occasion, which moved Tertullian to write his book *de Præscript. adversus Hæreticos,* was, that he saw

* [The Chaplain saith: "As it is true that this question was asked, so it is false, that it was asked in this form, or so answered." I answer that the Jesuit doth not say that the Lady asked this question in this, or any other precise, form of words, but only saith she was desirous to hear whether the ℬ. would grant the Roman Church to be the right Church: which to have been her desire the Jesuit is sure, as having particularly spoken with her before, and wished her to insist upon this point.

Secondly, he is sure, that she did not propound the question in that precise form, insinuated by the Chaplain, viz. Whether the Roman be a true Church; as if she meant to be satisfied with hearing the ℬ. say that the Roman Church is a true Church, and the Greek Church another, and the Protestant another. This, I say, could not be her question, for that she was persuaded that all these were not right and true, and that there was but one Holy Catholic Church; and her desire was to hear whether the ℬ. would grant the Roman Church, not only that which is in the city or diocese of Rome, but all that are agreed with it, to be it?

Thirdly, what precise form of words the Lady did use, the Jesuit did not remember perfectly, and therefore did not adventure to set down; but by the ℬ.'s answer, which he perfectly remembered, and so set down in these words, "It was," he thinketh that her question was, Whether the Roman Church was not the right Church? viz. once, or in time past, before Luther and others made a breach from it? To which question so uttered, or so understood, as it seems by the answer, and the ensuing discourse made by the ℬ. it was understood, the ℬ. might truly, and certainly did, answer, as is related; to wit, not "It is," but "It was," viz. once, or in time past, the right Church. For so the Chaplain doth here confess, p. 37, "The time was, &c. that you and we were all of one belief." Out of which answer it may be that the ℬ. suspected that the Lady would infer; If once it were the right, what hindereth it now to be? since it did not depart from the Protestant Church, but the Protestant Church departed from it. And therefore, as in the text, he was willing to grant that the Protestants made a rent or division from it, &c.—A. C. marg. note to p. 53.]

[n] Contr. Epist. Fund. cap. v. [ubi sup. p. 93. note q.]

little or no profit come by disputations.[o] Sure the ground was the same then and now. It was not to deny that disputation is an opening of the understanding, a sifting out of truth: it was not to affirm that any such disquisition is in and of itself unprofitable. If it had, S. Stephen would not have disputed with the Cyrenians, nor S. Paul with the Grecians, first; and then with the Jews and all comers. No sure: it was some abuse in the disputants that frustrated the good of the disputation. And one abuse in the disputants is "a resolution to hold their own, though it be by unworthy means, and disparagement of truth."[p] And so I find it here: for as it is true that this question was asked, so it is altogether false that it was asked in this form, or so answered.[q] There is a great deal of difference, especially as Romanists handle the question of the Church, between *the* Church and *a* Church; and there is some between a *true* Church and a *right* Church, which is the word you use, but no man else that I know: I am sure not I.

Acts vi. 9. Acts ix. 29. Acts xix. 17.

II.—For "the Church" may import in our language "the only true Church;" and, perhaps, as some of you seem to make it, "the root and the ground of the Catholic." And this I never did grant of the Roman Church, nor ever mean to do. But "a Church" can imply no more than that it is a member of the whole. And this I never did nor ever will deny, if it fall not absolutely away from Christ. That it is a "true Church," I granted also; but not a "right," as you impose upon me. For *ens* and *verum*, "being" and "true," are convertible one with another; and every thing that hath a being is truly that being which it is, in truth of substance. But this word "right" is not so used, but is referred more properly to perfection in conditions: and in this sense every thing that hath a true and real being is not, by and by, right in the conditions of it. A man that is most dishonest,

[o] [Adversus hæreticos sive hæreses tum temporis grassantes scripturus Tertullianus,] videns disputationibus nihil aut parum profici.—Pamelius in Summario, [præfixo] lib. [Tertullian. de præscript. adversus hæretic. Op., p. 233. ed. Pamelii, Colon. 1617.]

[p] [Hoc tibi, cum voles, manifestissimum faciam, et comminui et] debilitari generosam indolem, in istas argutias conjectam.—Senec. Epist. xlviii. [Op., p. 258. ed. Paris. 1607.]

[q] Here A. C. hath nothing to say, but that the Jesuit did not affirm, "That the Lady asked this question in this or any other precise form." No? Why, the words preceding are the Jesuit's own. Therefore, if these were not the Lady's words, he wrongs her, not I him.

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and unworthy the name—a very thief, if you will—is a true man in the verity of his essence, as he is a creature endued with reason; for this none can steal from him, nor he from himself, but death: but he is not therefore a right or an upright man. And a Church that is exceeding corrupt, both in manners and doctrine, and so a dishonour to the name, is yet a true Church in the verity of essence; as a Church is a company of men which profess the faith of Christ, and are baptized into His name: but yet it is not therefore a "right" Church, either in doctrine or manners. It may be you meant cunningly to slip in this word "right," that I might at unawares grant it orthodox. But I was not so to be caught; for I know well that orthodox Christians are "keepers of integrity, and followers of right things" (so S. Augustine [r]), of which the Church of Rome at this day is neither. In this sense, then, no "right," that is, no "orthodox" Church at Rome.

III.—And yet no news it is, that I granted the Roman Church to be a true Church. For so much very learned Protestants have acknowledged before me, and the truth cannot deny it.[s] For that Church which receives the Scripture as a rule of faith, though but as a partial and imperfect rule, and both the sacraments as instrumental causes and seals of grace, though they add more and misuse these, yet cannot but be a true Church in essence. How it is in manners and doctrine, I would you would look to it with a single eye;

[r] [Quæ cum ita sint, neque in confusione paganorum, neque in purgamentis hæreticorum, neque in languore schismaticorum, neque in cœcitate Judæorum, quærenda est religio, sed apud eos solos, qui Christiani, catholici, vel orthodoxi nominantur, id est,] integritatis custodes, et recta sectantes. —[S. Augustin. lib.] de vera religione, cap. v. [Op., tom. i. col. 751. D.]

[s] ["Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held, and do hold, fellowship with them, (of the Church of Rome,) ... touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ," &c.]—Hooker, Eccl. Polit. B. iii. Ch. i. [Sect. 2. Works, vol. i. p. 438. ed. Keble.]—[Ita etiam] falluntur [utrique, tum] qui ecclesiam esse negant, quia papatus in ea est, [quam ii qui papatum affirmant Ecclesiam ipsam esse.]—Junius, de Ecclesia, lib. [singular.] cap. xvii. [de Ecclesia Romana. Op., tom. ii. col. 1020. ed. Genev. 1613.]—And Reynolds, Thes. v. negat tantum [Romanam ecclesiam] esse Catholicam, vel sanum membrum [Catholicæ.]—[Johan. Rainoldi Sex Theses de SS. et Ecclesia: Thes. v. in tit. p. 123. ed. Lond. 1602.] Nay, the very Separatists grant it: Fr. Johnson, in his treatise called, A Christian Plea, printed 1617, p. 123, &c. ["How can we soundly defend and retain the visible baptism received in the Church of Rome .... if we do not accordingly acknowledge the Church of Rome to be a visible Church and the people of God ... a visible Church, I say, though miserably corrupted, &c."

"for if piety and a peaceable mind be not joined to a good understanding, nothing can be known in these great things."[t] SECTION XX.

IV.—Here A. C. tells us, "That the Jesuit doth not say that the Lady asked this question in this or any other precise form of words; but saith, the Jesuit is sure her desire was to know of me, whether I would grant the Roman Church to be the right Church?" And how was the Jesuit sure the Lady desired to hear this from me? Why, A. C. tells us that too: for he adds, "That the Jesuit had particularly spoken with her before, and wished her to insist upon that point." Where you may see, and it is fit the Clergy of England should consider with what cunning adversaries they have to deal, who can find a way to prepare their disciples, and instruct them beforehand upon what points to insist,[u] that so they may with more ease slide that into their hearts and consciences, which should never come there. And this once known, I hope they will the better provide against it. But A. C. goes on, and tells us, "That certainly by my answer, the Lady's desire must needs be to hear from me, not whether the Church of Rome were a right Church, &c.; but whether I would grant that there is but one Holy Catholic Church, and whether the Roman Church—that is, not only that which is in the city or diocese of Rome, but all that agreed with it—be not it." About "a Church," and "the Church," I have said enough before,[x] and shall not repeat. Nor is there any need I should; for A. C. would have it "The Church, the one, holy, Catholic Church." But this cannot be granted, take the Roman Church in what sense they please, in city, or diocese, or all that agree with it. Yet, howsoever, before I leave this, I must acquaint the reader with a perfect Jesuitism. In all the primitive times of the Church, a man, or a family, or a national Church,

A. C. p. 53.

A. C. p. 54.

A. C. p. 54.

A Christian Plea conteyning three Treatises. 1. The first touching the Anabaptists, and others mainteyning some like errors with them, &c. Made by Francis Johnson, Pastour of the auncient English Church now sojourning at Amsterdam in the Lowe Countreyes. (No place) Printed in the year of our Lord, 1617.]

[t] Si tamen bono ingenio pietas et pax quædam mentis accedat, sine qua de tantis rebus nihil prorsus intelligi potest.—S. Augustin. lib. de util. cred. cap. xviii. [Op., tom. viii. col. 70. D.]

[u] And after A. C. saith again, p. 54, "that the Lady did not ask the question, as if she meant to be satisfied with hearing what I said," so belike they take caution beforehand for that too, that whatever we say, unless we grant what they would have, their proselytes shall not be satisfied with it.

[x] Sect. xx. No. 1. [ubi sup. p. 143.]

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were accounted right and orthodox, as they agreed with the Catholic Church; but the Catholic was never then measured or judged by man, family, or nation. But now, in the Jesuit's new school, the one Holy Catholic Church[y] must be measured by that which is in the city or diocese of Rome, or of them which agreed with it, and not Rome by the Catholic. For so A. C. says expressly, "The Lady would know of me, not whether that were the Catholic Church to which Rome agreed, but whether that were not the Holy Catholic Church, which agreed with Rome." So upon the matter, belike the Christian faith was committed to the custody of the Roman, not of the Catholic, Church; and a man cannot agree with the Catholic Church of Christ, in this new doctrine of A. C., unless he agree with the Church of Rome: but if he agree with that, all is safe, and he is as orthodox as he need be.

V.—But A. C. is yet troubled about the form of the Lady's question: and he will not have it, "That she desired to know, whether I would grant the Roman Church to be the right Church?" though these be her words, according to the
A. C. p. 54. Jesuit's own setting down; but he thinks the question was, "Whether the Church of Rome was not the right Church?" Not "be not," but "was not." "Was not?" that is, "was not once or in time past the right Church, before Luther and others made a breach from it?" Why truly A. C. need not have troubled himself half so much about this. For

[y] And though Stapleton, to magnify the Church of Rome, is pleased to say, [Sola Romana Ecclesia adeo est catholica, ut] apud veteres pro eodem habita fuerit Romana Ecclesia, [fides, societas,] et catholica ecclesia, [fides, societas:] yet he is so modest as to give this reason of it: [Obtinuit autem apud veteres hic loquendi modus, non quia solius urbis aut diœcesis Romanæ populus ecclesiam catholicam constituit, (est enim particularis et pars catholicæ,) sed] quia ejus communio erat evidenter et certissime cum tota [ecclesia] catholica.—Relect. Controv. [Controv.] 1. [de ecclesia in se,] Q[uæst.] v. A[rt.] 3. [Op., tom. i. p. 594. B. C.] Lo, the communion of the Roman was then with the Catholic Church, not of the Catholic with it. And S. Cyprian employed his legates, Caldonius and Fortunatus, not to bring the Catholic Church to the communion of Rome, but Rome to the Catholic Church: [Quod servis Dei et maxime sacerdotibus justis et pacificis congruebat, frater carissime, miseramus nuper collegas nostros Caldonium et Fortunatum, ut non tantum persuasione literarum nostrarum, sed præsentia sua et consilio omnium vestrum eniterentur, quantum possent, et] elaborarent, ut ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem scissi corporis membra componerent, [et Christianæ caritatis vinculo copularent.] Now the members of this rent and torn body were they of Rome, then in an open schism between Cornelius and Novatian.—S. Cyprian. lib. ii. Epist. 10. [ad Cornelium, Epist. xlii. Op., p. 56. ed. Benedict.]

let him take his choice: it shall be all one to me, whether the question were asked by "be," or by "was." For the Church of Rome neither "is" nor "was" the right Church, as the Lady desired to hear. A particular Church it is, and was, and in some times right, and in some times wrong; and then in some things right, and in some things wrong: but "the right Church," or "the Holy Catholic Church," it never was, nor ever can be; and, therefore, was not such before Luther and others either left it, or were thrust from it. A "particular" Church it was; but then A.C. is not distinct enough here neither. For the Church of Rome both was, and was not, a "right" or orthodox Church, before Luther made a breach from it. For the word *ante*, "before," may look upon Rome and that Church a great way off, or long before; and then in the prime times of it, it was a most "right" and orthodox Church. But it may look also nearer home, and upon the immediate times before Luther, or some ages before that; and then in those times Rome was a corrupt and a tainted Church, far from being right.[z] And yet

[z] Cum infiniti abusus, schismata quoque et hæreses, per totum nunc Christianum orbem invalescant, Ecclesiam Dei legitima indigere reformatione nemini non apertum erit.—Petri de Alliaco, Card Cameracensis, lib. [tractat.] de Reformatione Ecclesiæ, [oblat. in Concil. Constant. an. 1417.] apud J. Gerson. Op., tom. ii. col. 903, et seqq. ed. Dupin. Antw. 1706. The above words do not occur in this Tract as printed in Gerson's work: they are to be found, in an editorial Conclusion, by O. Gratius, apud Fasciculum rerum expetendarum ac fugiendarum, per Orthuinum Gratium collect. fol. cciii.—ccviii. ed. Colon. 1535. Similar expressions occur throughout the Tract itself: Summopere vigilandum est circa reformationem ecclesiæ.—col. 904. A. apud Gerson.—Propter defectum celebrationis conciliorum, Ecclesia in diversa schismata et alia innumerabilia mala, forte etiam ad hæreses disponentia, proh dolor! lapsa sit, sicut experientia docet.—Ibid. col. 905. B.—Reformatio totius corporis Ecclesiæ, et particularis ecclesiæ Romanæ, est de arduis pertinentibus ad fidem: nam ejus generalis deformatio non mediocriter fidem tangit, et per consequens ejus reformatio.—Ibid. D.] And if schisms and heresies did then invade the whole Christian world, let A. C. consider how Rome escaped free. And I think Cameracensis was in this prophetical. For sixty years and more before Luther was born, and so before the great troubles which have since fallen upon all Christendom, he used these words in the book which himself delivered up in the Council of Constance: [Hæc autem Deus misericordissimus, qui solus ex malis bona novit elicere, ideo permittere credendus est, ut eorum occasione Ecclesia sua in melius reformetur. Quod] nisi celeriter fiat, audeo dicere quod licet magna sint quæ videmus, tamen brevi incomparabiliter majora videbimus, et post ista tonitrua tam horrenda, alia [horribiliora in proximo] audiemus.—[Ibid. col. 905. A.] And it will hardly sink into any man's judgment that so great a man as Pet. de Alliaco was in that Church, should speak thus, if he did not see some errors in the doctrine of that Church, as well as in manners. Nay, Cassander, though he lived and died in the communion of the Church of Rome, yet found fault with some of her doctrines. Consultat. Artic. xxi. xxii. [De cultu Sanctorum . . . in quibus omnibus haud leves abusus et superstitiones irrepsisse negari non potest.—P. 964.—Alter error est quod homines . . . . unico illo advocationis Christi officio obscurato, sanctos atque

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both these times before Luther made his breach. So here A. C. should have been more distinct. For the word "before" includes the whole time before Luther, in part of which time that Church of Rome was right, and in other part whereof it was wrong. But A. C. adds yet, "That I suspected the Lady would infer, if once that Church were right, what hindered it now to be? since that did not depart from the Protestant Church, but the Protestant Church from it." Truly, I neither suspected the inference would be made, nor fear it when it is made. For it is no news that any particular Church, Roman as well as another, may once have been right, and afterwards wrong, and in far worse case. And so it was in Rome after "the enemy had sowed tares among the wheat." But whether these tares were sown while their Bishops slept, or whether they themselves[a] did not help to sow them, is too large a disquisition for this place. So though it were once right, yet the tares which grow thick in it, are the cause why it is not so now. And then, though that Church did not depart from the Protestants' Church, yet if it gave great and just cause for the Protestant Church to depart from the errors of it, while it in

A. C. p. 54.

Matt. xiii. 25.

imprimis Virginem Matrem in Illius locum substituerunt.—P. 970. And in the following sections on the veneration of Relics, pp. 972, 973; the cultus of Images, pp. 974—981; the administration of the Eucharist under both kinds, &c. pp. 981—984; Extreme Unction, pp. 985, 986. Op., ed. Paris. 1616.] And Pope Julius the Third professed at Bononia, [Concilium interim Bononiam translatum, paulo post suspensum, et mortuo Paulo intermissum, successor Julius III. redauspicatus est, Bononiæ antea Sessione XI. palam professus,] in Sacramentorum Ecclesiæ ministerium innumerabiles abusus irrepsisse. —[Claud.] Espencæus in [Epist. ad] Titum, cap. 1. [Op., p. 480. col. 2. A. ed. Paris. 1619.] And yet he was one of the bishops, nay the chief legate, in the Council of Trent.

[a] For A. C. knows well what strange doctrines are charged upon some popes. And all Bellarmine's labour, though great and full of art, is not able to wash them clean. Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. capp. 8—14. [Op., tom. i. coll. 819—856. In these chapters the errors charged against several popes are examined at full.] Et papas quosdam graves errores seminasse in ecclesia Christi luce clarius est. Et probatur a Jacob. Almain. Opusc. de Auctoritat. Ecclesiæ, cap. 10, [of which the conclusion is: Ex his manifeste sequitur, Papam non solum errore personali, sed et errore judiciali errare posse in materia fidei, sicut et in aliis materiis. —Tractat. de Auctoritat. Eccles. et concil. general. adversus Thom. de Vio. apud Jo. Gerson. Op., tom. ii. col. 1005. A.] And Cassander speaks it out more plainly: [Quod autem Bernardus addit: Hæc omnia in variam transire superstitionem, in quam non inciderent, si rationi adorationis ac veri cultus attenderent, aut, si ignorant, informationem humiliter acciperent, recte quidem dicitur: sed] utinam illi (he speaks of the bishops and rectors in the Roman Church), a quibus hæc informatio accipienda esset, non ipsi harum superstitionum auctores essent; vel certe eas in animis hominum simplicium aliquando quæstus causa nutrirent.—Cassand. Consultat. Art. 21. [de imaginib.] versus fin. [pp. 979, 980.]

some particulars departed from the truth of Christ, it comes all to one for this particular, that the Roman Church, which was once right, is now become wrong, by embracing superstition and error. SECTION XXI.

F. Farther he* confessed,[1] That Protestants had made a rent and[2] division from it. A. C. p. 55.

[1] [granted .... A. C.]

[2] [or .... A. C.]

* [The Chaplain having told us that the B. could be heartily angry, saith: "The B. never said nor thought, that Protestants made this rent. The cause of the schism is yours, &c." I answer that the Jesuit is sure, that whatsoever the B. thought, which maybe was as the Chaplain now expresseth, to wit, that we had given cause to the Protestants to do as they did: yet he did say, either *iisdem*, or *æquipollentibus, verbis*, just as is in the Relation. For the Jesuit did in fresh memory take special notice of this passage in regard it concerned a most important point, which, being urged by him in the first Conference against D. White, in these words, "Why did you make a schism from us? Why do you persecute us?" the Doctor slipped over that of the schism without denying it to have been made by them, or laying the cause to us, and only answered to the other, saying, "We do not persecute you for religion." The Jesuit therefore, I say, did, as he had reason, take special notice in fresh memory, and is sure he related, at least in sense, just as was uttered by the B.

And I ask the Chaplain, what reason the B. had to discourse so long as he did, endeavouring to show what reason Protestants had to make that rent or division, or, if he liked not these words, that discession, to use Calvin's phrase, or departure, not only from the Church of Rome, but also as Calvin (lib. Epist. Ep. 141.) confesseth, *a toto mundo*, from the whole world, if he had not, as the Jesuit related, confessed that Protestants, being once members of the Roman Church, separated themselves from it, as the world knows they did, when they got the name of Protestants, for protesting against it. Now, for the Chaplain's ascribing the cause of the schism to us, in that by excommunication we thrust them from us, he must remember, that before this they had divided themselves by obstinate holding and teaching opinions contrary to the Roman faith, and practice of the Church, which in S. Bernard's judgment (Serm. de Resur.) is most great pride. *Quæ major superbia*, &c. What greater pride than that one man, Luther for example, should prefer his judgment, not only before a thousand Austins, and Cyprians, and King Harry-churches, but before the whole congregation of all Christian churches in the world? which in S. Austin's judgment is most insolent madness: for *contra id disputare* &c., to dispute against that which the universal Church doth practice, is, saith S. Austin, most insolent madness.

What then? Is it, not only by way of doubtful disputation, but by solemn and public protestation to condemn the general practice of the Church as superstitious, and the doctrine as erroneous in faith, yea as heretical and even Antichristian? All this considered, the B. hath no cause "to be heartily angry," either with your Jesuit for relating, or with himself for granting, Protestants to have made a rent or division from the Roman Church, but might with a safe conscience yet further grant, as one did,—was it not he?—to an honourable person, "That it was ill done of those who did first make the separation." Which is not true, both in regard there can be no just cause to make a schism and division from the whole Church, for the whole Church cannot universally err in doctrine of faith, and other just cause there is none. And also for that those who first made the separation, (Luther and his associates,) gave the first cause in manner aforesaid to the Roman Church to excommunicate them, as by our Saviour's warrant she might, when they would "not hear the Church," which did both at first seek to recall them from their novel opinions, and after their breach did permit, yea invite them publicly with safe conduct to Rome, to a General Council, and freely to speak what they could for themselves. And I make no doubt, so far is the Roman Church from being cause of continuance of the schisms, or hindrance of re-union, that it would yet, if any hope may be given that Protestants will sincerely seek

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nothing but truth and peace, give them a free hearing with most ample and safe conduct: which is more than even we English Catholics could obtain, although we have made offers divers times to come to public dispute; first in Queen Elizabeth's days, and also in his Majesty's which now is, only requiring the Prince's word for our safety, and equality of conditions of the dispute. Unto which offer our adversaries never did, nor ever will, give good answer. As one saith: *Honestum responsum nullum dabunt præter unum quod nunquam dabunt; Regina* (Rex) *spondet: Advola.—Camp. in rat. Acad. red.*— A. C. marg. note to p. 55.]

§ 21. B. I.—I confess I could here be heartily angry,[b] but that I have resolved, in handling matters of religion, to leave all gall out of my ink; for I never granted that the Roman Church either is, or was, the right Church. It is too true indeed, that there is a miserable rent in the Church, and I make no question but the best men do most bemoan it;[c] nor is he a Christian, that would not have unity, might he have it with truth. But I never said, nor thought, "that the Protestants made this rent." The cause of the schism is yours: for you thrust us from you, because we called for truth and redress of abuses. For a schism[d] must needs be theirs, whose the cause of it is. The woe runs full out of the mouth of Christ, ever against "him that gives the offence;" not against him that takes it, ever. But you have, by this carriage, given me just cause, never to treat with you or your like, but before a judge or a jury.

Matt. xviii. 7.

A.C. pp. 55, 56.

II.—But here A. C. tells me, "I had no cause to be angry, either with the Jesuit or myself. Not with the Jesuit, for he writ down my words in fresh memory, and upon special notice

[b] [Quamobrem vellem mihi isti dicerent, in quo genere ponant Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quem putant, errorem. Si in primo,] grave omnino crimen: sed defensionem longinquam non requirit; satis est enim negare [ita nos intelligere, ut illi cum invehuntur existimant:] sicut pro Ecclesia olim [argumentabatur], S. Augustinus, in lib. de util. credendi, cap. v. [Op., tom. viii. col. 53. A.]

[c] [Quemadmodum ergo nobis invisibilem, solius Dei conspicuam Ecclesiam credere necesse est; ita] hanc, quæ respectu hominum Ecclesia dicitur, observare, ejusque communionem colere debemus.—Calvin. Instit. [lib. iv.] cap. 1. [Op., tom. viii. p. 272.]

[d] Recte [igitur] scias nos fecisse, recedendo a vobis [Deo odibilibus; quomodo etenim nos in cœtu vestro omnibus facinoribus infecto manere, et non vos pestes ac lues fugere docuerat?]—Lucif. [Calaritan.] libello de non conveniendo cum hæreticis. [Max. Bibl. Patrum, tom. iv. p. 222. E. ed. Lugd. 1677.] He speaks of the Arians, and I shall not compare you with them, nor give any offence that way. I shall only draw the general argument from it, thus: If the orthodox did well in departing from the Arians, then the schism was to be imputed to the Arians; although the orthodox did not depart from them. Otherwise if the orthodox had been guilty of the schism, he could not have said, *recte scias nos fecisse recedendo.* For it cannot be that a man should do well in making a schism. There may be therefore a necessary separation, which yet incurs not the blame of schism; and that is, when doctrines are taught contrary to the Catholic faith.

taken of the passage, and that I did say either *iisdem*, or *æquipollentibus, verbis*, 'either in these or equivalent words,' That the Protestants did make the rent or division from the Roman Church." What, did the Jesuit set down my words in fresh memory, and upon special notice taken, and were they so few as these, "The Protestants did make the schism;" and yet was his memory so short, that he cannot tell, whether I uttered this *iisdem*, or *æquipollentibus, verbis?* Well, I would A. C. and his fellows would leave this art of theirs, and in Conferences, which they are so ready to call for, impose no more upon other men than they utter. And you may observe too, that after all this full assertion, That I spake this *iisdem*, or *æquipollentibus verbis*, A. C. concludes thus: "The Jesuit took special notice in fresh memory, and is sure he related, at least in sense, just as it was uttered." What is this, "at least in sense just as it was uttered?" Do not these two interfere, and shew the Jesuit to be upon his shuffling pace? For if it were "just as it was uttered," then it was in the very form of words too, not in "sense" only. And if it were but "at least in sense," then when A. C. hath made the most of it, it was not "just as it was uttered." Besides, "at least in sense," doth not tell us in whose sense it was. For if A. C. mean the Jesuit's sense of it, he may make what sense he pleases of his own words; but he must impose no sense of his upon my words. But as he must leave my words to myself, so when my words are uttered or written, he must leave their sense either to me, or to that genuine construction which an ingenuous reader can make of them. And what my words of grant were, I have before expressed, and their sense too.

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A. C. p. 57.

A. C. p. 55.

III.—"Not with myself:" that is the next. For A. C. says, "It is truth, and that the world knows it, that the Protestants did depart from the Church of Rome, and got the name of Protestants, by protesting against it." No, A. C., by your leave, this is not truth neither; and therefore I had reason to be angry with myself, had I granted it. For, first, the Protestants did not depart: for departure is voluntary, so was not theirs. I say, not theirs, taking their whole body and cause together. For that some among them were peevish, and some ignorantly zealous, is neither to be

A. C. p. 56.

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doubted, nor is there danger in confessing it. Your body is not so perfect, I wot well, but that many amongst you are as pettish, and as ignorantly zealous, as any of ours. You must not suffer for these, nor we for those; nor should the Church of Christ for either. Next, the Protestants did not get that name by protesting against the Church of Rome, but by protesting (and that when nothing else would serve) against her errors and superstitions.[e] Do you but remove them from the Church of Rome, and our Protestation is ended, and the separation too. Nor is Protestation itself such an unheard of thing in the very heart of religion. For the sacraments both of the Old and New Testaments are called by your own school, "visible signs protesting the faith." Now if the sacraments be *protestantia*, "signs protesting," why may not men also, and without all offence, be called Protestants, since by receiving the true sacraments, and by refusing them which are corrupted, they do but protest the sincerity of their faith against that doctrinal corruption, which hath invaded the great sacrament of the Eucharist, and other parts of religion? Especially, since they are men,[f] which must protest their faith by these visible signs and sacraments.

A. C. p. 56. IV.—But A. C. goes on, and will needs have it, that the Protestants were the cause of the schism. "For," saith he, "though the Church of Rome did thrust them from her by excommunication, yet they had first divided themselves by obstinate holding and teaching opinions contrary to the Roman faith, and practice of the Church; which to do, S. Bernard thinks is pride, and S. Augustine madness." So then, in his opinion, First, excommunication on their part was not the prime cause of this division; but the "holding and teaching of contrary opinions." Why, but then in

[e] Conventus ordinum Imperii Spiræ celebratur. In quo decretum factum, ut Edictum Wormatiense observetur contra Novatores, (*sic appellare placuit*), et ut omnia in integrum restituantur, (*et sic nulla omnino reformatio.*) Contra hoc Edictum [Elector Johannes et Landgravius et alii] die 16. Aprilis A. D. 1629, solenniter protestantur: hinc ortum pervulgatum illud Protestantium nomen. — Se[thi] Calvisii [opus] Chron[ologicum,] ad An. 1529. [pp. 920, 921. ed. Francof. 1685.] This protestation, therefore, was not simply against the Roman Church, but against the edict, which was for the restoring of all things to their former estate, without any reformation.

[f] [Nullus autem sanctificari potest post peccatum, nisi per Christum..... et ideo oportebat, ante Christi adventum esse quædam signa invisibilia,] quibus homo fidem suam protestaretur [de futuro Salvatoris adventu.] —Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. iii. Q[uæst.] lxi. A[rt.] 3. [in respons.]

my opinion, that "holding and teaching was" not the prime cause neither, but the corruptions and superstitions of Rome, which forced many men to hold and teach the contrary. So the prime cause was theirs still. Secondly, A. C.'s words are very considerable. For he charges the Protestants to be the authors of the schism, for "obstinate holding and teaching contrary opinions." To what, I pray? Why, to the Roman faith.[g] To the Roman faith? It was wont to be the Christian faith, to which contrary opinions were so dangerous to the maintainers. But all is Roman now with A. C. and the Jesuit. And then to countenance the business, S. Bernard and S. Augustine are brought in; whereas neither of them speak of the Roman, and S. Bernard perhaps neither of the Catholic nor the Roman, but of a particular, Church or congregation. Or if he speak of the Catholic, of the Roman he certainly doth not. His words are, *Quæ major superbia, &c.* "What greater pride, than that one man should prefer his judgment before the whole congregation of all the Christian churches in the world?" So A. C. as[1] out of S. Bernard. But S. Bernard not so.[h] For these last words, "of all the Christian churches in the world," are not in S. Bernard. And whether *toti congregationi* imply more in that place than a particular Church, is not very manifest. Nay, I think it is plain, that he speaks both of, and to, that particular congregation, to which he was then preaching. And I believe A. C. will not easily find where *tota congregatio,* "the whole congregation," is used in S. Bernard, or any other of the Fathers, for the whole Catholic Church of Christ. And howsoever the meaning of S. Bernard be, it is

SECTION XXI.

[1] [as .... *carent* Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[g] I know Bellarmine, [de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 4. § 3.] quotes S. Jerome: Scito Romanam fidem, &c. [ubi] supra, Sect. iii. No. 9. [p. 9. note r.] But there S. Jerome doth not call it *Fidem Romanam,* as if *Fides Romana* and *Fides Catholica* were convertible; but he speaks of it in the concrete, *Romana Fides,* i. e. Romanorum Fides, quæ laudata fuit ab Apostolo, &c. Rom. i. 8. — S. Hieron. Apol. cont. Ruffin. lib. iii. [Op., tom. iv. par. ii. col. 449. ed. Benedict.] That is, that faith which was then at Rome when S. Paul commended it. But the Apostle's commending of it in the Romans at one time, passes no deed of assurance that it shall continue worthy of commendations among the Romans through all times.

[h] [Hi sunt unitatis divisores, inimici pacis, charitatis expertes, vanitate tumentes, placentes sibi, et magni in oculis suis, ignorantes Dei justitiam, et sua volentes constituere. Et] quæ major superbia, quam ut unus homo toti congregationi judicium suum præferat; tanquam ipse solus habeat spiritum Dei! [idololatriæ scelus est non acquiescere, et quasi peccatum ariolandi repugnare.]—S. Bernard. Serm. iii. de Resurrect. [fol. 35. col. 2. D. ed. Paris. 1551.]

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one thing for a private man, *judicium suum præferre,* to prefer and so follow his private judgment before the whole congregation, which is indeed *lepra proprii consilii,* as S. Bernard calls it, "the proud leprosy of the private spirit;" and quite another thing for an intelligent man, and in some things unsatisfied, modestly to propose his doubts even to the Catholic Church. And much more may a whole national Church, nay, the whole body of the Protestants, do it. And for S. Augustine, the place alleged out of him is a known place; and he speaks indeed of the whole Catholic Church; and he says,[i] and he says it truly, "It is a part of most insolent madness for any man to dispute, whether that be to be done, which is usually done in, and through, the whole Catholic Church of Christ." Where, first, here is not a word of the Roman Church, but of that which is *tota per orbem,* "all over the world," Catholic, which Rome never yet was.

A. C. p. 56. Secondly, A. C. applies this to the Roman faith, whereas S. Augustine speaks there expressly of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, and particularly about the manner of offering upon Maundy-Thursday,[k] whether it be in the morning, or after supper, or both. Thirdly, it is manifest by the words themselves, that S. Augustine speaks of no matter of faith there, Roman nor Catholic. For *frequentat,* and *faciendum,* are for "things done, and to be done,"[l] not

[i] [Prima ergo inquisitio tua, quæm in commonitorio tuo posuisti, ex quo trium istorum generum sit, attende. Quæris enim his verbis: Quid per quintam feriam ultimæ hebdomadis Quadragesimæ fieri debeat, an offerendum sit mane, et rursus post cœnam, propter illud quod dictum est, *Similiter postquam cœnatum est:* an jejunandum, et post cœnam tantummodo offerendum: an etiam jejunandum, et post oblationem, sicut facere solemus, cœnandum? Ad hoc itaque ita respondeo, ut quid horum sit faciendum, si divinæ Scripturæ præscribit auctoritas, non sit dubitandum quin ita facere debeamus ut legimus, ut jam non quomodo faciendum, sed quomodo sacramentum intelligendum sit, disputemus.] Similiter etiam, si quid horum tota per orbem frequentat Ecclesia. Nam et hinc quin ita faciendum sit disputare, insolentissimæ insaniæ est.—S. Augustin. Epist. cxviii. cap. 5. [Epist. liv. seu, ad inquisitiones Januarii, lib. i. Op., tom. ii. col. 126. B.]

[k] Quæris quid per quintam feriam ultimæ hebdomadis Quadragesimæ fieri debeat, an offerendum sit mane? &c.—S. Augustin. ibid.

[l] And so Bellarmine most expressly. But then he adds, [Secunda regula est: Quando universa Ecclesia aliquid servat, quod nemo constituere potuit, nisi Deus, quod tamen nusquam invenitur scriptum, necesse est dicere, ab ipso Christo et Apostolis ejus traditum. Ratio est similis superiori: nam] Ecclesia universa non solum non potest errare in credendo, sed nec in operando, ac præsertim in ritu et cultu divino: [recteque Augustinus Epist. 118. &c.] — [Bellarmin.] de verbo Dei, lib. iv. cap. 9. § 3. [Op., tom. i. col. 193. B.] And if this be true, what is it to Rome?

for things believed, or to be believed. So here is not one word for the Roman faith in either of these places. And after this, I hope you will the less wonder at A. C.'s boldness. Lastly, a right sober man may, without the least touch of insolence or madness, dispute a business of religion with the Roman either Church or prelate, (as all men know Irenæus did with Victor,[m]) so it be with modesty, and for the finding out or confirming of truth, free from vanity and purposed opposition against even a particular church. But in any other way to dispute the whole Catholic Church, is just that which S. Augustine calls it, "insolent madness." SECTION XXI.

V.—But now were it so, that the Church of Rome were orthodox in all things, yet the faith, by the Jesuit's leave, is not simply to be called the Roman, but the Christian and the Catholic, faith. And yet A. C. will not understand this; but Roman and Catholic, whether Church or faith, must be one and the same with him; and therefore infers, "that there can be no just cause to make a schism or division from the whole Church: for the whole Church cannot universally err in doctrine of faith." That the "whole Church" cannot "universally" err in the doctrine of faith, is most true; and it is granted by divers Protestants:[n] so you will but under- A. C. p. 56.

[m] [φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ, πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος . . . . τῷ γε μὲν Βίκτορι προσηκόντως, ὡς μὴ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας, πλεῖστα ἕτερα παραινεῖ, κ. τ λ.]—Euseb. [Eccl. Hist.] lib. v. cap. 24. [apud Hist. Eccl. Script. tom. i. p. 245. ed. Reading.] Et, [ἕως ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος Βίκτωρ, ἄμετρα θερμανθεὶς, ἀκοινωνησίαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίταις ἀπέστειλεν· ἐφ' ᾧ γενομένῳ Εἰρηναῖος . . . . τοῦ Βίκτορος δι' ἐπιστολῆς γενναίως κατέδραμεν, μεμψάμενος μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν θερμότητα, κ. τ. λ.] — Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 22. [ibid. tom. ii. p. 292.]

[n] Quæstio est, an Ecclesia totalis totaliter considerata, i.e. pro omnibus simul electis, dum sunt membra militantis Ecclesiæ, possint errare, vel in tota fide, vel in gravi aliquo fidei puncto? Et respondemus simpliciter, id esse impossibile.—[Barthol.] Keckerm[an.] Syst. Theol. p. 387. edit. Hannoviæ, An. 1602.—[Notandum autem est, multos ex nostris tempus terere, dum probant absolute ecclesiam non posse deficere; nam] Calvinus et cæteri hæretici id concedunt: sed dicunt, intelligi debere de Ecclesia invisibili. — Bellarmin. de Eccl. milit. lib. iii. cap. 13. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 145. D.] But this exception of Bellarmine's, that the Protestants, whom, out of his liberality, he calls heretics, speak of the invisible Church, is merely frivolous. For the Church of the elect is in the Church of them that are called, and the invisible Church in the visible. Therefore, if the whole Church of the elect cannot err in fundamentals, the whole visible Church, in which the same elect are, cannot err. Now that the invisible Church of the elect is in the visible, is manifest out of S. Augustine: Ipsa est Ecclesia quæ intra sagenam Dominicam cum malis piscibus natat, [a quibus corde semper et moribus separatur atque discedit, ut exhibeatur viro suo gloriosa, non habens maculam neque rugam.] — S. Augustin. Epist. xlviii. [xciii. cap. 9. ad Vincentium Rogatistam,

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stand its not erring in absolute fundamental doctrines. And therefore it is true also, that there can be no just cause to make a schism from the whole Church. But here is the Jesuit's cunning. The whole Church, with him, is the Roman, and those parts of Christendom which subject themselves to the Roman bishop. All other parts of Christendom are in heresy and schism, and what A. C. pleases. Nay, soft! For another Church may separate from Rome, if Rome will separate from Christ. And so far as it separates from Him and the faith, so far may another Church sever[1] from it. And this is all that the learned Protestants do or can say: and I am sure all that ever the Church of England hath either said or done. And that the whole Church cannot err in doctrines absolutely fundamental aud necessary to all men's salvation,—besides the authority of these Protestants, most of them being of prime rank,—seems to me to be clear by the

[1] [separate .... Edit. 1686.]

Op., tom. ii. col. 245. D.]—[Et ipsæ tribus sunt testimonium Israel, id est, per illas agnoscitur, quia erant] grana inter illam paleam, quando area, cum videretur, tota palea putabatur. —S. Augustin. [Enarr.] in Psalmum cxxi. [4. Op., tom. ii. col. 1390. A.] And this is proved at large by Hooker, ["And as those everlasting promises of love, mercy, and blessedness, belong to the mystical Church; even so on the other hand, when we read of any duty which the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom this doth concern is a sensibly known company. And this visible Church in like sort is but one," &c.—Hooker,] Eccl. Polit. Book iii. ch. 1. [3. Works, vol. i. p. 427. ed. Keble.] For else the elect or invisible Church is tied to no duty of Christianity. For all such duties are required of the Church, as it is visible, and performed in the Church, as it is visible. And Dr. Field speaks as plainly: "[As therefore] we hold it impossible the Church should ever by apostasy and misbelief wholly depart from God, [in proving whereof, Bellarmine (de Eccl. mil. lib. iii. cap. 13.) confesseth his fellows have taken much needless pains, seeing no man of our profession thinketh any such thing;] so we hold that it never falleth into any heresy. So that he is as much to be blamed for idle and needless busying himself in proving, That the visible Church never falleth into heresy, which we most willingly grant."—Field, of the Church. Book iv. chap. 2. [p. 345. ed. Oxford. 1635.]—"Touching the Church, as it comprehendeth only the believers that now are, [and presently live in the world, it is most certain] and [agreed upon, that] in things necessary to be known [and believed] expressly [and distinctly, it never is ignorant, much less doth err.]"—[Field.] ibid.—And Bellarmine himself adds; Calvinus [igitur] dicit istam propositionem, *Ecclesia non potest errare*, esse veram, si intelligatur cum duplici restrictione. Prima est, si non proponat dogmata extra Scripturam, &c. (And indeed Calvin doth say so, lib. iv. cap. 8. § 13.) Secunda [restrictio] est, si intelligatur de sola Ecclesia universali, non autem [extendatur ad episcopos, qui sunt Ecclesia] repræsentative, [ut nostri loquuntur.] — Bellarmin. de Eccl. milit. lib. iii. cap. 14. § 2, 3. [Op., tom. ii. col. 148. C.] And I hope it is as good, and a better, restriction in Calvin, to say the Catholic Church cannot err, if it keep to the Scripture; than for Bellarmine to say, The particular Church of Rome cannot err, because of the Pope's residing there; or the Pope cannot err, if he keep his chair; which yet he affirms. —De Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 4. § 2. [Op., tom. i. col. 812. A. ubi sup. p. 4. note f.]

promise of Christ, "That the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Whereas most certain it is, that the gates of hell prevail very far against it, if the whole militant Church, universally taken, can err from, or in, the foundation; but then this power of not erring is not to be conceived as if it were in the Church, *primo et per se*, "originally or by any power it hath of itself:" for the Church is constituted of men, and *humanum est errare*, "all men can err." But this power is in it, partly by the virtue of this promise of Christ: and partly by the matter which it teacheth, which is the unerring word of God, so plainly and manifestly delivered to her, as that it is not possible she should universally fall from it, or teach against it in things absolutely necessary to salvation. Besides, it would be well weighed, whether to believe or teach otherwise, will not impeach the article of the Creed concerning the "Holy Catholic Church," which we profess we believe. For the Holy Catholic Church, there spoken of, contains not only the whole militant Church on earth, but the whole triumphant also in heaven. For so S. Augustine[o] hath long since taught me. Now if the whole Catholic Church in this large extent be holy, then certainly the whole militant Church is holy, as well as the triumphant, though in a far lower degree; inasmuch as all sanctification, all holiness, is imperfect in this life,[p] as well in churches as in men. Holy then the whole militant Church is. For that which the Apostle speaks of Abraham, is true of the Church, which is a body collective made up of the spiritual seed of Abraham: "If the root be holy, so are the branches." Well, then the whole militant Church is holy; and so we believe. Why, but will it not follow then, that the whole militant Church cannot possibly err in the

SECTION XXI.

Matt. xvi. 18.

Rom. xi. 16.

[o] [Rectus itaque confessionis ordo poscebat, ut Trinitati subjungeretur] Ecclesia, [tanquam habitatori domus sua, et Deo templum suum, et conditori civitas sua. Quæ] tota hic accipienda est, non solum ex parte qua peregrinatur in terris, [a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudans nomen Domini, et post captivitatem vetustatis cantans canticum novum:] verum etiam ex illa parte quæ in cœlis [semper, ex quo condita est, cohæsit Deo, nec ullum malum sui casus experta est.] — S. Augustin. Enchiridion, cap. lvi. [Op., tom. vi. col. 217. D.]

[p] [Nec quasi ex toto sanctus debet quis de altero judicare: quia scriptum est in Evangelio, Christo dicente, Nolite judicare, &c.: maxime cum] nemo ex toto sanctus [poterit inveniri.—S.] Optat. [Milevit. de schism. Donatist.] contra Parmen. lib. vii. [cap. 2. Op., p. 103. ed. Dupin.]

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foundations of the faith? That she may err in superstructures and deductions, and other by and unnecessary truths, if her curiosity or other weakness carry her beyond, or cause her to fall short, of her rule, no doubt need be made. But if she can err either from the foundation, or in it, she can be no longer holy, and that article of the Creed is gone. For if she can err quite from the foundation, then she is nor Holy, nor Church, but becomes an infidel. Now this cannot be: for all divines, ancient and modern, Romanists and Reformers, agree in this, That the whole militant Church of Christ cannot fall away into general apostasy.[q] And if she err in the foundation, that is, in some one or more fundamental points of faith, then she may be a church of Christ still, but not holy, but becomes heretical; and most certain it is that no assembly, be it never so general, of such heretics, is, or can be, holy.[r] Other errors, that are of a meaner alloy, take not holiness from the Church; but these, that are died in grain, cannot consist with holiness, of which faith in Christ is the very foundation. And therefore, if we will keep up our creed, the whole militant Church must be still holy. For if it be not so still, then there may be a time, that *falsum* may *subesse fidei Catholicæ*, "that falsehood," and that in a high degree, in the very article, "may be the subject of the Catholic faith;" which were no less than blasphemy to affirm: for we must still believe the "Holy

[q] Dum Christus orat in excelso, navicula, id est Ecclesia, turbatur fluctibus in profundo. [Quia insurgunt fluctus, potest ipsa navicula turbari:] sed quia Christus orat, non potest mergi. [Naviculam quippe istam, fratres, Ecclesiam cogitate; turbulentum mare, hoc sæculum.]—[Pseudo-] S. Augustin. Serm. de verbis Domini, xiv. cap. 2. [Eracl. Presbyt. Serm. in Appendic. ad S. Augustin. Sermones: Serm. lxxii. de verbis Evang. Matth. xiv. 24. apud Op., S. Augustin. tom. v. app. col. 132. B.]—Et Bellarmin. de Eccl. milit. lib. iii. cap. 13. [Op., tom. ii. col. 145. D. ubi sup. p. 155. note [m].] — [Ergo quoties audimus armari Christum æterna potestate, meminerimus hoc] præsidio Christi fulciri Ecclesiæ perpetuitatem: ut inter turbulentas agitationes [quibus assidue vexatur, inter graves] et formidabiles motus, [qui innumeras clades minantur,] salva tamen maneat. —Calvin. Institut. lib. ii. cap. 15. § 3. [Op., tom. viii. p. 127.]—[Denique] ipsa Symboli dispositione admonemur perpetuam residere in Ecclesia Christi [delictorum gratiam: quod Ecclesiæ velut constitutæ] remissio peccatorum [adhuc subjungitur.] — Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. cap. 1. § 27. [Op., tom. viii. p. 277.] Now remission of sins cannot be perpetual in the Church, if the Church itself be not perpetual. But the Church itself cannot be perpetual, if it fall away.

[r] [*Et non est Spiritus in eis.* Notandum quod et in isto capitulo, ventus et spiritus, uno apud Hebræos nomine appellatur רוח] Spiritum [autem] sanctificationis [vocat, qui] in hæreticorum mentibus non potest inveniri.—S. Hieron. [lib. ii. Comment.] in Jerem. Proph. [cap.] x. [Op., tom. iii. col. 579.]

Catholic Church." And if she be not still holy, then at that time when she is not so, we believe a falsehood under the article of the Catholic Faith. Therefore a very dangerous thing it is to cry out in general terms, that the whole Catholic militant Church can err, and not limit nor distinguish in time: that it can err indeed, for ignorance it hath, and ignorance can err; but err it cannot, either by falling totally from the foundation, or by heretical error in it. For the holiness of the Church consists as much, if not more, in the verity of the faith, as in the integrity of manners taught and commanded in the doctrine of faith. SECTION XXI.

VI.—Now in this discourse, A. C. thinks he hath met with me: for he tells me, "that I may not only safely grant, that Protestants made the division that is now in the Church, but further also; and that with a safe confidence, as one did,—was it not you?" saith he,—"That it was ill done of those who first made the separation." Truly I do not now remember whether I said it or no. But, because A. C. shall have full satisfaction from me, and without any tergiversation, if I did not say it then, I do say it now, and most true it is, That it was ill done of those, whoever they were, that first made the separation. But then A. C. must not understand me of actual only, but of causal, separation. For, as I said before,[8] the schism is theirs, whose the cause of it is. And he makes the separation, that gives the first just cause of it; not he, that makes an actual separation upon a just cause preceding. And this is so evident a truth, that A. C. cannot deny it; for he says, it is "most true." Neither can he deny it in this sense, in which I have expressed it; for his very assertion against us, though false, is in these terms, That we gave the first cause. Therefore he must mean it of causal, not of actual, separation only. A. C. p. 56. A. C. p. 56.

VII.—But then, A. C. goes on and tells us, "that after this breach was made, yet the Church of Rome was so kind and careful to seek the Protestants, that she invited them publicly with safe conduct to Rome, to a General Council, freely to speak what they could for themselves." Indeed I think the Church of Rome did carefully seek the Protestants; but I doubt it was to bring them within their net. And she A. C. p. 57.

[8] Sect. xxi. No. 1. [ubi sup. p. 150.]

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invited them to Rome:—a very safe place, if you mark it, for them to come to, just as the lion in the apologue[t] invited the fox to his own den. Yea, but there was "safe conduct" offered too? Yes, "conduct" perhaps, but not "safe;" or safe perhaps for going thither, but none for coming thence. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum.* Yea, but it should have been to a "General Council?" Perhaps so: but was the "conduct safe," that was given for coming to a Council, which they call General, to some others before them? No sure: John Huss, and Jerome of Prague,[u] burnt for all their safe conduct. And so long as the Jesuits[x] write and maintain, "that faith given

[t] Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta *Leoni*
Respondit, referam: Quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.
Horat. Epist. i. 1. [73.] ex Æsopo.

[u] Though I cannot justify all, which these two men said, yet, safe conduct being given, that public faith ought not to have been violated.

[x] [His positis, quæstio est, An quando Catholicus princeps, sive sæcularis sit, sive ecclesiasticus, concedit hæreticis salvum conductum libere veniendi et redeundi, sive id faciat jure communi sive speciali, debeat illi servari fidem, necne:] Affirmant uno consensu omnes Catholici. — Becanus, disput. theolog. de fide hæreticis servanda, cap. xii. § 5. [apud Op., tom. ii. opuscul. theologic. tom. ii. p. 17. F. ed. Paris. 1633.] But for all this brag of (Affirmant uno consensu omnes Catholici), Becanus shuffles pitifully, to defend the Council of Constance. For thus he argues: Aiunt Joanni Hussio fidem violatam esse. Nego. A quo violata est? an a patribus Concilii Constantiensis? At patres fidem illi non dederunt. An ab Imperatore Sigismundo? Is dedit quidem, sed non violavit. Imo, nec Patres. — Ibid. cap. xii. [§ 7. p. 17. D.] But all men know that the Emperor was used by the Fathers at Constance to bring Huss thither. Sigismundus Hussum Constantiam vocat, et missis literis publica fide cavet, mense Octob. Ann. 1414, &c. Edit. in 160.—Et etiamsi primo graviter tulit Hussi incarcerationem, tamen cum diceret fidem hæreticis non esse servandam, non modo remisit offensionem, sed et primus acerbe in eum pronunciavit.—Ibid. This is a mockery. And Becanus's argument is easily returned upon himself. For if the Fathers did it in cunning, that the Emperor should give safe conduct, which themselves meant not to keep, then they broke faith; and if the Emperor knew they would not keep it, then he himself broke faith, in giving a safe conduct which he knew to be invalid. And as easy it is to answer what Becanus adds to save that Council's act, could I stay upon it. Fides hæreticis data servanda non est, sicut nec tyrannis, piratis, et cæteris publicis prædonibus, &c.—Simancas, [Pacensis Episcop. de Catholic.] Instit. [lib.] Tit. xlvi. § 52. [p. 365. ed. Romæ, 1575.] And although Becanus in the place above cited (§ 13.) confidently denies, that the Fathers at Constance decreed, No faith to be kept with heretics; and cites the words of the Council (Sess. xix.); yet there the very words themselves have it thus: [Præsens sancta synodus ex quovis salvo conductu per imperatorem, reges, et alios sæculi principes, hæreticis vel de hæresi diffamatis, concesso, nullum fidei Catholicæ vel jurisdictioni Ecclesiasticæ præjudicium generari, vel impedimentum præsentari] posse [seu debere declarat, quo minus dicto salvo conductu non obstante, liceat judici competenti et ecclesiastico, de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere, et alias contra eos debite procedere,] eos[demque] punire, [quantum justitia suadebit, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusaverint,] etiamsi de salvo conductu confisi ad locum venerint judicii, [alias non venturi: nec sic promittentem, cum

is not to be kept with heretics;" and the Church of Rome leaves this lewd doctrine uncensured, as it hath hitherto done, and no exception put in of force and violence; A. C. shall pardon us that we come not to Rome, nor within the reach of Roman power, what freedom of speech soever be

fecerit, quod in ipso est ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum.—Apud Becanum, ibid. cap. xiii. p. 18. C.]—And much more plainly Simancas, Inst. Tit. xlvi. § 52. [ibid. p. 366.] Jure igitur hæretici quidam gravissimo Concilii Constantiensis judicio legitima flamma concremati sunt, quamvis promissa illis securitas fuisset.—So they are not only Protestants, which charge the Council of Constance with this. Nor can Becanus say as he doth, Affirmant uno consensu omnes Catholici fidem hæreticis servandam esse; for Simancas denies it. And he quotes others [Jacob. Menochius, Salomonius, Thom. Aquin.] for it, which A. C. would be loth should not be accounted Catholics. But how faithfully Simancas says the one, or Becanus the other, let them take it between them and the reader be judge. In the mean time, the very Canon of the Council of Constance (Sess. xix.) is this: Quod non obstantibus salvis conductibus imperatoris, regum, &c. possit per judicem competentem de hæretica pravitate inquiri.—[In this note a reference for the facts, first, of John Huss coming to the Council of Constance at Sigismund's request; and, secondly, of Sigismund's dissatisfaction with the violation of the safe-conduct by Huss's imprisonment, is made to an authority "Edit. in 160." So it stands in Laud's own edition of the Conference, 1639. In the editions of 1673 and 1686 the reading is "Edit. in 16." which is adopted by the Clarendon Press edition of 1839. It is plain that the name of the authority has been accidentally omitted. Thorold the Jesuit (T. C.) in his answer to Laud's Conference, "Laud's Labyrinth," p. 157, observes, "But 'all men know,' says he (Laud) 'that the Emperor &c.' which he pretends to prove by a Latin authority of I know not whom; for he cites only 'Edit. in 16°.' and afterwards 'Ibid.' leaving us to guess who his author should be: but we will show his Lordship all the respect we can, and suppose he meant to cite some author of credit. What doth he say," &c. Stillingfleet, in his reply to Thorold and vindication of Laud, "Historical Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion," does not supply the reference defective in Laud. The present Editor has not been able to recover the exact words; but the following passages from writers on either side of the dispute, abundantly confirm the facts which Laud has left upon anonymous authority. Hussius damnatur fremente licet Sigismundo.—Whittaker. Respons. ad rationem IV. Campiani, Op., tom. i. p. 20. col. 2.—Sigismundus misit nobiles Bohemos conciliarios suos, ad Joannem Huss, qui ei persuaderent ut sub fide publica . . . ad Constantiam veniret.—D. Joannis Molani Sacræ Theolog. Lovan. Professor. de fide Hæreticis servanda, libri III. lib ii. cap. 1. p. 63. ed. Colon. 1584.—Cum autem eo venisset aberat Sigismundus, et mox a concilio est arrestatus (sc. Joan. Huss.) . . . Tum rex libenter eum, propter salvum conductum a se datum, captivitate liberasset. Sed a doctis responsum accepit, nullo modo deberi salvum conductum hæretico pertinaci. Ex quo agnoscens fidem a se datam, ex juris dispositione, eo se non extendere, non solum destitit, sed præterea . . . Joannem Huss degradatum ad se recepit, et in pertinacia induratum excepit, &c.—Ibid. cap. iii. p. 71.—Rex Sigismundus patriæ misertus, et cleri catholici in Bohemia, per fratrem Wenceslaum effecit, ut Joannes Hus sub salvo conductu et fide publica ipsius Sigismundi regis Constantiam in concilium mitteretur . . . . Quem (Hussum sc.) apparitores Papæ et Cardinalium comprehendentes . . . in palatium deduxerunt. Quem rex Romanorum libenter propter salvum conductum liberasset, nisi a doctis accepisset responsum, Nullo jure deberi salvum conductum hæretico in sua hæresi persistentem.—Cochlæi Histor. Hussitarum, lib. ii. pp. 70, 74. ed. apud S. Victorem prope Moguntiam, 1549. The last citation in Cochlæus is from a work on the Council of Constance, written in German, by an eye-witness, Ulric Reichenthal.]

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promised us. For to what end freedom of speech on their part, since they are resolved to alter nothing?[y] And to what end freedom of speech on our part, if, after speech hath been free, life shall not?

A. C. p. 57. VIII.—And yet for all this, A. C. "makes no doubt, but that the Roman Church is so far from being cause of the continuance of the schism, or hindrance of the re-union, that it would yet give a free hearing with most ample safe conduct, if any hope might be given, that the Protestants would sincerely seek nothing but truth and peace." Truly A. C. is very resolute for the Roman Church, yet how far he may undertake for it, I cannot tell. But for my part, I am of the same opinion for the "continuing of the schism," that I was for the making of it; that is, that it is ill, very ill done of those, whoever they be, Papists or Protestants, that give just cause to continue a separation. But for free hearings or safe conducts, I have said enough, till that Church do not only say, but do, otherwise. And as for truth and peace, they are in every man's mouth, with you and with us; but lay they but half so close to the hearts of men, as they are common on their tongues, it would soon be better with Christendom than at this day it is, or is like to be. And for the Protestants in general, I hope they seek both truth and peace sincerely. The Church of England, I am sure, doth, and hath taught me to pray for both,[z] as I most heartily do. But what Rome doth in this, if the world will not see, I will not censure.

[y] For so much A. C. confesses, p. 45. For if they should give way to the altering of one, then why not of another, and another, and so of all? And the Trent Fathers, in a great point of doctrine being amazed, and not knowing what to answer to a Bishop of their own, yet were resolved not to part with their common error. [Hæ rationes Episcopi (sc. Minorensis,) receptam vulgo de necessitate intentionis ministri opinionem impugnantis, cæteros theologos dederant in stuporem, quid ad eas respondendum esset, nescios.] Certum tamen erat doctrinam eam non probare, sed quam antea didicissent, firmiter tenere, [veram ministri intentionem aut actis, aut potentia, esse necessariam; atque interna intentione contraria, cujuscunque modi sit species exterior, sacramentum reddi invalidum.—P. Sarpi.] Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. ii. p. 277. ed. Leyd. 1622. [p. 192. ed. August. Trinobant. 1620.]

[z] "Beseeching God to inspire continually the Universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord." —["Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, &c. So fetch them home, blessed Lord, to Thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one flock under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord," &c.] In the prayer for the militant Church; and in the third collect on Good-Friday.

IX.—And for that, which A. C. adds, "that such a free hearing is more than ever the English Catholics could obtain, though they have often offered and desired it, and that but under the prince's word; and that no answer hath, nor no good answer can be given:"—and he cites Campian for it:—how far, or how often this hath been asked by the English Romanists, I cannot tell, nor what answer hath been given them. But surely Campian was too bold, and so is A. C. too, to say, *Honestum responsum nullum*, "no good answer" can be given.[a] For this, I think, is a very good answer, That the Kings and the Church of England had no reason to admit of a public dispute with the English Romish clergy, till they shall be able to show it, under the seal or powers of Rome, that that Church will submit to a third, who may be an indifferent judge between us and them, or to such a General Council as is after mentioned.[b] And this is an honest, and I think, a full answer. And without this all disputation must end in clamour; and therefore the more public, the worse; because as the clamour is the greater, so perhaps will be the schism too.

Section XXII.

A. C. p. 57.

F. Moreover he said, he would ingenuously acknowledge, that the corruption of manners in the Romish Church was not a sufficient cause to justify their departing from it. [A.C.p.55.]

B. I would I could say you did as ingenuously repeat, as I did confess. For I never said that corruption of manners was, or was not, a sufficient cause to justify their departure. How could I say this, since I did not grant that § 22.

[a] [Anno præterito . . . interiorem in Angliam ubi penetrassem, nihil vidi familiarius, quam inusitata supplicia; nihil certius quam incerta pericula . . . autographon apud me habui, ut mecum, si caperer, caperetur. Exemplum ejus apud amicum deposui, quod, me quidem nesciente, pluribus communicatum est. Adversarii publicatam schedulam atrociter acceperunt, cum cætera tum illud invidiosissime criminantes, quod unus omnibus in hoc religionis negotio certamen obtulissem; quanquam solus in acie non eram futurus, si fide publica disputassem. Responderunt postulatis meis *Hanmerus* et *Charcus*. Quid tamen? Otiose omnia. Nullum enim responsum, præter unum, honeste dabunt, quod nunquam dabunt: *Conditiones amplectimur: Regina spondet: Advola.* Interea clamant isti: sodalitium tuum, seditiones tuas, arrogantiam tuam, proditorem, sine dubio, proditorem. Ridicule.]—[Edmund.] Campian. [doctissimis academicis Oxon. et Cantabrig. in] præf. præfix. [Decem] Ration[ibus propositis in causa fidei: apud Opuscul., pp. 12, 13. ed. Antverp. 1631.]

[b] Sect. xxvi. No. 1.

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they did depart, otherwise than is before expressed?[c] There is difference between departure and causeless thrusting from you; for out of the Church is not in your power (God be thanked) to thrust us: think on that. And so much I said expressly then. That which I did ingenuously confess, was this: "That corruption in manners only is no sufficient cause to make a separation in the Church:"[d] nor is it. It is a truth agreed on by the Fathers, and received by divines of all sorts, save by the Cathari, to whom the Donatist and the Anabaptist after accorded: and against whom Calvin disputes it strongly.[e] And S. Augustine is plain: "There are bad fish in the net of the Lord, from which there must be ever a separation in heart and in manners; but a corporal separation must be expected at the sea-shore, that is, the end of the world."[f] And the best fish that are, must not tear and break the net, because the bad are with them. And this is as ingenuously confessed for you, as by me. For if corruption in manners were a just cause of actual separation of one church from another, in that catholic body of Christ, the Church of Rome hath given as great cause as any; since, as Stapleton grants, "there is scarce any sin that can be thought by man, heresy only excepted, with which that see hath not been foully stained, especially from eight hundred years after Christ."[g] And he need not except heresy, into

[c] Sect. xxi. No. 6. [ubi sup. p. 159.]

[d] Modo ea, quæ ad cathedram pertinent, recta præcipiant.—S. Hier. Ep. 236. [?]

[e] [Tales olim erant Cathari, et . . . Donatistæ. Tales hodie sunt ex Anabaptistis nonnulli, qui supra alios volunt videri profecisse . . . peccant . . . quod offensioni suæ modum statuere nesciunt. Nam ubi Dominus clementiam exigit, omissa illa, totos se immoderatæ severitati tradunt. Quia enim non putant esse Ecclesiam, ubi non est solida vitæ puritas et integritas, scelerum odio a legitima ecclesia discedunt, dum a factione improborum declinare se putant. Allegant Ecclesiam Christi sanctam esse. Verum, ut simul intelligant esse ex bonis et malis permixtam, illam ex ore Christi parabolam audiant, in qua reti comparatur, &c.—Calvin.] Instit. lib. iv. cap. i. § 13. &c. [Op., tom. viii. p. 274.]

[f] [S. Augustin.] Epist. xlviii. [xciii. &c. ubi sup. p. 155. note n.] A malis piscibus corde semper et moribus separantur, &c. Corporalem [autem] separationem in littore maris, hoc est, in fine sæculi [Ecclesia] expectat, [corrigens quos potest, tolerans quos corrigere non potest.]

[g] [Decimo, ad reliquas omnes vexationes accesserunt enormia et horrenda Rom. pontificum peccata atque flagitia.] Vix [enim] ullum peccatum, sola hæresi excepta, cogitari potest, quo illa sedes turpiter maculata non fuerit, maxime ab anno 800 [et infra. Et tamen contra tot persecutiones externas et internas, sibi quasi succedentes, post tot hæreses, tot schismata, tot domesticas calamitates, tot et tanta Romanæ curiæ peccata . . . manet et stat Romana sedes &c.—Stapleton.] Relect. Controv. Controv. 1. [de Ecclesia in se.] Quæst. v. Art. 3. [Op., tom. i. p. 597. D.]

which Biel grants it possible the bishops of that see may fall.[h] And Stella[i] and Almaine grant it freely, that some of them did fall, and so ceased to be heads of the Church, and left Christ, God be thanked, at that time of His vicar's defection, to look to His cure Himself. SECTION XXIII. Eph. i. 23.

℣. But, saith [said] he, besides corruption of manners, there were also[1] errors in doctrine . . . A. C. p. 55. [1] [also . . . *caret* A. C.]

℟. This I spake indeed. And can you prove that I spake not true in this? But I added, though here again you are pleased to omit it, "that some of the errors of the Roman Church were dangerous to salvation." For it is not every light error in disputable doctrine and points of curious speculation, that can be a just cause of separation in that admirable body of Christ, which is His Church, or of one member of it from another. For He gave His natural body to be rent and torn upon the cross, that His mystical body might be one. And S. Augustine infers upon it, "that he is no way partaker of divine charity, that is an enemy to this unity."[k] Now, what errors in doctrine may give just cause of § 23.

[h] [Veruntamen etsi papa, tanquam homo viator, nondum in gratia confirmatus, quandoque deviat: quoniam, teste Chrysostomo, (seu pot. auctore anonymo op. imperfect. in Matth.) Non loca hominem sanctificant, sed homo locum; (Decret. par. 1. Distinct. xl. cap. 12. *Multi:* Neque sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum: ut ait Hieronym. (ad Heliodor. 1.) eadem distinct. cap. 2. *Non est facile:* . . . Non tamen capitis dignitatem amittit, nisi in hæresim lapsus extra ecclesiam fieret: eadem distinct. cap. 6. (ex dictis Bonifacii,) *Si Papa* . . . cunctos ipse Papa judicaturus a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius.]—Gabr. Biel. Canon. Miss. [Expos.] Lect. xxiii. [fol. xxxii. col. 4. ed. Johan. Cleyn. Lugd. 1514.]

[i] [Hoc enim verbum, (sc. Ego rogavi pro te &c.) non dixit Christus Petro tanquam privatæ personæ, quia Petrus peccavit post hæc verba, et fides in eo defecit, et multi pontifices Romani erraverunt; sicut Marcellinus, qui idolis sacrificavit, et Liberius papa, qui Arianis consensit, et Anastasius quoque secundus propter hæresis crimen repudiatus fuit ab ecclesia, et alii etiam plurimi contra catholicam fidem tenuerunt, ut Johannes vigesimus secundus &c.]—Stella, [Enarrat.] in cap. xxii. Lucæ Evangel. [tom. ii. p. 339. col. 1. ed. Antverp. 1622.]—Et, Almain in III. Sentent. Distinct. xxiv. Q[uæst.] i. in fine. [Dubitatur sexto utrum Ecclesia Romana possit in fide errare; pro ratione notandum quod Ecclesia Romana capitur multipliciter: . . . . Tertia propositio. Ecclesia Romana secundo modo capiendo pro summo pontifice potest errare in fide: nam Leo (Liberius ?) papa erravit in fide imo fuit Arianus: Anastasius fuit depositus a sede apostolica pro hæresi . . . Nam] multæ sunt decretales hæreticæ, [sicut dicit Ocham, et firmiter hoc credo; sed non licet dogmatizare oppositum, quando sunt determinatæ, nisi manifeste constet. Quando enim est quæstio de fide, materia deferenda est ad summum pontificem, non ut ferat sententiam, sed ut concilium congreget, et concilium indefectibiliter sententiabit. — fol. lxxvii.] And so they erred as Popes.

[k] [Extra hoc corpus neminem vivificat Spiritus Sanctus: quia sicut ipse dicit Apostolus, Caritas Dei &c. (Rom. v. 5.) Non est autem particeps divinæ

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separation in this body, or the parts of it one from another, were it never so easy to determine, as I think it is most difficult, I would not venture to set it down in particular, lest, in these times of discord, I might be thought to open a door for schism; which surely I will never do, unless it be to let it out. But that there are errors in doctrine, and some of them such as most manifestly endanger salvation, in the Church of Rome, is evident to them that will not shut their eyes. The proof whereof runs through the particular points that are between us; and so is too long for this discourse. Now here A. C. would fain have a reason given him,

A. C. p. 55. "why I did endeavour to show what cause the Protestants had to make that rent or division, if I did not grant that they made it?" Why truly in this reasonable demand I will satisfy him. I did it, partly because I had granted[1] in the general, that corruption in manners was no sufficient cause of separation of one particular church from another; and therefore it lay upon me at least to name in general what was: and partly because he and his party will needs have it so, that we did make the separation; and therefore, though I did not grant it, yet amiss I thought it could not be, to declare, by way of supposition, that if the Protestants did at first separate from the Church of Rome, they had reason so to

A. C. p. 56. do. For A. C. himself confesses "that error in doctrine of the faith is a just cause of separation; so just, as that no cause is just but that." Now, had I leisure to descend into particulars, or will to make the rent in the Church wider, it is no hard matter to prove that the Church of Rome hath erred in the doctrine of faith, and dangerously too: and I doubt I shall afterwards descend to particulars, A. C.'s importunity forcing me to it.

[1] [it ... Edit. 1686.]

[A.C. p.55.] F. .... which when the general Church would not reform, it was lawful for particular Churches to reform themselves.

caritatis, qui hostis est unitatis. Non habent itaque Spiritum Sanctum, qui sunt extra Ecclesiam.]—S. Augustin. Ep. l. [lib. ad Bonifacium, seu Epist. clxxxv. Op., tom. ii. col. 663. C.]—[Quare per simplicitatem columbæ didicit Johannes, quia Ilic est qui baptizat in Spiritu Sancto, fratres mei, nisi] quia Columbæ non erant qui Ecclesiam dissipaverunt? Accipitres erant, milvi erant. Non laniat columba. [Et vides illos invidiam nobis facere quasi de persecutionibus quas passi sunt.]—S. Augustin. in Johannis Evang. [cap. i.] Tractat. v. 12. [Op., tom. iii. par. 2. col. 325. C.]

SECTION XXIV. § 24.

℣. I.—Is it then such a strange thing that a particular Church may reform itself, if the general will not? I had thought, and do so still, that in point of reformation of either manners or doctrine, it is lawful for the Church since Christ, to do as the Church before Christ did, and might do. The Church before Christ consisted of Jews and proselytes. This Church came to have a separation upon a most ungodly policy of Jeroboam's, so that it never pieced together again. To a common council to reform all, they would not come. Was it not lawful for Judah to reform herself, when Israel would not join? Sure it was, or else the prophet deceives me, that says expressly, "Though Israel transgress, yet let not Judah sin." And S. Jerome expounds it of this very particular sin of heresy and error in religion.[l] Nor can you say that Israel, from the time of the separation, was not a Church;[m] for there were true prophets in it, Elias[n] and Elisæus,[o] and others, and "thousands that had not bowed knees to Baal." And there was salvation for these, which cannot be in the ordinary way, where there is no Church. And God threatens to "cast them away, to wander among the nations," and be no congregation, no Church. Therefore He had not yet cast them away *in non Ecclesiam*, "into no-Church." And they are expressly called "the people of the Lord" in Jehu's time, and so continued long after. Nor can you plead that Judah is your part, and the ten tribes ours, as some of you do; for

1 Kings xii. 27.

Hos. iv. 15.

1 Kings xix. 18.

Hos. ix. 17.

2 Kings ix. 6.

[l] Super hæreticis prona intelligentia est, [ad quos, vel de quibus, dicitur, Si fornicaris tu Israel, &c.]—S. Hieron. [Comment. lib. i. in Osee prophet. cap. iv. 15. Op., tom. iii. col. 1264.]

[m] Nec tamen [omni modo] cessavit Deus [non solum illum regem (sc. Hieroboam), verum etiam successores ejus et impietatis imitatores,] populumque ipsum arguere per prophetas. Nam ibi extiterunt magni illi et insignes prophetæ, [qui etiam mirabilia multa fecerunt,] Elias, et Elisæus [discipulus ejus.]—S. Augustin. de civitate Dei, lib. xvii. cap. 22. [Op., tom. vii. col. 406. B.]—[Non enim tantus pietatis fervor de subito totus concidisse credi potest, ut diminui solum ac defervescere paulo evidentius tunc cœpisse. Ita tamen ut qui tot illis difficultatibus victi, a Juda Judaicisque solennitatibus abstinentes, Jehovam non amplius requirebant, tamen non adduci posse existimem ut eum cum Jeroboamo post tergum projicerent, ut] nomen cultumque Ejus [et ipsi et eorum sive exemplo, sive hortamentis et imitatione,] multi [alii, quamvis in schismate, aut verius nec schismati consentientes, coram vitulis adorantes licet,] religiose intra se haberent. De quo numero, eorumve posteris, septem illa millia [vivorum] fuisse statuo, qui in persecutione sub [rege] Achabo Deum sibi ab idolatria immunes reservasse, [quosque] genua ante Baal non flexisse, [scriptum est, 3 Reg. xix. 18.]—Franc. Moncæus, de vitulo aureo, lib. i. cap. 12. [apud Criticos Sacros, tom. ix. sive Tractat. Biblicor. tom. ii. col. 4456. ed. Londin. 1660.]

[n] 1 Kings xvii. sub Achabo.

[o] 2 Kings iii. sub Jehoram filio Achabi.

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if that be true, you must grant that the multitude and greater number is ours: and where, then, is Multitude, your numerous note of the Church? For the ten tribes were more than the two. But you cannot plead it: for certainly if any "calves" be set up, they are in Dan and in Bethel—they are not ours.

II.—Besides, to reform what is amiss in doctrine or manners, is as lawful for a particular Church, as it is to publish and promulgate any thing that is catholic in either. And your question, *Quo judice?* lies alike against both. And yet I think it may be proved that the Church of Rome, and that as a particular Church, did promulgate an orthodox truth, which was not then catholicly admitted in the Church; namely, the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. If she erred in this fact, confess her error; if she erred not, why may not another particular Church do as she did? A learned schoolman of yours saith she may: "The Church of Rome needed not to call the Grecians to agree upon this truth, since the authority of publishing it was in the Church of Rome, especially since it is lawful for every particular Church to promulgate that which is catholic."[p] Nor can you say he means "catholic," as fore-determined by the Church in general; for so this point, when Rome added *Filioque* to the Creed of a General Council, was not. And how the Grecians were used in the after-Council, such as it was, of Florence, is not to trouble this dispute; but "catholic" stands there for that which is so in the nature of it, and fundamentally. Nor can you justly say, that the Church of Rome did, or might do, this, by the Pope's authority over the Church. For suppose he have that, and that his sentence be infallible,—I say, suppose both, but I give neither,—yet neither his authority, nor his infallibility, can belong unto him, as the particular Bishop of that see, but as the ministerial head of the whole Church.[q] And you are all so lodged in this, that Bellarmine professes he can neither

[p] Non oportuit ad hoc eos vocare, quum auctoritas fuerit publicandi apud Ecclesiam Romanam, præcipue cum unicuique etiam particulari Ecclesiæ liceat, id, quod catholicum est, promulgare: [propter aliquam necessitatem, per cantum et legendas publicas.] — Alb[ert.] Magn. in I. [Sentent.] Dist[inct.] xi. A[rtic.] 9.

[q] Non errare, convenit Papæ, ut est Caput.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. lib. iv. cap. 3. [Op., tom. i. col. 805. C.]

tell the year when, nor the Pope under whom, this addition was made.[r] A particular Church then, if you judge it by the school of Rome, or the practice of Rome, may publish any thing that is catholic, where the whole Church is silent; and may therefore reform any thing that is not catholic, where the whole Church is negligent, or will not.

III.—But you are as jealous of the honour of Rome, as Cappellus[s] is, who is angry with Baronius about certain canons in the second Milevitan Council, and saith "that he considered not of what consequence it was, to grant to particular Churches the power of making canons of faith, without consulting the Roman see, which," as he saith, and you with him, "was never lawful, nor ever done." But suppose this were so, my speech was not "not consulting," but "in case of neglecting or refusing;" or when the difficulty of time and place, or other circumstances, are such, that a General Council cannot be called, or not convene.[t] For that the Roman see must be consulted with, before any reformation be made, first, most certain it is, Capellus can never prove; and secondly, as certain, that were it proved and practised, we should have no reformation. For it would be long enough before the Church should be cured, if that see alone should be her physician, which in truth is her disease.

IV.—Now, if for all this you will say still, that a Provincial Council will not suffice, but we should have borne

[r] Bellarmin. de Christo, lib. ii. cap. 21. [Op., tom. i. col. 351. A, B.] Quando autem [additum sit ad symbolum illud *Filioque*, non est plane certum.... Denique certum est Nicolao I. additionem hanc multo esse antiquiorem. ... Et quamvis non possimus certe notare annum, aut pontificem certum, tamen videtur omnino hoc tempore (sc. paulo post annum Domini 600.) id esse factum.] So you cannot find records of your own truths, which are far more likely to be kept: but when errors are crept in, we must be bound to tell the place and the time, and I know not what, of their beginnings, or else they are not errors. As if some errors might not want a record, as well as some truth.

[s] Omnino recte, nisi excepisset [ab hac censura sua octo Canones contra Pelagium, et vigesimum secundum de appellationibus ad transmarina, quos in secunda synodo Milevitana constitutos fuisse, arbitratus est. Neque] consideravit, quanti referat concedere ecclesiis particularibus jus condendorum canonum de fide, inconsulta Romana sede; quod nunquam licuit, nunquam factum est.—Cappell. de Appellat. Eccl. Africanæ, cap. ii. No. 12. [pp. 30, 31. ed. Romæ, 1722.]

[t] Rex confitetur se vocasse Concilium tertium Toletanum; quia decursis retro temporibus hæresis imminens in tota Ecclesia Catholica agere synodica negotia denegavit, &c. —Concil. Toletan. III. Can. i. [This, as the context shows, is not one of the canons, but the speech of King Reccaredus on the opening of the Council.—Concil. tom. v. col. 997. D.]

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with things till the time of a General Council, First, it is true, a General Council, free and entire, would have been the best remedy, and most able for a gangrene that had spread so far, and eaten so deep into Christianity. But what? Should we have suffered this gangrene to endanger life and all, rather than be cured in time by a physician of a weaker knowledge and a less able hand? Secondly, We live to see since, if we had stayed and expected a General Council, what manner of one we should have had, if any. For that at Trent was neither general nor free: and for the errors which Rome had contracted, it confirmed them; it cured them not. And yet I much doubt, whether ever that Council, such as it was, would have been called, if some provincial and national synods, under supreme and regal power, had not first set upon this great work of reformation; which I heartily wish had in all places been as orderly and happily pursued, as the work was right Christian and good in itself. But human frailty, and the heats and distempers of men, as well as the cunning of the devil, would not suffer that. For even in this sense also, James i. 20. "the wrath of man doth not accomplish the will of God." But I have learned not to reject the good which God hath wrought, for any evil which men may fasten to it.

V.—And yet if, for all this, you think it is better for us to be blind than to open our own eyes, let me tell you, very grave and learned men, and of your own party, have taught me, that when the universal Church will not, or for the iniquities of the times cannot, obtain and settle a free General Council, it is lawful, nay sometimes necessary, to reform gross abuses by a national, or a provincial. For, besides Alb. Magnus, whom I quoted before,[u] Gerson, the learned and devout chancellor of Paris, tells us plainly, "that he will not deny but that the Church may be reformed by parts; and that this is necessary, and that to effect it, Provincial Councils may suffice; and, in some things, Diocesan."[x] And again, "Either you should reform all

[u] Sect. xxiv. No. 2. [ubi sup. p. 168. note r.]

[x] Nolo tamen dicere, quin in multis partibus possit Ecclesia per suas partes reformari: immo hoc necesse esset; sed ad hoc agendum sufficerent concilia provincialia, [et ad quædam satis essent concilia diœcesana et synodalia, &c.]—Johan. Gerson. tractat. de Concilio generali unius obedientiæ,

estates of the Church in a General Council, or command them to be reformed in Provincial Councils."[y] Now Gerson lived about two hundred years since. But this right of provincial synods, that they might decree in causes of faith, and in cases of reformation, where corruptions had crept into the sacraments of Christ, was practised much above a thousand years ago by many, both national and provincial, synods. For the Council at Rome[z] under Pope Sylvester, an. 324, condemned Photinus and Sabellius. (And their heresies were of high nature against the faith.) The Council at Gangra,[a] about the same time, condemned Eustathius for his condemning of marriage as unlawful. The first Council at Carthage,[b] being a provincial, condemned rebaptization much about the year 348. The Provincial Council at Aquileia,[c] in the year 381, in which S. Ambrose was present, condemned Palladius and Secundinus for embracing the Arian heresy. The second Council of Carthage[d] handled and decreed the belief and preaching of the Trinity; and this a little after the year 424. The Council of Milevis in Africa,[e] in which S. Augustine was present, condemned the whole course of the heresy of Pelagius, that great and bewitching heresy, in the year 416. The second Council at Orange,[f] a provincial too, handled the great controversies about grace and free-will, and set the Church right in them, in the year 444 [529.] The third Council at Toledo,[g] a

part. i. p. 222. F. [Op., tom. ii. col. 26. B. ed. Dupin.]

[y] [Quid plura? Ab Episcopis ad concilium generale venientibus de qualibet provincia, de omnibus inquirite abusivis consuetudinibus, et perniciosis ritibus, quacumque occasione in ecclesiis et hominum statibus regionum diversarum introductis, ut super deviationibus præmissis, et consimilibus,] omnes ecclesiæ status vel generali concilio reformetis, aut in conciliis provincialibus reformari mandetis, [ut de auctoritate vestra reparetur Ecclesia, et purgetur domus Dei ab immundiciis, vitiis, et erroribus universis.]—Johan. Gerson. declarat. defectuum virorum Ecclesiasticorum, par. i. p. 209. B. [Op., tom. ii. col. 317. D. ed. Dupin.]

[z] Concil. Roman. II. sub Sylvestro. —[Concil. tom. i. col. 1542. B.]

[a] Concil. Gang. Can. i.—[Concil. tom. ii. col. 421. B.]

[b] Concil. Carth. I. Can. i.—[Concil. tom. ii. col. 714. A.]

[c] Concil. Aquiliens.—[Concil. tom. ii. col. 979. C.]

[d] Concil. Carth. II. Can. i.—[Concil. tom. ii. col. 1159. B. The ordinary, but incorrect, date of this council is 397.]

[e] Quædam de causis fidei, unde nunc quæstio Pelagianorum imminet, in hoc cœtu sanctissimo primitus tractentur, &c.—Aurel. Carthaginensis [Episcop.] in Præfat. Concil. Milevit. apud Caranzam, [Summ. Concil. p. 203. ed. Duac. 1679.]

[f] Concil. Arausican. II. Can. i. ii. &c. —[Concil. tom. iv. col. 1667, et seqq.]

[g] Concil. Tolet. III.—[Concil. tom. v. col. 997. The anathemas of this council were twenty-four in number. —ibid. col. 1003—1005.]

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national one, in the year 589, determined many things against the Arian heresy, about the very prime articles of faith, under fourteen several anathemas. The fourth Council at Toledo did not only handle matters of faith for the reformation of that people, but even added also some things to the creed, "which were not expressly delivered in former creeds."[h] Nay, the bishops did not only practise this, to condemn heresies in national and provincial synods, and so reform those several places, and the Church itself by parts; but they did openly challenge this as their right and due, and that without any leave asked of the See of Rome. For in this fourth Council of Toledo, they decree, "that if there happen a cause of faith to be settled, a general, that is, a national synod of all Spain and Gallicia shall be held thereon."[i] And this in the year 643 [633]: where you see it was then Catholic doctrine in all Spain, that a national synod might be a competent judge in a cause of faith. And I would fain know, what article of the faith doth more concern all Christians in general, than that of *Filioque?* And yet the Church of Rome herself made that addition to the creed without a General Council, as I have showed already.[k] And if this were practised so often, and in so many places, why may not a National Council of the Church of England do the like?—as she did. For she cast off the Pope's usurpation, and, as much as in her lay, restored the King to his right. That appears by a book subscribed by the bishops in Henry the Eighth's time;[l] and by the records[m] in the Archbishop's office, orderly kept and to be seen. In the Reformation which came after, our princes had their parts, and the clergy theirs;[n] and to these two principally

[h] Quæ omnia in aliis Symbolis explicite tradita non sunt. — Concil. Tolet. IV. Can. i.—[Concil. tom. v. col. 1703. The words cited by Laud are not from the decree of the council; but they are part of Caranza's Summary of the first Canon.—Summ. Concil. p. 388.]

[i] Statuimus, ut saltem semel in anno a nobis concilium celebretur; ita tamen, ut si causa fidei est, aut quælibet alia Ecclesiæ communis, generalis [totius] Hispaniæ et Galliciæ synodus convocetur, &c. — Concil. Tolet. IV. Can. iii.—[Concil. tom. v. col. 1704. C.]

[k] Sect. xxiv. No. 2. [ubi sup. p. 168.]

[l] The Institution of a Christian man: printed an. 1534.

[m] In Synodo Londinensi, Sess. viii. Die Veneris, xxix. Januarii, an. 1562.

[n] And so in the Reformation under Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxix.), and under Josiah (2 Kings xxiii.). And in the time of Reccaredus, King of Spain, the Reformation there proceeded thus: Quum gloriosissimus princeps omnes regiminis sui pontifices in unum

the power and direction for reformation belongs. That our princes had their parts, is manifest by their calling together of the bishops and others of the clergy, to consider of that which might seem worthy reformation. And the clergy did their part: for being thus called together by regal power, they met in the national synod of sixy-two [1562]; and the Articles there agreed on were afterwards confirmed by acts of state and the royal assent. In this synod the positive truths which are delivered are more than the polemics; so that a mere calumny it is, that we profess only a negative religion. True it is, and we must thank Rome for it, our confession must needs contain some negatives; for we cannot but deny that images are to be adored; nor can we admit maimed sacraments; nor grant prayers in an unknown tongue. And in a corrupt time or place, it is as necessary in religion to deny falsehood, as to assert and vindicate truth. Indeed, this latter can hardly be well and sufficiently done, but by the former; an affirmative verity being ever included in the negative to a falsehood. As for any error which might fall into this, as any other, reformation, if any such can be found, then I say, and it is most true; reformation, especially in cases of religion, is so difficult a work, and subject to so many pretensions, that it is almost impossible but the reformers should step too far, or fall too short, in some smaller things or other; which, in regard of the far greater benefit coming by the reformation itself, may well be passed over and borne withal. But if there have been any wilful and gross errors, not so much in opinion as in fact, sacrilege° too often pretending to reform superstition,—that is the crime of the reformers, not of the

convenire mandasset, &c. — Concil. Tolet. III. Can. i. [Concil. tom. v. col. 997. B.]—Cum convenissemus sacerdotes Domini apud urbem Toletanam, ut regiis imperiis atque jussis commoniti, &c. — Concil. Tolet. IV. in princ. apud Caranzam. [p. 388.] And both these synods did treat of matters of faith.

° [Nos eis congregandis laboravimus, cum scriptum legatis, Labores impiorum justi edent. (Prov. xiii. 22.) Sed tamen] quisquis occasione hujus legis, quam reges terræ Christo servientes ad emendandam vestram impietatem promulgaverunt, res proprias vestras cupide appetit, displicet nobis. Quisquis denique ipsas res pauperum, vel Basilicas congregationum, [quas sub nomine Ecclesiæ tenebatis, quæ omnino non debentur nisi ei ecclesiæ, quæ vera Christi Ecclesia est,] non per justitiam, sed per avaritiam, tenet, displicet nobis.— S. Augustin. Epist. xlviii. vers. finem. [Epist. xciii. ad Vincentium Rogatistam, cap. 12. Op., tom. ii. col. 251. G.]

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reformation; and they are long since gone to God to answer it, to whom I leave them.

VI.—But now before I go off from this point, I must put you in remembrance too, that I spake at that time,—and so must all that will speak of that exigent,—of the General Church, as it was for the most part forced under the government of the Roman see. And this you understand well enough; for, in your very next words, you call it the "Roman Church." Now I make no doubt, but that as the universal Catholic Church would have reformed herself, had she been in all parts freed of the Roman yoke; so while she was for the most in these Western parts under that yoke, the Church of Rome was, if not the only, yet the chief, hindrance of reformation. And then in this sense, it is more than clear, that if the Roman Church will neither reform, nor suffer reformation, it is lawful for any other particular Church to reform itself, so long as it doth it peaceably and orderly, and keeps itself to the foundation, and free from sacrilege.[p]

A. C. p. 57.

℣. I asked, *Quo judice,** did this appear to be so? Which question I asked, as not thinking it equity that Protestants in their own cause should be accusers, witnesses, and judges of the Roman Church.

* [This question the Jesuit made chiefly against that part of the ℣.'s last speech, in which he said, "there were errors in doctrine": for if the ℣. meant, as the Jesuit understood him to mean, that there were errors of doctrine of faith in the General Church, never did any lawful and competent judge so censure, neither can it so be. No power in earth or hell itself can so far prevail against the General Church of Christ, built upon a rock, as to make it, or the pastors thereof, err generally in any one point of divine truth. Christ's promises stand

[p] And this a particular Church may do; but not a schism. For a schism can never be peaceable, nor orderly, and seldom free from sacrilege. Out of which respects, it may be, as well as for the grievousness of the crime, S. Augustine calls it Sacrilegium Schismatis, de Baptismo contra Donatist. lib. i. cap. 8. [lib. ii. cap. 7. Op., tom. ix. col. 102. B. Contaminabat Cyprianum Sacrilegium schismaticorum, an non contaminabat?..... Si autem non contaminabat, quo scelere alieno possunt in unitate contaminari innocentes, si schismatis sacrilegio non possunt? Quare ergo vos separastis? Quare, cum leviora quæ fingitis fugitis, ipsum sacrilegium schismatis, quod est omnibus gravius, commisistis?—Cf. item: Denique quando aliena peccata vos perverse devitanda esse censuistis, alia vestra fecistis sacrilegum schisma populos dividendo, et sacrilegam hæresim contra Dei manifestata promissa et impleta de ecclesia toto orbe diffusa nefario spiritu sentiendo.—S. Augustin. contra Gaudent. Donatist. lib. ii. cap. 9. Op., tom. ix. col. 672. C.] For usually they go together.

(Matt. xvi. [18.] and xxviii. [20.] Luke xxii. [32.] John xiv. [16.] and xvi. [13.]), and will never permit this: no, not in Antichrist's days. Particular pastors and churches may fall into heresy or apostasy, but the whole Church cannot. It may sometime not expressly teach or know all divine truths, which afterwards it may learn by study of Scriptures and other ways: but it never did, nor can universally, by its full authority teach any thing to be divine truth, which is not; and much less anything to be a matter of faith, which is contrary to divine truth, either expressed or involved in Scriptures rightly understood. So as no reformation of faith can be needful in the General Church, but only in particular churches: in which case also, when the need is only questionable, particular pastors or churches must not take upon them to judge, and condemn others of error in faith, but, as S. Irenæus intimateth, must have recourse to that Church which hath more powerful principality, the Church of Rome, and to her Bishop, being chief pastor of the whole Church, as being successor to S. Peter, to whom Christ promised the keys (Matt. xvi. [19.]), for whom Christ prays that his faith might not fail (Luke xxii. [32.]), and whom He charged to confirm his brethren, and to feed and govern the whole flock, lambs and sheep (John xxi. [17.]), people and pastors, subjects and superiors; which he shall never refuse to do in such sort, as that this neglect shall be a just cause for any particular man or church to make a schism or separation of himself and others from the whole General Church, under pretence of reformation either of manners or of faith.

Protestants therefore did ill in first dividing themselves from the General Church, and do still ill in continuing divided from it. Neither can those Protestants be excused from intolerable pride and insolent madness, who presume to be accusers, witnesses, judges, and executioners of the sentence pronounced by themselves against the Church in General, and against the principal and mother Church, and the Bishop of Rome, which is and ought to be their judge in this case. For although it be against equity that subjects and children should be accusers, witnesses, judges and executioners against their prince and mother in any case, yet it is not absurd that in some case the prince or mother may accuse, witness, judge, and, if need be, execute justice against unjust or rebellious subjects, or evil children.—A. C. marg. note to p. 57.]

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§ 25. B. I.—You do well to tell the reason now why you asked this question; for you did not discover it at the Conference: if you had, you might then have received your answer. It is most true: no man in common equity ought to be suffered to be accuser, witness, and judge in his own cause. But is there not as little reason and equity too, that any man that is to be accused, should be the accused, and yet witness, and judge in his own cause? If the first may hold, no man shall be innocent; and if the last, none will be nocent. And what do we here with "in their own cause against the Roman Church"? Why, is it not your own, too, against the Protestant Church? And if it be a cause common to both, as certain it is, then neither part alone may be judge: if neither alone may judge, then either they must be judged by a third which stands indifferent to both,[q]—and that is the Scripture; or if there be a jealousy or doubt of the sense of the Scripture, they must either both repair to the exposition of the

[q] Sect. xxi. No. 9. [ubi sup. p. 163.]

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primitive Church, and submit to that; or both call, and submit to, a General Council, which shall be lawfully called, and fairly and freely held, with indifferency to all parties: and that must judge the difference according to Scripture, which must be their rule as well as private men's.

A. C. p. 58.

II.—And here, after some loud cry against the pride and insolent madness of the Protestants, A. C. adds, "that the Church of Rome is the principal and mother Church; and that, therefore, though it be against common equity that subjects and children should be accusers, witnesses, judges, and executioners against their prince and mother in any case, yet it is not absurd that, in some cases, the prince or mother may accuse, witness, judge, and, if need be, execute justice, against unjust and rebellious subjects, or evil children." How far forth Rome is a prince over the whole Church, or a mother of it, will come to be shewed at after. In the meantime, though I cannot grant her to be either, yet let us suppose her to be both, that A.C.'s argument may have all the strength it can have. Nor shall it force me, as plausible as it seems, to weaken the just power of princes over their subjects, or of mothers over their children, to avoid the shock of this argument. For though A. C. may tell us "it is not absurd in some cases," yet I would fain have him name any one moderate prince that ever thought it just, or took it upon him, to be accuser, and witness, and judge in any cause of moment against his subjects, but that the law had liberty to judge between them. For the great philosopher tells us, "that the chief magistrate is *custos juris*, the guardian and keeper of the law; and if of the law, then both of that equity and equality which is due unto them that are under him."[r] And even Tiberius himself, in the cause of Silanus, when Dolabella would have flattered him into more power than in wisdom he thought fit then to take to himself, he put him off thus: "No; the laws grow less where such power enlarges: nor is absolute power to be used where there may be an orderly proceeding by law."[s]

[r] ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἄρχων φύλαξ τοῦ δικαίου· εἰ δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ τοῦ ἴσου.—Aristot. Eth. [Nicom. lib. v.] cap. 6. [Op., tom. ix. p. 101. ed. Bekker.]

[s] [Ne verterent sapienter reperta, et semper placita: satis onerum prīncipibus, satis etiam potentiæ:] minui jura quotiens gliscat potestas; nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi possit.—Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. [cap. 69. ed. Brotier.]

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And for parents, it is true, when children are young, they may chastise them without other accuser or witness than themselves; and yet the children are to give them reverence. Heb. xii. 9. And it is presumed that natural affection will prevail so far with them, that they will not punish them too much. For all experience tells us, almost to the loss of education, that they punish them too little, even when there is cause.[t] Yet when children are grown up, and come to some full use of their own reason, the Apostle's rule is, "Parents, provoke not your children." Coloss. iii. 21. And if the Apostle prevail not with froward parents, there is a magistrate and a law to relieve even a son against unnatural parents, as it was in the case of T. Manlius against his over-imperious father.[u] And an express law there was among the Jews, when children were grown up and fell into great extremities, that the parents should then bring them to the magistrate, and not be too busy in such cases with their own power. Deut. xxi. 19. So suppose Rome be a prince, yet her subjects must be tried by God's law, the Scripture: and suppose her a mother, yet there is, or ought to be, remedy against her for her children that are grown up, if she forget all good nature, and turn step-dame to them.

III.—Well, the reason why the Jesuit asked the question, *Quo judice?* "Who should be judge?" he says was this; Because there is no equity in it, that the Protestants should be judges in their own cause. But now upon more deliberation A. C. tells us, as if he knew the Jesuit's mind as well as himself, (as sure I think he doth,) "that the Jesuit directed this question chiefly against that speech of mine, That there were errors in doctrine of faith, and that in the General Church, as the Jesuit understood my meaning." A. C. p. 57. The Jesuit here took my meaning right. For I confess I said there were errors in doctrine, and dangerous ones too, in the Church of Rome. I said likewise, that when the

[t] God used Samuel as a messenger against Eli for his overmuch indulgence to his sons. 1 Sam. iii. 13. And yet Samuel himself committed the very same fault concerning his own sons. 1 Sam. viii. 3—5. And this indulgence occasioned the change of the civil government, as the former was the loss of the priesthood.

[u] Crimini ei tribunus inter cætera dabat, quod filium juvenem, nullius probri compertum, extorrem urbe, domo, penatibus, foro, luce, congressu æqualium prohibitum, in opus servile, prope in carcerem, atque in ergastulum, dederit.—Liv. dec. 1. lib. vii. [cap. 4.]

Conference with Fisher. General Church could not, or would not, reform such, it was lawful for particular Churches to reform themselves. But then I added, "that the General Church (not universally taken, but in these western parts) fell into those errors, being swayed in these latter[1] ages by the predominant power of the Church of Rome, under whose government it was for the most part forced." And all men of understanding know how oft and how easily an over-potent member carries the whole with it, in any body, natural, politic, or ecclesiastical.

[1] [later... Edit. 1673.]

A. C. p. 57. IV.—Yea, but A. C. tells us, "that never any competent judge did so censure the Church; and, indeed, that no power on earth, or in hell itself, can so far prevail against the General Church as to make it err generally in any one point of divine truth, and much less to teach any thing by its full authority to be a matter of faith which is contrary to divine truth, expressed or involved in Scriptures rightly understood. And that, therefore, no reformation of faith can be needful in the General Church, but only in particular Churches." And for proof of this he cites S. Matt. xvi. and xxviii., S. Luke xxii., S. John xiv. and xvi. In this troublesome and quarrelling age, I am most unwilling to meddle with the erring of the Church in general. The Church of England is content to pass that over. And though she tells us, "That the Church of Rome hath erred even in matters of faith,"[x] yet of the erring of the Church in general she is modestly silent. But since A. C. will needs have it, that the whole Church did never generally err in any one point of faith, he should do well to distinguish before he be so peremptory. For if he mean no more than "that the whole Universal Church of Christ cannot universally err in any one point of faith simply necessary to all men's salvation," he fights against no adversary that I know, but his own fiction. For the most learned Protestants grant it.[y] But if he mean that the whole Church cannot err in any one point of divine truth in general, which, though by sundry consequences deduced

[x] Art. XIX.

[y] [Nos] si demus [illud primum,] errare non posse Ecclesiam in rebus ad salutem necessariis: hic sensus noster est, ideo hoc esse, quod abdicata omni sua sapientia, a Spiritu Sancto doceri se per verbum Dei patitur.—Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 8. § 13. [Op., tom. viii. p. 310.] And this also is our sense. Vide supra, Sect. xxi. No. 5. [p. 155.]

from the principles, is yet[1] a point of faith, and may prove dangerous to the salvation of some, which believe it and practise after it, as his words seem to import, especially if in these the Church shall presume to determine without her proper guide, the Scripture, as Bellarmine says she may, and yet not err;[z]—then, perhaps, it may be said, and without any wrong to the Catholic Church, that the whole militant Church hath erred in such a point of divine truth and of faith. Nay, A. C. confesses expressly in his very next words, A. C. p. 58. "that the whole Church may at some time not know all divine truths, which afterwards it may learn by study of Scripture, and otherwise." So, then, in A. C.'s judgment the whole militant Church may at some time not know all divine truths. Now, that which knows not all, must be ignorant of some; and that which is ignorant of some, may possibly err in one point or other; the rather, because he confesses the knowledge of it must be got by learning; and learners may mistake and err, especially where the lesson is divine truth out of Scripture, out of difficult Scripture. For were it of plain and easy Scripture that he speaks, the whole Church could not at any time be without the knowledge of it. And for aught I yet see, the whole Church militant hath no greater warrant against not erring in, than against not knowing of, the points of divine truth. For in S. John xvi. John xvi. 13. there is as large a promise to the Church of knowing all points of divine truth, as A. C., or any Jesuit, can produce for her not erring in any. And if she may be ignorant or mistaken in learning of any point of divine truth, doubtless in that state of ignorance she may both err, and teach her error; yea, and teach that to be divine truth which is not; nay, perhaps teach that as a matter of divine truth which is contrary to divine truth, always provided it be not in any point simply fundamental, of which the whole Catholic Church cannot be ignorant, and in which it cannot err, as hath before been proved.[a]

V.—As for the places of Scripture which A. C. cites to prove A. C. p. 57.

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[1] [yet made . . . Edit. 1673 and 1686.]

[z] Nostra [igitur] sententia est, Ecclesiam absolute non posse errare, nec in rebus absolute necessariis, nec in aliis, quæ credenda, vel facienda nobis proponit, sive habeantur expresse in Scripturis, sive non.—Bellarmin. de Eccl. Mil. lib. iii. cap. 14. § 4. [Op., tom. ii. col. 148. D.]

[a] Sect. xxi. No. 5. [ubi sup. p. 155.]

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that the whole Church cannot err generally in any one point of divine truth, be it fundamental or not, they are known places, all of them, and are alleged by A. C. three several times in this short tract, and to three several purposes. A. C. p. 57. Here, to prove that the Universal Church cannot err; before A. C. p. 53. this, to prove that the tradition of the present Church cannot A. C. pp. 58, and 73. err; after this, to prove that the Pope cannot err. He should have done well to have added these places a fourth time, to prove that General Councils cannot err. For so doth both Stapleton[b] and Bellarmine.[c] Sure A. C. and his fellows are hard driven, when they must fly to the same places for such different purposes: for a Pope may err, where a Council doth not; and a General Council may err, where the Catholic Church cannot. And, therefore, it is not likely that these places should serve alike for all. The first place is S. Matthew xvi. There Christ told S. Peter, and we believe it most Matt. xvi. 18. assuredly, "That hell gates shall never be able to prevail against His Church." But that is, that they shall not prevail to make the Church Catholic apostatize, and fall quite away from Christ, or err in absolute fundamentals, which amounts to as much. But the promise reaches not to this, That the Church shall never err; no, not in the lightest matters of faith. For it will not follow: Hell gates shall not prevail against the Church; Therefore hellish devils shall not tempt or assault, and batter it. And thus S. Augustine understood the place: "It may fight (yea, and be wounded too) but it cannot be wholly overcome."[d] And Bellarmine himself applies it to prove that the visible Church of Christ cannot *deficere*, "err so as quite to fall away."[e] Therefore, in his judgment, this is a true and a safe sense of this text of Scripture. But as for not erring at all, in any point of

[b] Stapleton. Relect. [Controv.] in præf. ad lectorem. [Op., tom. i. pp. 511—515.]

[c] [Concilia generalia a pontifice confirmata, errare non posse, ex scripturis demonstratur.]—Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 2. [in tit. Op., tom. ii. col. 53. C.]

[d] [Ipsa est Ecclesia sancta, Ecclesia una, Ecclesia vera, Ecclesia catholica, contra omnes hæreses pugnans:] pugnare potest, expugnari non potest.—S. Augustin. lib. de symbolo, ad catechumen. cap. vi. [Op., tom. vi. col. 554. E.]

[e] [Probare igitur volumus, Ecclesiam visibilem non posse deficere; et nomine Ecclesiæ non intelligimus unum aut alterum hominem Christianum, sed multitudinem congregatam, in qua sint prælati, et subditi. Primum, id ostenditur ex scripturis, ubi aperte nominatur Ecclesia, Matth. xvi. 18. Super hanc petram, &c.]—Bellarmin. de Eccl. Milit. lib. iii. cap. 13. § 1, 2. [Op., tom. ii. col. 145. D.]

divine truth, and so making the Church absolutely infallible, that is neither a true nor a safe sense of this scripture. And it is very remarkable, that whereas this text hath been so much beaten upon by writers of all sorts, there is no one Father of the Church for twelve hundred years after Christ, the counterfeit or partial Decretals of some Popes excepted, that ever concluded the infallibility of the Church out of this place; but her non-deficiency, that hath been, and is, justly deduced hence. And here I challenge A. C. and all that party to show the contrary, if they can. The next place of Scripture is S. Matthew xxviii., the promise of Christ that "He will be with them to the end of the world." But this, in the general voice of the Fathers of the Church, is a promise of assistance and protection, not of an infallibility, of the Church.[f] And Pope Leo himself enlarges this presence and providence of Christ to all those things which He committed to the execution of His ministers.[g] But no word of

Matt. xxviii. 21.

[f] [Sciens ergo Dominus non adversus carnem et sanguinem nobis pugnam esse, sed adversus mundi hujus potentes et nequitias spiritales, ait Evangelia consummans: Ecce Ego vobiscum &c. Adest enim: et cum fideliter invocatur, per naturam suam præsens est. Spiritus namque est omnia penetrans et continens. Non enim secundum nos corporalis est, ut cum alicubi adsit, absit aliunde: sed virtute præsenti, et se quacunque est aliquid porrigenti, cum replente omnia ejus Spiritu in omnibus sit, tamen ei qui in eum credat adsistit. Nam et tribus vel duobus in nomine suo congregatis erit præsens, et in circuitu populi sui est ex hoc nunc et usque in æternum.]—S. Hilar. [Pictav. Tractat.] in Psalmum cxxiv. [cap. 6. Op., col. 405. A. ed. Benedict.]—[Ecce Ego vobiscum &c. Id est, cum sicut oves introieritis in medium luporum, nolite de vestra infirmitate trepidare, sed de mea potestate confidite, qui vos usque ad consummationem sæculi in omni hoc opere non derelinquam: non hoc ut nihil patiamini, sed, quod multo majus est, præstiturus ut nulla sævientium crudelitate superemini. In mea enim potestate prædicabitis, &c.]—S. Prosp. [Aquitan. seu potius ignoti auctoris,] de vocat. [omn.] gentium, lib. ii. cap. 2. [inter Op., S. Prosper. p. 888. col. 2. D. ed. Paris. 1711.]—[Ut autem noverint corda fidelium habere se, unde ad supernam sapientiam spretis mundi cupiditatibus valeant elevari, spondet nobis Dominus præsentiam suam, dicens: Ecce Ego vobiscum &c. . . . Implet ergo Jesus proprietatem nominis sui: et qui ascendit in cœlos, non deserit adoptatos: qui sedet ad dexteram Patris idem totius habitator est corporis: et ipse deorsum confortat ad patientiam, qui seorsum invitat ad gloriam.]—S. Leon. Magn. Serm. ii. de Resurrect. Domini, cap. 3. [Serm. lxxii. (al. lxx.) Op., tom. i. col. 286. ed. Ballerini.]—Et, [Unde quia non deserit ecclesiam suam divina protectio, dicente Domino: Ecce ego vobiscum &c.—[Id.] Epist. xxxi. [Epist. lx. (al. xlviii.) ad Pulcheriam Augustam, Op., tom. i. col. 982.]—[Jesus igiter noster solem stare fecit, non tunc solum, sed multo magis modo in adventu suo, dum nos bellum gerimus adversus vitiorum gentes, et colluctamur adversus principes, et potestates, et rectores harum tenebrarum, adversus spiritualia nequitiæ in cœlestibus. Sol nobis justitiæ indesinenter assistit, nec deserit unquam nos, nec festinat occumbere, quia Ipse dixit: Ecce Ego vobiscum &c.]—S. Isidor. [Hispalens. Mysticorum expositiones Sacramentorum, seu, Quæst. in Vet. Test.,] in Josue cap. xii. [2. Op., tom. v. p. 486. ed. Lorenzanæ, Romæ, 1802.]

[g] [Cui utique operi incessabiliter

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infallibility is to be found there. And indeed since Christ, according to His promise, is present with His ministers in all these things, and that one and a chief of these "all" is the preaching of His word to the people; it must follow that Christ should be present with all His ministers that preach His word, to make them infallible: which daily experience tells us is not so. The third place urged by A. C. is S. Luke xxii., where the prayer of Christ will effect no more than His promise hath performed; neither of them implying an infallibility for or in the Church against all errors whatsoever. And this, almost all his own side confess, is spoken either of S. Peter's person only, or of him and his successors, or[1] both.[h] Of the Church it is not spoken, and therefore cannot prove an unerring power in it. For how can that place prove the Church cannot err, which speaks not at all of the Church? And it is observable, too, that when the divines of Paris expounded this place, that Christ here prayed for S. Peter, as he represented the whole Catholic Church, and obtained for it that the faith of the Catholic Church *nunquam deficeret*, "should never so err as quite to fall away," Bellarmine is so stiff for the Pope, that he says expressly, "This exposition of the Parisians is false," and that this text cannot be meant of the Catholic Church.[i] Not be meant of it? Then,

Luke xxii. 32.

[1] [successors both . . . Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

ipse Salvator intervenit,] nec unquam ab his abest, quæ ministris suis exequenda commisit, [dicens: Ecce Ego vobiscum &c. ut si quid per servitutem nostram bono ordine et gratulando impletur effectu, non ambigamus per Spiritum Sanctum fuisse donatum.] —S. Leon. Magn. Epist. xci. cap. 2. [Epist. cviii. (al. lxxxiii.) ad Theodorum Episcop. Forojul. Op., tom. i. col. 1174. ed. Ballerini.]

[h] Est igitur tertia [expositio vera, quod Dominus duo privilegia Petro impetraverit. Unum, ut ipse non posset unquam veram fidem amittere, quantumvis tentaretur a diabolo . . . alterum privilegium est, ut ipse tanquam pontifex non posset unquam docere aliquid contra fidem, sive, ut in sede ejus nunquam inveniretur, qui doceret contra veram fidem. Ex quibus privilegiis, primum fortasse non manavit ad posteros: at secundum sine dubio manavit ad posteros, sive successores.] — Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. lib. iv. cap. 3. § 4. Op., tom. i. col. 806. C.] He understood the place of both S. Peter and his successors.

[i] [Qui locus, (sc. Simon, Simon, ecce Satanas &c.) tribus modis exponi solet. Prima expositio est quorundam Parisiensium, quod Dominus hic oraverit pro ecclesia universali, sive pro Petro ut totius ecclesiæ figuram gerebat; et hoc impetrasse, ut fides Ecclesiæ catholicæ nunquam deficiat: quæ expositio si ita intelligeretur, ut diceret immediate oratum esse pro capite Ecclesiæ, et consequenter pro toto corpore, quod per caput repræsentatur, vera esset; sed non ita ipsi intelligunt: volunt enim pro sola Ecclesia esse oratum.] Quæ expositio falsa est. Primo, quia [Dominus unam tantum personam designavit, dicens bis: Simon, Simon, et addens toties pronomen secundæ personæ Pro *te*, Fides *tua*, et *Tu*, Fratres *tuos*.]—Bellarmin. ibid. § 1, 2. [col. 805 C.] And he says it is false because the Parisians expounded it of the Church only. Volunt enim pro sola Ecclesia esse oratum.

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certainly, it ought not to be alleged as proof of it, as here it is by A. C. The fourth place named by A. C. is S. John xiv. and the consequent place to it, S. John xvi. These places contain another promise of Christ concerning the coming of the Holy Ghost. Thus, "that the Comforter shall abide with them for ever;" that this Comforter is "the Spirit of truth;" and that this "Spirit of truth will lead them into all truth." Now this promise, as it is applied to the Church, consisting of all believers which are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh, including the Apostles, is absolute, and without any restriction.[k] For the Holy Ghost did lead them into all truth, so that no error was to be found in that Church. But as it is applicable to the whole Church militant in all succeeding times, so the promise was made with a limitation,[l] namely, that the Blessed Spirit should abide with the Church for ever, and lead it into all truth; but not simply into all curious truth—no, not in or about the faith—but into all truth necessary to salvation. And against this truth the whole Catholic Church cannot err, keeping herself to the direction of the Scripture, as Christ hath appointed her. For in this very place where the promise is made, that the Holy Ghost "shall teach you all things," it is added, that "He shall bring all things to their remembrance." What? simply all things? No: but "all things which Christ had told them." So there is a limitation put upon the words by Christ Himself. And if the Church will not err, it must not ravel curiously into unneces-

A. C. p. 57. John xiv. 16, 17. John xvi. 13.

John xiv. 26.

[k] Field, "Of the Church," book iv. chap. 2. [p. 344. "If we speak of the Church, as it comprehendeth the whole number of believers, that are, and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh, it is absolutely] free from all error and ignorance of divine things, [that are to be known by revelation. *Quid enim latuit Petrum* &c. (lib. de præscript hæret.) For as Tertullian saith rightly and aptly to this purpose. What was hidden and concealed from Peter, upon whom Christ promised to build His Church, and to whom He gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven? from John the disciple He so dearly loved, which leaned on His breast at the mystical supper? and the rest of that blessed company? that should after be manifested to succeeding generations? So that touching the Church taken in this sort, there is no question, but it is absolutely led into the knowledge of all truth, without any mixture of ignorance, error, or danger of being deceived."]

[l] And Theodoret proceeds farther, and says, Nec divini prophetæ, nec admirabiles Apostoli omnia præsciverunt. Quæcunque enim expediebant, ea illis significavit gratia Spiritus. [Οὔτε οἱ θεῖοι προφῆται, οὔτε οἱ θεσπέσιοι ἀπόστολοι πάντα προῄδεσαν· ὅσα γὰρ ἐλυπιτελεῖ, προεδήλου αὐτοῖς ἡ χάρις τοῦ πνεύματος.]—Theodoret. [Episcop. Cyren.] in 1 Epist. ad Timoth. iii. 14, 15. [Op., tom. iii. p. 477. ed. Paris. 1642.]

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sary truths, which are out of the promise, nor follow any other guide than the doctrine which Christ hath left behind Him to govern it. For if it will come to the end, it must keep in the way. And Christ, Who promised the Spirit should lead, hath no where promised that it shall follow its leader, "into all truth," and at least[1] infallibly, unless you will limit, as before. So, no one of these places can make good A. C.'s assertion, "that the whole Church cannot err generally in any one point of divine truth." In absolute foundations she cannot:[m] in deductions and superstructures she may.

[1] [not... Edit. 1673 and 1686.]

VI.—Now, to all that I have said concerning the "right which particular Churches have to reform themselves, when the General Church cannot for impediments, or will not for negligence," which I have proved at large before,[n] all the answer that A. C. gives, is: First, *Quo judice?* "Who shall be judge?" And that shall be the Scripture and the primitive Church;[o] and by the rules of the one, and to the integrity of the other, both in faith and manners, any particular Church may safely reform itself.

A. C. p. 57.

VII.—Secondly, "That no reformation in faith can be needful in the General Church, but only in particular Churches. In which case also," he saith, "particular Churches may not take upon them to judge and condemn others of errors in faith." Well, how far forth reformation even of faith may be necessary in the General Church, I have expressed already.[p] And for particular Churches, I do not say, "that they must take upon them to judge or condemn others of error in faith." That which I say, is, "They may reform themselves." Now I hope, "to reform themselves," and "to condemn others," are two different works; unless it fall out so, that by reforming themselves, they do by consequence condemn any other, that is guilty in that point in which they reform themselves; and so far

A. C. p. 58.

[m] Sect. xxi. No. 5. [ubi sup. p. 155.]

[n] Sect. xxiv. No. 1, 2, &c. [ubi sup. pp. 167, 168.]

[o] Si de [aliqua] modica quæstione disceptatio esset, nonne oporteret in antiquissimas recurrere ecclesias, in quibus Apostoli conversati sunt, et ab eis de præsenti quæstione sumere quod certum et [re] liquidum est? Quid autem si neque Apostoli quidem scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, [quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant Ecclesias?] — S. Irenæus, contra hæreses, lib. iii. cap. 4. [Op., p. 205. ed. Grabe.]

[p] Sect. xxv. No. 4. [ubi sup. p. 178.]

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to judge and condemn others, is not only lawful, but necessary. A man that lives religiously, doth not by and by sit in judgment, and condemn with his mouth all profane livers; but yet, while he is silent, his very life condemns them. And I hope, in this way of judicature, A. C. dares not say it is unlawful for a particular Church or man to condemn another. And farther, whatsoever A. C. can say to the contrary, there are divers cases, where heresies are known and notorious, in which it will be hard to say, (as he doth,) That one particular Church must not judge or condemn another, so far forth, at least, as to abhor and protest against the heresy of it. A. C. p. 58.

VIII.—Thirdly, If one particular Church may not judge or condemn another, what must then be done, where particulars need reformation? What? Why then A. C. tells us: "That particular Churches must in that case, as Irenæus intimateth, have recourse to the Church of Rome, which hath more powerful principality, and to her bishop,[q] who is chief pastor of the whole Church, as being S. Peter's successor, 'to whom Christ promised the keys,' for whom He prayed 'his faith might not fail,' and whom He charged to 'feed and govern the whole flock.' And this," A. C. tells us, "he shall never refuse to do in such sort, as that this neglect shall be a just cause for any particular man or Church, under pretence of reformation in manners or faith, to make a schism or separation from the whole general Church." A. C. p. 58. Matt. xvi. Luke xxii. John xxi.

IX.—Well, first you see where A. C. would have us. "If any particular Churches differ in points of divine truth, they must not judge or condemn each other," saith he. No, take heed of that in any case; that is the office of the universal Church. And yet he will have it, "That Rome, which is but a particular Church, must and ought[1] judge all other particulars."

[1] [ought to... Edit. 1686.]

X.—Secondly, he tells us this is so, "Because the Church of Rome hath more powerful principality than other particular Churches, and that her bishop is pastor of the whole Church." To this I answer, that it is most true indeed; the Church of Rome hath had, and hath yet, "more powerful

[q] And after he saith, p. 58. "That the Bishop of Rome is, and ought to be, the judge of particular Churches in this case."

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principality" than any other particular Church: but she hath not this power from Christ. The Roman patriarch, by ecclesiastical constitutions, might perhaps have a primacy of order; but for principality of power, the patriarchs were as even, as equal, as the Apostles[r] were before them. The truth is, this "more powerful principality" the Roman bishops[s] got under the emperors, after they became Christian;[1] and they used the matter so, that they grew big enough to oppose, nay to depose, the emperors, by the same power which they had given them. And after this, other particular Churches, especially here in the West, submitted themselves to them for succour and protection's sake. And this was one main cause which swelled Rome into this "more powerful principality," and not any right given by Christ to make that prelate[t] pastor of the whole Church. I know Bellarmine makes much ado about it, and will needs fetch it out of S. Augustine,[u] who says indeed, "That in the

[1] [Christians ... Editt. 1673 and 1686.]

[r] Respondeo: Pontificatum [summum diserte positum ab Apostolo in illis verbis: Et Ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos: et clarius 1 Cor. xii. 28, ubi ait: Et Ipse posuit in ecclesia primum Apostolos, &c. Si quidem] summa potestas ecclesiastica non solum data est Petro, sed etiam aliis Apostolis: omnes enim poterant dicere illud S. Pauli, [Instantia mea quotidiana,] sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum, 2 Cor. xi. 28.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 9. [§ 45. Op., tom. i. col. 537. D.] Where then is the difference between S. Peter and the rest? In this, saith Bellarmine, (Ibid.) Sed Petro data est summa potestas ecclesiastica ut ordinario pastori, cui perpetuo succederetur; aliis vero, tanquam delegatis, quibus non succederetur. This is handsomely said to men easy of belief. But that the highest power ecclesiastical, confessed to be given to the other apostles as well as to S. Peter, was given to S. Peter only, as to an ordinary pastor, whose successors should have the same power, which the successors of the rest should not have, can never be proved out of Scripture. Nay, (I will give them their own latitude,) it can never be proved by any tradition of the whole Catholic Church. And till it be proved, Bellarmine's handsome expression cannot be believed by me; for S. Cyprian hath told me long since, that Episcopatus unus est, (for as much as belongs to the calling,) as well as Apostolatus.—Lib. de simplicit. prælatorum. [S. Cyprian's words are: Nisi si per Episcopus tibi videtur qui episcopo in ecclesia a sedium coepiscopis facto, adulter atque extraneus episcopus fieri a desertoribus per ambitum nititur, et cum sit a Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus, ille post Dei traditionem, post connexam et ubique conjunctam Catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem humanam conetur ecclesiam facere, et per plurimas civitates novos apostolos suos mittat, &c.—S. Cyprian. Epist. lii. ad Antonianum, Op., p. 73. ed. Benedict.]

[s] Sect. xxv. No. 12. [vide infra. p. 194.]

[t] [Bellarmin.] de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. ix. § 46. [col. 538. B. ubi sup. note [r].]

[u] [Erat etiam (Carthago) transmarinis vicina regionibus et fama celeberrima nobilis: unde non mediocris utique auctoritatis habebat episcopum, qui posset non curare conspirantem multitudinem inimicorum, cum se videret et] Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in qua semper Apostolicæ Cathedræ viguit principatus, [et cæteris terris,

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Church of Rome there did always flourish the principality of an apostolic chair;" or, if you will, the apostolic chair in relation to the West and South parts of the Church, all the other four apostolic chairs being in the East. Now, this no man denies, that understands the state and story of the Church; and Calvin[x] confesses it expressly. Nor is the word *principatus* so great, nor were the bishops of those times so little, as that *principes* and *principatus* are not commonly given them, both by the Greek[y] and the Latin Fathers of this great and learnedest age of the Church, made up of the fourth and fifth hundred years; always understanding *principatus* of their spiritual power, and within the limits of their several jurisdictions, which perhaps now and then they did occasionally exceed. And there is not one word in S. Augustine, "That this principality of the Apostolic chair in the Church of Rome was then, or ought to be now, exercised over the whole Church of Christ," as Bellarmine insinuates there, and as A. C. would have it here. And to prove that S. Augustine did not intend by *principatus* here, to give the Roman bishop any power out of his own limits, (which God knows were far short of the

unde evangelium ad ipsam Africam venit, per communicatorias literas esse conjunctum, ubi paratus esset causam suam dicere, si adversarii ejus ab eo illas Ecclesias alienare conarentur.] — S. Augustin. Epist. clxii. [Epist. xliii. ad Glorium et Eleusium, &c. cap. 3. Op., tom. ii. col. 91. E.]

[x] Opinio [enim illa, quæ nescio quomodo] invaluerat, fundatam [et constitutam] eam fuisse Ecclesiam Petri ministerio, [ad conciliandam gratiam et auctoritatem plurimum valebat:] itaque in occidente sedes Apostolica, honoris causa, vocabatur. —Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 6. § 16. [Op., tom. viii. p. 298.]

[y] [Non enim apostolicus sermo probitatis honestatisque præceptis hominem tantum sæculo conformat ad vitam, neque rursum per doctrinæ scientiam scribam synagogæ instituit ad legem: sed perfectum] ecclesiæ principem [perfectis maximarum virtutum bonis instituit, ut et vita ejus ornetur docendo, et doctrina vivendo.]—S. Hilar. de Trinitate, lib. viii [in] princip. [cap. i. Op., col. 947. E. ed. Benedict.] And he speaks of a bishop in general.—Ascribuntur episcopo *δυναστεία, βῆμα καὶ ἀρχὴ*, imperium, thronus, et principatus ad regimen animarum.—Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xvii. [*Καὶ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ὑποτίθησιν ὑμᾶς τῇ ἐμῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ βήματι· ἄρχομεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί· προσθήσω δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὴν μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἀρχήν*'—S. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xvii. (ad cives Nazianzenos,) cap. 8. Op., tom. i. pp. 322, 323. E. A. ed. Benedict.]—Et, *τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ*, hujusmodi imperium. And he also speaks of a bishop. [*ἄρχοντος δὲ καὶ προστάτου κακίαν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν, τὸ μὴ πολὺ τῶν πολλῶν προέχειν.*] — Id. Orat. xx. [al. xliii. (Orat. Funeb. in S. Basil.) cap. 38. Op., tom. i. p. 800. B.] Nor were these any titles of pride in bishops then. For S. Greg. Nazianz. who challenges these titles to himself, Orat. xvii. was so devout, so mild, and so humble, that rather than the peace of the Church should be broken, he freely resigned the great patriarchate of Constantinople, and retired; and this in the First Council of Constantinople, and the Second General.

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whole Church,) I shall make it most manifest out of the very same epistle. "For afterwards," saith S. Augustine, "when the pertinacity of the Donatists could not be restrained by the African bishops only,[z] they gave them leave to be heard by foreign bishops." And after that he hath these words: "And yet peradventure Melchiades, the bishop of the Roman Church, with his colleagues, the transmarine bishops, *non debuit*, ought not usurp to himself this judgment, which was determined by seventy African bishops, Tigisitanus sitting primate. And what will you say if he did not usurp this power? For the emperor, being desired, sent bishops judges, which should sit with him, and determine what was just upon the whole cause."[a] In which passage there are very many things observable: As first, that the Roman prelate came not in, till there was leave for them to go to "transmarine bishops." Secondly, that if the pope had come in without this leave, it had been an "usurpation." Thirdly, that when he did thus come in, not by his own proper authority but by leave, there were other bishops made "judges with him." Fourthly, that these other bishops were "appointed and sent by the emperor," and his power; that which the pope will least of all endure. Lastly, lest the pope and his adherents should say this was an usurpation in the emperor, S. Augustine[b] tells us a little before, in the same epistle still, "that this doth chiefly belong *ad curam ejus*, to the emperor's care and charge, and that he is to give

[z] [Itaque aut istas omnes causas, quas clades turbulentissimi temporis inflixit ecclesiæ, Deo judici dimittamus: aut si aliqui in vobis sunt, qui certa istorum crimina ita noverint, ut ea facile valeant edocere, negantesque convincere, et talibus communicare formidant,] pergant ad fratres et collegas nostros transmarinarum ecclesiarum episcopos, [et ibi prius de istorum factis et contumacia conquerantur, quod ad judicium collegarum Afrorum male sibi conscii venire noluerunt, ut inde illis denuncietur ut veniant, ibique objectis respondeant.] — S. Augustin. Epist. clxii. [Epist. xliii. cap. 8. col. 92. B. ut sup. note [u].]

[a] An forte non debuit Romanæ ecclesiæ Melchiades episcopus cum collegis transmarinis episcopis illud sibi usurpare judicium, quod ab Afris septuaginta, ubi primas Tigisitanus præsedit, fuerat terminatum? Quid quod nec ipse usurpavit? Rogatus quippe Imperator, judices misit episcopos, qui cum eo sederent, et de tota illa causa, quod justum videretur, statuerent.—S. Augustin. Ibid. [cap. 5. col. 94. D. ut sup. note [u].]

[b] [An forte sicut quidam dixit, quod quidem cum vobis diceretur, displicuit; sed tamen prætermittendum non est: ait enim quidam, Non debuit episcopus proconsulari judicio purgari: quasi vero ipse sibi hoc comparaverit, ac non imperator ita quæri jusserit;] ad cujus curam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus est, res illa maxime pertinebat. — S. Augustin. Epist. clxii. [cap. 4. col. 93. G. ut sup. note [u].]

an account to God for it." And Melchiades did sit and judge the business with all Christian prudence and moderation. So at this time the Roman prelate was not received as pastor of the whole Church, say A. C. what he please. Nor had he any supremacy over the other patriarchs; and for this, were all other records of antiquity silent, the civil law is proof enough, and that is a monument of the primitive Church. The text there is: *A patriarcha non datur appellatio,*[c] "From a patriarch there lies no appeal." No appeal. Therefore every patriarch was alike supreme in his own patriarchate. Therefore the pope then had no supremacy over the whole Church. Therefore certainly not then received as universal pastor. And S. Gregory himself, speaking of appeals, and expressly citing the laws themselves, says plainly: "That the patriarch is to put a final end to those causes, which come before him by appeal from bishops and archbishops;"[d] but then he adds, "That where there is no metropolitan nor patriarch of that diocese, there they are to have recourse to the see apostolic, as being the head of all Churches."[e] Where first this implies plainly, That if there be a metropolitan or a patriarch in those

[c] Nam contra horum antistitum (de patriarchis loquitur) sententias, non esse locum appellationi a majoribus nostris constitutum est. — Cod. [Justiniani,] lib. i. tit. iv. l. 29. ex editione Gothofredi. [*κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισκόπων ἀποφάσεων οὐκ εἶναι χώραν ἐκκλήτῳ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν νενομοθέτηται*·—p. 29. ed. Van Leeuwen. Amstel. 1663.]—[Et] si non rata habuerit utraque pars quæ judicata sunt, tunc beatissimus patriarcha diœceseos illius, inter eos audiat, [et illa determinet quæ ecclesiasticis canonibus et legibus consonant:] nulla parte ejus sententiæ contradicere valente. — Authen. Collat. ix. tit. xv. [vi.] cap. 22. [Si quis vero, Novell. Justiniani, cxxiii. p. 173. ed. Van Leeuwen. *Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμμείνῃ ἑκάτερον μέρος τοῖς κεκριμένοις, τηνικαῦτα, ὁ μακαριώτατος πατριάρχης ἐκείνης τῆς διοικήσεως μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἀκροάσθω, κἀκεῖνα ὁριζέτω, ἅτινα τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς κανόσι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις συνᾴδει· οὐδενὸς μέρους κατὰ τῆς ψήφου αὐτοῦ ἀντιλέγειν δυναμένου*·]

[d] [Si autem aut a clerico aut laico quocunque aditio contra episcopum fiat, propter quamlibet causam, apud sanctissimum ejus metropolitam, secundum sanctas regulas et nostras leges causa judicetur. Et si quis judicatis contradixerit, ad beatissimum Archiepiscopum et Patriarcham diœceseos illius referatur causa,] et ille (scil. Patriarcha) secundum canones et leges [huic] præbeat finem. (And there he cites the Novell itself: [viz. Auth. Coll. ix. tit. vi. cap. 22. Si quis vero, Novell. Justiniani, cxxiii. p. 173. ed. Van Leeuwen.) —apud] S. Gregor. [Magn. Registri Epistolar.] lib. xiii. Indict. 6. Epist. xlv. (al. lvi.) [seu Capitulare ii. Imperial. ad Johann. defensorem. Op., tom. ii. col. 1254. A. B. ed. Benedict.]

[e] [Contra hæc] si dictum fuerit, quia nec Metropolitanum habeat, nec Patriarcham, dicendum est, quia a sede apostolica, quæ omnium Ecclesiarum caput est, causa [hæc] audienda [ac dirimenda fuerat, sicut et prædictus Episcopus petiisse dignoscitur, qui episcopos alieni concilii habuit omnino suspectos.]—S. Gregor. [Magn.] Ibid. [col. 1254. B.]

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Churches, his judgment is final; and there ought to be no appeal to Rome.—Secondly, it is as plain, that in those ancient times of the Church Government, Britain was never subject to the see of Rome. For it was one of the six dioceses[f] of the West Empire, and had a primate of its own: Nay, John Capgrave,[g] one of your own, and learned for those times, and long before him William of Malmesbury, tell us, "That Pope Urban the Second, at the Council held at Bari in Apulia, accounted my worthy predecessor S. Anselm as his own compeer, and said, he was as the apostolic and patriarch of the other world." (So he then termed this island.) Now, the Britons having a primate of their own (which is greater than a metropolitan,) yea, a patriarch,[h] if you will, he could not be appealed from to Rome, by S. Gregory's own doctrine.—Thirdly, it will be hard for any man to prove there were any Churches then in the world, which were not under some, either patriarch or metropolitan.

[f] Notitia provinciarum occidentalium per Guidum Pancirollum, lib. ii. cap. 48. [p. 149. ed. Lugd. 1608. This statement of Pancirollus, refers only to the civil and military divisions of the empire, and not, as it appears, to any ecclesiastical dignities. The six Vicars of the Western Empire were, Urbis Romæ, Italiæ, Africæ, Hispaniæ, Galliæ, Britanniarum.]

[g] [Lætatur autem apostolicus in ejus adventu: et multo in laudem ejus prosecutus, virum virtutis ac totius religionis illum esse contestans ait: Eundem] illum cunctis liberalium artium disciplinis eruditum pro magistro teneamus, et quasi comparem, velut alterius orbis Apostolicum et Patriarcham, [jure venerandum censeamus . . . . . In concilio autem apud Barrum celebrato Anselmus a Papa persuasus Græcos in processione Spiritus Sancti, utpote qui a Patre non a Filio procedere astruebant errantes, rationabili atque catholica disputatione confutavit: et magnus apud omnes habitus est, et veneratione dignissimus comprobatur.] — Joann. Capgrav. de vitis Sanctorum, in vita S. Anselmi: [Nova legenda Angliæ, fol. xix. verso, col. 1, 2. ed. Wynkyn de Worde, 1516.]—Et, Guil. Malmesburiens. de Gestis Pontificum Anglor. [lib. i.] p. 223. ed. Francof. 1601. [apud Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores, p. 127. ed. Savile, Londin. 1596. Ut ergo ventum ad concilium est . . . . . exciderat animo summi pontificis, ingruente tumultu, ut ei (sc. Anselmo,) locum delegaret. Sed erroris admonitus est . . . . . et Anselmi recordatus exclamat . . . . . Pater et Magister Anselme Anglorum archiepiscope ubi es? Ille ubi se vocari audivit, in pedes constitit. Quem apostolicus compellans, Nunc, inquit, magister opus est scientia, opus eloquentiæ tuæ opera: veni, ascende huc, et defende matrem tuam ecclesiam, quam Græci labefactare conantur: succurre ergo quasi a Deo huc missus. Continuo cuncti astantes, et assidentes oculos et ora in eum conversi, percunctari quis esset, annitentibusque proximis ad consessum apostolici levatus, sedere jussus juxta Romanum archidiaconum, cui ante papam sedere moris est. Includamus, inquit, hunc in orbe nostro, quasi alterius orbis Papam.]

[h] [Prima sedes episcoporum post Christianitatem Anglorum, Cantuariæ habita est, et habetur . . . . . .] Ibi (Cantuariæ, i.e.) prima sedes archiepiscopi habetur, qui est totius Angliæ Primas et Patriarcha.—Guil. Malmesburiensis in Prolog. lib. i. de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, p. 195. [ubi sup. p. 111. ed. Londin. 1596.]

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Fourthly, if any such were, it is *gratis dictum*, and impossible to be proved, that all such Churches, wherever seated in the world, were obliged to depend on Rome. For manifest it is, that the bishops which were ordained in places without the limits of the Roman Empire, which places they commonly called barbarous,[i] were all to be ordained,—and therefore, most probable, to be governed,—by the patriarch of Constantinople. And for Rome's being the head of all Churches, I have said enough to that in divers parts of this discourse.

XI.—And since I am thus fallen upon the Church of Africa, I shall borrow another reason from the practice of that Church, why, by *principatus*, S. Augustine neither did nor could mean any principality of the Church, or Bishop of Rome over the whole Church of Christ. For as the acts of Councils and stories go, the African prelates, finding that all succeeding popes were not of Melchiades' temper, set themselves to assert their own liberties, and held it out stoutly against Zosimus, Boniface the First, and Celestine the First, who were successively popes of Rome. At last it was concluded in the sixth Council of Carthage, wherein were assembled two hundred and seventeen bishops, of which S. Augustine himself was one, that they would not give way to such a manifest encroachment upon their rights and liberties, and thereupon gave present notice to Pope Celestine to forbear sending his officers amongst them, "lest he should seem to induce the swelling pride of the world into the Church of Christ."[k] And this is said to have amounted into a formal separation from the Church of Rome, and to have continued for the space of somewhat more than one hundred

[i] Præterea et qui sunt ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς, in barbarico, Episcopi [prædictarum diœceseon] ordinentur a sanctissimo throno sanctissimæ Constantinopolitanæ ecclesiæ. [ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἁγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας.]—Codex Canonum ecclesiæ universæ, Can. cevi. [apud Biblioth. Juris Canonici Veteris, Justelli, p. 67. ed. Paris. 1661.] And Justellus proves it there at large, that by *in barbarico*, in that Canon, is meant, *in solo barbarorum*.—Annot. Ibid. [pp. 94, 95.]

[k] [Executores etiam clericos vestros quibusque potentibus nolite mittere, nolite concedere,] ne fumosum typhum sæculi in Ecclesiam Christi, [quæ lucem simplicitatis et humilitatis diem, Deum videre cupientibus præfert,] videamur inducere, &c.—Epist. Conc. Afric. ad Papam [S.] Cælestinum primum: apud Nicolin. tom. i. Concil. p. 844. [Concil. tom. ii. col. 1676. A.]

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years. Now, that such a separation there was of the African Church from Rome, and a reconciliation after, stands upon the credit and authority of two public instruments, extant both among the ancient Councils. The one is an Epistle from Boniface the Second, in whose time the reconciliation to Rome is said to be made by Eulalius, then bishop of Carthage; but the separation, *instigante diabolo*, by the "temptation of the devil."[1] The other is an *Exemplar Precum*, or copy of the petition of the same Eulalius, in which he damns and curses all those his predecessors which went against the Church of Rome.[m] Amongst which, Eulalius must needs curse S. Augustine; and Pope Boniface accepting this submission[r] must acknowledge that S. Augustine and the rest of that Council deserved this curse, and died under it, as violating *rectæ fidei regulam*, "the rule of the right faith,"—so the *Exemplar Precum* begins—by refusing the Pope's authority. I will not deny but that there are divers reasons given by the learned Romanists and Reformed writers for and against the truth and authority of both these instruments. But because this is too long to be examined here, I will say but this, and then make my use of it to my present purpose, giving the Church of Rome free leave to acknowledge these instruments to be true, or false, as they please. That which I shall say is this: These instruments are let stand in all editions of the Councils and Epistles Decretal; as, for example, in the old edition by Isidore, anno 1524; and in another old edition of them, printed anno 1530; and in that which was published by P. Crabbe, anno 1538; and in the edition of Valentinus Joverius, anno 1555; and in that by Surius, anno 1567; and in the edition at Venice by Nicolinus, anno 1585; and in all of these without any note or censure upon them. And they are in the edition of Binius too, anno 1618; but there is a censure upon them to keep a quarter, it may be, with Baronius,[n] who was the first, I think, that ever quarrelled

[1] Epist. Bonifacii II.: [de reconciliatione Carthaginensis ecclesiæ,] apud Nicolin. tom. ii. Concil. p. 544.—[Concil. tom. iv. col. 1684.]

[m] Exemp. Precum: apud Nicolin. Ibid. p. 545.—[Concil. tom. iv. col. 1686.]

[n] [Qui igitur semel errore ductus est sibi persuasit hoc tempore scissam penitus fuisse Africanam Ecclesiam a Romana (proh nefas!) quam enorme excogitavit commentum? Finxit Bonifacii Secundi Papæ nomine Epistolam ad Eulalium Episcopum Alexan-

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them, and he doth it tartly. And, since, Bellarmine[o] follows the same way, but more doubtfully. This is that which I had to say: and the use which I shall make of these instruments, whether they be true or false, is this: They are either true or false, that is of necessity. If they be false, then Boniface the Second, and his accomplices at Rome, or some for them, are notorious forgers,—and that of records of great consequence concerning the government and peace of the whole Church of Christ, and to the perpetual infamy of that see; and all this foolishly and to no purpose. For if there were no such separation, as these records mention, of the African Churches from the Roman, to what end should Boniface or any other counterfeit an epistle of his own, and a submission of Eulalius? On the other side, if these instruments be true, as the sixth Council of Carthage against all other arguments makes me incline to believe they are—in substance at least, though perhaps not in all circumstances—then it is manifest that the Church of Africa separated from the Church of Rome; that this separation continued above one hundred years; that the Church of Africa made this separation in a National Council of their own, which had in it two hundred and seventeen bishops; that this separation was made, for aught appears, only because they at Rome were too ready to entertain appeals from the Church of Africa, as appears in the case of Apiarius,[p] who then appealed thither; that S. Augustine, Eugenius, Fulgentius, and all those bishops and other martyrs which suffered in the Vandalic persecution, died in the time of this separation; that if this separation were not just, but a schism, then these famous fathers of the Church died,

drinum de reconciliatione Ecclesiæ Carthaginensis cum Romana . . . Addit etiam ea de re ab alio Eulalio Episcopo Carthaginensi libellum ad ipsum Bonifacium pro reconciliatione datum . . . Hæc quidem et alia mendaciorum frigidus concinnator, sed callidus veterator, ibi habet.]—Baronius, Annal. ad Ann. 419. No. [92,] 93, 94.

[o] [Sed contra objicit Illyricus Epistolam Bonifacii II. ad Eulalium Alexandrinum Episcopum, et Epistolam Eulalii Episcopi Carthaginensis ad eundem Bonifacium . . . Respondeo primum:] valde mihi eas Epistolas esse suspectas.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. ii. cap. 25. [§ 46. Op., tom. i. col. 685. D.]—Sed si forte illæ Epistolæ veræ sunt, nihil enim affirmo, [sine dubio non in eum sensum accipiendæ sunt, &c.]—Ibid. § ult. [col. 686. A.]

[p] And so the Council of Carthage sent word to Pope Celestine plainly, that in admitting such appeals, he brake the decrees of the Council of Nice. — Epist. Concil. Africani ad Cælestinum, cap. cv. apud Nicolin. tom. i. Concil. p. 844. [Concil. tom. ii. col. 1675.]

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for aught appears, in actual and unrepented schism,[q] and out of the Church. And if so, then how comes S. Augustine to be, and be accounted, a saint, all over the Christian world, and at Rome itself? But if the separation were just, then is it far more lawful for the Church of England, by a National Council, to cast off the Pope's usurpation, as she did,[r] than it was for the African Church to separate; because then the African Church excepted only against the pride of Rome[s] in case of appeals, and two other canons less material; but the Church of England excepts, besides this grievance, against many corruptions in doctrine belonging to the faith, with which Rome at that time of the African separation was not tainted. And I am out of all doubt, that S. Augustine, and those other famous men in their generations, durst not thus have separated from Rome, had the Pope had "that powerful principality over the whole Church of Christ, and that by Christ's own ordinance," and institution, as A. C. pretends he had.

A. C. p. 58.

XII.—I told you a little before,[t] that the popes grew under the emperors till they had overgrown them. And now lest A. C. should say I speak it without proof, I will give you a brief touch of the Church story in that behalf, and that from the beginning of the emperors becoming Christians to the time of Charles the Great, which contains about five hundred years; for so soon as the emperors became Christian, the Church, which before was kept under by persecutions, began to be put in better order. For the calling and authority of bishops over the inferior clergy, that was "a thing of known use and benefit for preservation of unity and peace in the Church." And so much S. Jerome[u] tells us; though, being

[q] [Nisi ea epistola falsa omnino esse convinci posset,] plane ex ecclesiæ Catholicæ albo expungenda fuissent sanctorum Africanorum martyrum agmina, qui in persecutione Vandalica pro fide Catholica [magna gloria certantes . . . assecuti sunt martyrii palmam.]—Baron. Annal. ad Ann. 419. No. 93.—Et, Binius in notis ad Epist. Bonifacii II. ad Eulalium, [his verbis: sc. Quæ omnia commentitia sunt et notorie falsa.—Concil. tom. iv. col. 1685.]

[r] Sect. xxiv. No. 5. [ubi sup. p. 173.]

[s] [Zosimus papa ab Africanis per legatos petiit, ut tres canones Nicæni Concilii executioni mandarent: unum de appellationibus episcoporum ad Romanum pontificem; alterum, de appellationibus presbyterorum et minorum clericorum ad Episcopos vicinos; tertium, de non eundo ad comitatum, id est, ne irent Episcopi Afri ad aulam Imperatoris.]—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. lib. ii. cap. 25. § 2. [Op., tom. i. col. 679. A.]

[t] Sect. xxv. No. 10. [ubi sup. p. 186.]

[u] Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est; ne unus-

none himself, he was no great friend to bishops. And this was so settled in the minds of men from the very infancy of the Christian Church, as that it had not been to that time contradicted by any. So that then there was no controversy about the calling; all agreed upon that; the only difficulty was to accommodate the places and precedencies of bishops among themselves, for the very necessity of order and government. To do this, the most equal and impartial way was, that "as the Church is in the commonwealth, not the commonwealth in it," as Optatus tells us,[x] so the honours of the Church should follow the honours of the state. And so it was insinuated, if not ordered, as appears by the canons of the Councils of Chalcedon and Antioch.[y] And this was the very fountain of papal greatness, the pope having his residence in the great imperial city. But precedency is one thing, and authority is another. It was thought fit, therefore—though, as S. Cyprian speaks, *episcopatus unus est*,[z] "the calling of a bishop be one and the same,"—that yet among bishops there should be a certain subordination and subjection. The empire, therefore, being cast into several divisions,

quisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. Nam et Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista, [usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos,] presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant. — S. Hieron. in Epist. ad Evagrium, [al. Evangelum, Op., tom. iv. par. 2. col. 803.] So even according to S. Jerome, bishops had a very ancient and honourable descent in the Church from S. Mark the Evangelist. And about the end of the same Epistle he acknowledges it, traditionem esse apostolicam, [in these words: Et ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumtas de veteri Testamento, quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vindicent in Ecclesia.—ibid.] Nay more than so, he affirms plainly, that ubi non est sacerdos non est Ecclesia [in these words: Ecclesia autem non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes.] — S. Hieron. adv. Luciferianos, [Op., tom. iv. par. 2. col. 302.] And in that place most manifest it is that S. Jerome by sacerdos means a bishop. For he speaks de sacerdote qui potestatem habet ordinandi, which, in S. Jerome's own judgment, no mere priest had, but a bishop only. [Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?]—S. Hieron. Epist. ad Evagrium, [al. Evangelum, ut sup.]. So even with him, no bishop, and no Church.

[x] Non enim respublica est in Ecclesia: sed Ecclesia in republica [est, id est, in imperio Romano.]—S. Optat. [Milevit. de schism. Donatist.] lib. iii. [cap. 3. Op., p. 52. ed. Dupin.]

[y] Concil. Chalcedon. can. ix. et Actio xvi. [Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα· καὶ τῷ αυτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ρν'. θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες τὴν βασιλείᾳ καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, κ. τ. λ.—Concil. tom. iv. col. 795. E.]

[z] S. Cyprian. lib. de simplicit. prælatorum, [i. e. in Epist. ubi sup. p. 186. note r.]

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which they then called dioceses, every diocese contained several provinces, every province several bishoprics. The chief of a diocese, in that larger sense, was called ἔξαρχος, and sometimes a Patriarch; the chief of a province, a Metropolitan. Next, the bishops in their several dioceses, as we now use that word. Among these there was effectual subjection, respectively grounded upon canon and positive law, in their several quarters; but over them none at all: all the difference there was but honorary, not authoritative. If the ambition of some particular persons did attempt now and then to break these bounds, it is no marvel; for no calling can sanctify all that have it. And Socrates tells us, that in this way the bishops of Alexandria and Rome advanced themselves to a great height, πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης,[a] "even beyond the quality of bishops." Now, upon view of story, it will appear, that what advantage accrued to Alexandria, was gotten by the violence of Theophilus, patriarch there, a man of exceeding great learning, and of no less violence; and he made no little advantage out of this, that the Empress Eudoxia used his help for the casting of S. Chrysostom out of Constantinople. But the Roman prelates grew, by a steady and constant watchfulness upon all occasions, to increase the honour of that see; interposing and assuming to themselves to be *vindices canonum*,[b] as S. Gregory Naz[ianzen] speaks, "defenders and restorers of the canons of the Church;" which was a fair pretence, and took extremely well. But yet the world took notice of this their aim. For, in all contestations between the East and the West, which were nor small nor few, "the

[a] [Thorold, (T. C. Laud's Labyrinth, p. 193.) complains of Laud citing these "three Greek words out of Socrates" without any reference. He supplies them from Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 11. (apud Hist. Eccl. Scriptor. tom. ii. p. 356. ed. Reading.) and observes that "such a place clearly shows, not only that Socrates was an enemy of the Roman Church, but a favourer of heretics, as divers good authors charge him." The passage from Socrates is: Ἄχρι γὰρ τούτου, Ναυατιανοὶ μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἤνθησαν, ἐκκλησίας πλείστας ἔχοντες, καὶ λαὸν πολὺν συναθροίζοντες· ἀλλ' ὁ φθόνος καὶ τούτων ἥψατο, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης.]

[b] [Ἕως μὲν οὖν ἦν ἐν μέσῳ θεῖος σκοπὸς,
Οὐδ' ἦν σαφές πω, πῶς ποθ' οἱ τῆς ἑσπέρας
Τὸν ἄνδρα δέξοντ', ἠγριωμένοι τέως,
Συγγνωστὸν ἦν πῶς καὶ τὸ λυπεῖν μετρίως
Τοὺς,] ὡς λέγουσι, [τῶν νόμων ἀμύνторας.]
(ut aiunt, sive se jactant esse.)—S. Greg. Nazianz. Carmen de vita sua, [l. 1611—1615. tom. ii.] p. 26. [ed. Billii. Paris. 1630. Op., tom. ii. p. 758. ed. Benedict.]

Western bishops objected levity to the Eastern, and they again arrogancy to the bishops of the West," as Billius[c] observes, and upon very warrantable testimonies. For all this, the bishop of Rome continued in good obedience to the emperor, enduring his censures and judgments. And being chosen by the clergy and people of Rome, he accepted from the emperor the ratification of that choice; insomuch, that about the year 579, when all Italy was on fire with the Lombards, and Pelagius the Second[d] constrained through

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[c] [Φυσῶντες ἡμῖν ἑσπέριόν τε καὶ τραχὺν.
(S. Greg. Nazianz ubi sup. l. 1802.) His verbis] Occidentales acerbitatis et insolentiæ [notat:] quemadmodum etiam Basilius [in epistola quadam fastus eos atque arrogantiæ insimulat, τί δεῖ ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος;] (Quid opus est Occidentali supercilio?) [inquiens. At contra] Orientalibus levitas [fere semper ab Occidentalibus] objecta est.—Billius, Scholia in vit. S. Greg. Nazianz. No. 153. [Op., tom. ii. col. 1343. ed. 1630.]

[d] Hæc [autem] una fuit causa, quare Pelagius injussu principis [tum] pontifex creatus sit, cum extra obsessam ab hoste urbem mitti quispiam non posset. [Nil enim tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset. Missus] itaque [Constantinopolim] ad placandum imperatorem Gregorius diaconus, &c. — Platina, in vita Pelagii II. [Vitæ Pontificum, p. 81. ed. Colon. 1568.] —Et, Onuphrius, [Annotat.] ibidem. [p. 82. In eo, quod Platina scribit Pelagium pontificem injussu principis creatum, nihilque tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum esse, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset, non ita accurate rem hanc attigisse visus est, quæ sic se habet. Gothis Italia omni per Narsem patricium pulsis, eaque cum urbe Roma orientalis imperii parte facta; sub Justiniano imperatore, ex auctoritate papæ Vigilii novus quidam in comitiis pontificiis mos inolevit. Is fuit, ut mortuo papa, nova quidem electio more majorum statim a clero S. P. Q. R. fieret, verum electus Romanus pontifex non ante consecrari, atque ab episcopis ordinari posset, quam ejus electio ab imperatore Constantinopolitano confirmata esset, ipseque litteris suis patentibus licentiam electo pontifici concederet, ut ordinari, et consecrari posset, atque ita jurisdictionem pontificatus tum obtineret. Pro qua licentia consequenda electo necesse erat certam pecuniæ quantitatem imperatori transmittere. Qua venia obtenta, ipse postea consecrabatur, et Romanum administrabat pontificatum. Antea enim idem dies comitiorum, et consecrationis pontificis renuntiati erant. Hoc autem ideo Justinianum imperatorem, vel ex ejus auctoritate Vigilium Papam instituisse credendum est, ut imperator certus esset de conditionibus novi pontificis, cujus tum maxima esse auctoritas cœperat, imperatoribus præsertim Italia absentibus, ne aliquo pontifice factioso, vel imperatoris hoste ordinato, urbs, et Italia eo auctore ab orientali imperio deficeret, seque finitimis barbaris traderet, quod Silverium Papam aliquando quæsiisse sibi persuadebat. Qua ratione fiebat, ut in novis comitiis eum potissimum Romanum pontificem crearent, quem imperatori, a quo confirmandus erat, amicum esse scirent, et de quo ille confideret nihil in Italia contra imperium moliturum, barbaris præsertim Longobardis, eam paulo post vexantibus. Perduravit hæc consuetudo usque ad Benedictum II. cujus sanctitate permotus Constantinus imperator Heraclii pronepos, edicto suo jussit, ut deinceps quem clerus S. P. Q. R. pontificem summum delegissent, is nulla amplius imperatoris confirmatione expectata, more vetustissimo, statim ab episcopis ordinaretur. Rursus Hadrianus primus hoc jus, et paulo amplius Carolo Magno Francorum Regi, et ejus successoribus regibus Francorum, primum, deinde imperatoribus Romanorum concessit: quod successoribus ejus ab Hadriano III. ereptum Othoni primo Germanorum regi, et Romano imperatori restituit Leo VIII.

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the necessity of the times, contrary to the example of his predecessors, to enter upon the popedom without the emperor's leave,—S. Gregory, then a deacon, was shortly after sent on embassy to excuse it. About this time broke out the ambition of John,[e] patriarch of Constantinople, affecting to be universal bishop; he was countenanced in this by Mauricius the emperor, but sorely opposed by Pelagius and S. Gregory; insomuch that S. Gregory says plainly, "that this pride of his shows that the times of antichrist were near."[f] So, as yet—and this was now upon the point of six hundred years after Christ—there was no universal bishop—no one monarch over the whole militant Church. But Mauricius being deposed and murdered by Phocas, Phocas conferred upon Boniface the Third[g] [A.D. 605]

Id postremo Gregorius VII. Henrico IV. ademptum, cardinalibus et clero S. P. Q. R. primum, deinde alii pontifices, qui secuti sunt, cardinalibus tantum, permisere, quod ad nostra usque secula perdurat. Ex epistola S. Gregorii quarta libri primi. Anastasio Bibliothecano in vitis Pelagii II. Vitaliani, Agathonis, et Benedicti II. Romanorum Pontificum; item post Carolum Magnum, Gregorii IV. Sergii II. Leonis IV. Benedicti III. et Nicolai. Abbate Urspergense ex Ademaro monacho S. Germani in eorundem pontificum enarrationibus. Registro Gregorii Papæ VII. Sigeberto in Chronico. Guillelmo Tyrio libro i. cap. 13. de Bello Sacro. Gratiano in Decretis, distinctione lxiii. Concilii Lateranensis, sub Alexandro III. Papa celebrati, Actis, et aliis vetustis S. R. E. monumentis.]

[e] Onuphrius. [Annotat.] in Platin. in vit. Bonifac. III. [p. 87. Cæterum aliquo tempore post sub Pelagio II. Joannes, et qui ei successit Cyriacus, patriarchæ Constantinopolitani, longe majora moliti, et adversus ipsam sanctam sedem apostolicam insurgere ausi. Universalis sibi Episcopi nomen, et primum in ecclesia locum, in præjudicium non solum omnium ecclesiarum, sed etiam Romanæ, assumere conati, Gregorium papam eorum superbiæ resistentem habuere.]

[f] [Triste tamen valde est, ut patienter feratur, quatenus despectis omnibus, prædictus frater et coepiscopus meus solus conetur appellari Episcopus. Sed] in hac ejus superbia quid aliud nisi propinqua jam Antichristi esse tempora designatur?—S. Gregor. [Magn. Registri] Epistol. lib. iv. Epist. 78. [lib. v. Indict. xiii. Epist. xxi. (al. xxxiv.) ad Constantinam Augustam, Op., tom. ii. col. 751. C.]

[g] It may be they will say S. Gregory did not inveigh against the thing, but the person: that John of Constantinople should take that upon him which belonged to the pope. But it is manifest by S. Gregory's own text, that he speaks against the thing itself, that neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any other, ought to take on him that title. [Cunctis enim evangelium scientibus liquet, quod voce Dominica sancto et omnium Apostolorum Petro principi Apostolo, totius Ecclesiæ cura commissa est] . . . cura [ei] totius Ecclesiæ et principatus committitur, et tamen universalis Apostolus non vocatur.—S. Greg. [Magn. Registri] Epistol. lib. iv. Epist. 76. [lib. v. Indict. xiii. Epist. xx. (al. xxxii.) ad Mauricium Augustum, Op. tom. ii. col. 748. B, C.] Therefore neither is his successor universal bishop. Numquid ego hac in re, [piissime Domine,] propriam causam defendo? numquid specialem injuriam vindico? et non magis causam omnipotentis Dei et universalis Ecclesiæ?—[ibid. D.] where he plainly denies that he speaks in his own cause or in the cause of his see; [Certe pro beati Petri apostolorum principis honore,] per venerandam Chalcedonensem synodum hoc nomen Romano pontifici oblatum est; sed nullus eorum unquam hoc singularitatis no-

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that very honour, which two of his predecessors had declaimed against as monstrous and blasphemous, if not antichristian.[h] Where, by the way, either these[1] two popes, Pelagius and S. Gregory, erred in this weighty business, about an universal bishop over the whole Church; or, if they did not err, Boniface and the rest, which after him took it upon them, were, in their very predecessors' judgment, antichristian. But to proceed. "As yet, the right of election or ratification of the pope continued in the emperor."[i] But then the Lombards grew so great in Italy, and the empire was so infested with Saracens, and such changes happened in all parts of the world, as that neither, for the present, the homage of the pope was useful to the emperor, nor the protection of the emperor available for the pope. By this means, the bishop of Rome was left to play his own game by himself; a thing which as it pleased him well enough, so both he and his successors made great advantage by it. For being grown to that eminence by the emperor, and the greatness of that city and place of his abode, he found himself the more free, the greater the tempest was that beat upon the other. And then first, "he set himself to alienate the hearts of the Italians from the emperor."[k]

[1] [those... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

mine uti consensit, ne dum privatum aliquid daretur uni, honore debito sacerdotes privarentur universi. [Quid est ergo quod nos hujus vocabuli gloriam et oblatam non quærimus, et alter sibi hanc arripere et non oblatam præsumit? — Ibid. col. 749. A, B.] where he plainly says, the Roman bishops rejected this title. And yet for all this, Pope Gregory the Seventh delivers it as one of his dictates in a Council held at Rome about the year 1076: Quod solus Romanus Pontifex jure dicatur universalis. — Baron. [Annal.] ad An. 1076. No. 31 et 32. [vide infra, note [s].]

[h] [Sed] absit a cordibus Christianis nomen istud blasphemiæ, [in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur.] —S. Gregor. [Magn. Registr.] Epist. lib. iv. Epist 76. [lib. v. Indict. xiii. Epist. xx. (al. xxxii.) ad Mauricium Augustum, Op., tom. ii. col. 749. A.]— In isto [enim] scelesto vocabulo consentire, nihil est aliud quam fidem perdere. — S. Greg. [Magn. ut sup.] lib. iv. Epist. 83. [lib. v. Indict. xiii. Epist. xix. (al. xxxix.) ad Sabinianum Diaconum, Op., tom. ii. col. 747. A.]

[i] Vana tunc [enim] habebatur cleri ac populi electio, nisi id imperatores, aut eorum exarchi, confirmassent.— Platina, in vita Severini I. [ut sup. p. 91.]

[k] [Joannes Sextus, natione Græcus, eo tempore pontificatum iniit,] quo Theophylactus Exarchus Imperatoris Italiam petens, [primo in Siciliam venit. Quod ubi sensere] milites Itali, veriti ne quid mali ejus adventus portenderet, quod superioribus temporibus fere magis cum pontificibus quam cum imperatoribus sensissent, ingressurum [urbem] Romam interficere constituerant. (And the emperor's own governor was fain to be defended from the emperor's own soldiers by the pope's power, who had gotten interest in them against their own master.) —Platina, in vita Johannis VI. [ut sup. p. 104.] Apsimarus, [calling himself Tiberius,] was then [A.D. 701] emperor: [Justinian II., the lawful emperor, being exiled.]

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Next, he opposed himself against him. And about the year 710, Pope Constantine the First did also first of all openly confront Philippicus the emperor, in defence of images, as Onuphrius[l] tells us. After him, Gregory the Second, [A.D. 716,] and the Third,[m] [A.D. 731,] took up his example, and did the like by Leo Isaurus. By this time, the Lombards began to pinch very close, and to vex on all sides, not Italy only, but, Rome too. This drives the pope to seek a new patron; and very fitly he meets with Charles Martell, in France, that famous warrior against the Saracens: him he implores in defence of the Church against the Lombards.[n] This address seems very advisedly taken, at least it proves very fortunate to them both; for "in short time, it dissolved the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy,"[o]—which had then stood two hundred and four years,—which was the pope's security; and it brought the crown of France into the house of Charles, and shortly after the Western Empire. And now began the pope to be great indeed; for by the bounty of Pipin,[p] son of Charles, that which was taken from the Lombards was given [A.D. 753] to the pope. So that now of a bishop, he became a temporal prince. But when Charles the Great had set up the Western Empire, then he resumed the ancient and original power of the emperor, to govern

[l] Primus omnium Romanorum pontificum Imperatori Græco Philippico, [qui Justiniano juniore orthodoxo principe occiso, imperium invaserat,] in os resistere palam ausus [fuit Constantinus papa].—Onuph. [Annotat.] in Platin. in vita Constantini I. [ut sup. p. 107. Bardanes, under the assumed name of Philippicus, was an usurper, and favoured the Iconoclastic heresy, and had expelled the orthodox patriarch Cyrus.]

[m] [Leo III. imperator .... edictum proponit, ut omnes qui sub imperio Romano essent, sanctorum omnium, martyrum et angelorum statuas atque imagines e templis abraderent, &c. .. Gregorius autem tantæ impietati non modo non obtemperat, &c. ...]—Platina in vita Gregorii II. [ut sup. p. 109.] —Et, [Hic statim ubi pontificatum iniit, cleri Romani consensu, Leonem III. ... imperio simul et communione fidelium privat, &c.—Id. in vit.] Gregorii III. [ut sup. p. 110.]

[n] [Interim vero cum Luithprandus Longobardorum rex cupiditate imperandi motus, urbem Romam obsideret ... Gregorius legatos ... ad Carolum Franciæ principem statim mittit, qui hominem rogarent,] ut primo quoque tempore laboranti Romæ et Ecclesiæ auxilium ferret.—Platina, in vita Gregorii III. [ut sup. p. 110.]

[o] [Gregorius III. ... orientalibus destitutus auxiliis, primus ad Francorum opes longe lateque patentes confugit, et ab ipsorum duce Carolo Martello, Pipini postea regis patre, auxilia contra Longobardos Romam vexantes imploravit.] Quæ res semel incepta cum Longobardici regni excidio finita est.—Onuph. [Annotat.] in Platin. in vita Constantini I. [ut sup. p. 107.]

[p] Redditus itaque Romanis exarchatus est: quicquid Padum et Apenninum interjacet, [a Placentinis usque ad stagna Venetorum; et quicquid intra Isaurum flumen, Apenninum et Hadriaticum continetur.] — Platina, in vita Stephani II. [al. III. ut sup. p. 115.]

the Church, to call councils, to order papal elections. And this power continued in his posterity; for this right of the emperor was in force and use in Gregory the Seventh's time, "who was confirmed in the popedom by Henry the Fourth, whom he afterward deposed."[q] And it might have continued longer, if the succeeding emperors had had abilities enough to secure or vindicate their own right. But the pope, keeping a strong council about him, and meeting with some weak princes, and they ofttimes distracted with great and dangerous wars, grew stronger, till he got the better. So this is enough to show how the popes climbed up by the emperors till they overtopped them; which is all I said before, and have now proved. And this was about the year 1073; for the whole popedom of Gregory the Seventh was begun and ended within the reign of William the Conqueror. Yet was it carried in succeeding times, with great changes of fortune and different success: the emperor sometimes plucking from the pope, and the pope from the emperor;[r] winning and losing ground, as their spirits, abilities, aids, and opportunities were, till at the last the pope settled himself upon the grounds laid by Gregory the Seventh,[s] in the great power which he now uses, in and over these parts of the Christian world.

[q] Imperator in gratiam cum Gregorio rediit, eundemque in pontificatu confirmavit, ut tum imperatorum mos erat.—Platina, in vita Gregor. VII. [ut sup. p. 171.]

[r] Multi deinde fuerunt imperatores Henrico similiores, quam Julio Cæsari; quos subigere non fuit difficile, cum domi rerum omnium securi [desiderent, ubi maxime opus erat pontificum cupiditatem virtute et legitimis modis reprimere.]—Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. ii. § 13. [Op., tom. viii. pp. 327, 328.]

[s] For in a synod at Rome, about the year 1076, Pope Gregory the Seventh established certain brief conclusions, twenty-seven in number, upon which stands almost all the greatness of the papacy. These conclusions are called *Dictatus Papæ;* and they are reckoned up by Baronius, in the year 1076, No. 31, 32, &c. But whether this dictatorship did now first invade the Church, I cannot certainly say. The chief of these propositions follow here:—

Quod solus Rom. pontifex jure dicatur Universalis.

Quod solius papæ pedes omnes principes deosculentur.

Quod illi liceat imperatores deponere.

Quod nulla synodus absque præcepto ejus debet Generalis vocari.

Quod nullum capitulum, nullusque liber canonicus habeatur absque illius auctoritate.

Quod sententia illius a nullo debeat retractari; et ipse omnium solus retractare potest.

Quod Rom. Ecclesia nunquam erravit, nec in perpetuum, Scriptura testante, errabit.

Quod Rom. pontifex, si canonice fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus, [testante S. Ennodio, &c.]

Quod a fidelitate iniquorum subjectos potest absolvere.

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XIII.—Thirdly, A. C. knowing it is not enough to say this, "That the pope is pastor of the whole Church," labours to prove it. And first, he tells us, "that Irenæus intimates so much;" but he doth not tell us where. And he is much scanted of ancient proof, if Irenæus stand alone. Besides, Irenæus was a bishop of the Gallican Church, and a very unlikely man to captivate the liberty of that Church under "the more powerful principality" of Rome. And how can we have better evidence of his judgment touching that principality, than the actions of his life? When Pope Victor excommunicated the Asian Churches, *ἀθρόως*, "all at a blow,"[t] was not Irenæus the chief man that reprehended him for it? A very unmeet and undutiful thing, sure, it had been in Irenæus, in deeds to tax him of rashness and inconsiderateness, whom in words A. C. would have to be acknowledged by him "the supreme and infallible pastor of the universal Church." But the place of Irenæus which A. C. means, I think, is this, where he uses these words indeed, but short of A. C.'s sense of it: "To this Church," (he speaks of Rome,) "*propter potentiorem principalitatem*, 'for the more powerful principality of it,' it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful, *undique*, 'round about,' should have recourse."[u] "Should have recourse," so A. C. translates it. And what doth this avail him? Very great reason was there in Irenæus's time, that upon any difference arising in the faith, *omnes undique fideles*, "all the faithful," or, if you will, all the Churches, "round about," should have recourse—that is, resort—to Rome, being the imperial city, and so a Church of "more powerful principality" than any other at that time in those parts of the

A. C. p. 58.

[t] Euseb. [Eccl. Hist.] lib. v. cap. 24. [apud Eccl. Hist. Script. tom. i. p. 245. ed. Reading; ubi sup. p. 155. note [m].]

[u] [Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ, et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem, et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sui placentiam malam, (al. sibi placentiam,) vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt.] Ad hanc [enim] Ecclesiam, propter potentiorem [al. potiorem] principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles; in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio.—S. Irenæus adv. Hæreses, lib. iii. cap. 3. [Op., p. 201. ed. Grabe.]

world. Well, will this exalt Rome to be the head of the Church universal? What if the states and policies of the world be much changed since, and this conveniency of resorting to Rome be quite ceased? then is not Rome divested of her "more powerful principality?" But the meaning of A. C. is, We must so have recourse to Rome, as to submit our faith to hers; and then, not only in Irenæus's time, but through all times, reform ourselves by her rule;—that is, all the faithful, not *undique*, "round about," but *ubique*, "everywhere," must agree with Rome in point of faith. This he means, and Rome may thank him for it. But this Irenæus saith not, nor will his words bear it; nor durst A. C. therefore construe him so, but was content to smooth it over with this ambiguous phrase of "having recourse to Rome." Yet this is a place as much stood upon by them, as any other in all antiquity. And should I grant them their own sense, "That all the faithful everywhere must agree with Rome,"—which I may give, but can never grant,—yet were not this saying any whit prejudicial to us now. For, first, here is a "powerful principality" ascribed to the Church of Rome. And that, no man of learning doubts but the Church of Rome had within its own patriarchate and jurisdiction; and that "was very large," containing all the provinces in the diocese of Italy,[x] in the old sense of the word diocese, which provinces the lawyers and others term *suburbicarias*. There were ten of them: The three islands, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia; and the other seven upon the firm land of Italy. And this, I take it, is plain in Ruffinus. For he living shortly after the Nicene council, as he did, and being of Italy, as he was, he might very well know the bounds of that patriarch's jurisdiction, as it was then practised. And he says expressly, "that according to the old custom, the Roman patriarch's charge was confined within the limits of the

[x] Ed. Brierwood, of the Jurisdiction and Limits of the Patriarchs, in the time of the Nicene Council.—Ad. Qu. i. MS. ["The Patriarchal Government of the Ancient Church, declared by way of answere unto four questions proposed unto Edward Brerewood." The author, the first Professor of Mathematics at Gresham College, died in 1613; this tract was printed at Oxford, in 1641, at p. 96, of "Certain Briefe Treatises written by divers learned men concerning the ancient and moderne Government of the Church." The passage of which Laud gives the substance is at p. 99, taken, as it would seem, from the then unpublished MS.]

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suburbicarian Churches."[y] To avoid the force of this testimony, Cardinal Perron[z] lays load upon Ruffinus; for he charges him with passion, ignorance, and rashness. And one piece of his ignorance is, that he hath ill translated the canon of the Council of Nice. Now, be that as it may, I neither do nor can approve his translation of that canon; nor can it be easily proved, that he purposely intended a translation. All that I urge is, that Ruffinus, living in that time and place, was very like well to know and understand the limits and bounds of that patriarchate of Rome in which he lived. Secondly, here is, that it had *potentiorem*, "a more powerful" principality than other Churches had. And that the Protestants grant too; and that, not only because the Roman prelate was *ordine primus*, "first in order and degree,"—which some one must be, to avoid confusion—"but also, because the Roman see had won a great deal of credit, and gained a great deal of power to itself in Church affairs: because, while the Greek, yea, and the African Churches too, were turbulent, and distracted with many and dangerous opinions, the Church of Rome all that while, and a good while after Irenæus too, was more calm and constant to the truth."[a] Thirdly, here is a necessity, say they, required, "That every Church—that is, the faithful, which are everywhere — agree with that Church." But what? simply with that Church, whatever it do or believe? No, nothing less. For Irenæus adds, "With that Church, *in qua*, in which, is conserved that tradition which was delivered by the apostles." And God forbid but it should be necessary for all Churches, and all the faithful, to agree with

[y] [Et ut] apud Alexandriam, et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut [vel] ille Ægypti, [vel] hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum solicitudinem gerat.—Ruffin. Eccl. Hist. lib. i. cap. 6. [or, the continuation of Eusebius, lib. x. cap. 6. apud Hist. Eccl. Auctores, p. 221. ed. Basil. 1539. —The Nicene canon is the sixth: Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω· τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλι, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὅπερ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τούτο σύνηθες ἐστιν·—Conc. ed. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 32.]

[z] Perron. lib. ii. of his Reply, cap. 6. [It is the 33d chapter of Cardinal Perron's first book of the Réplique à la Réponse du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, which discusses l'addition du mot, Eglises suburbicaires, faitte par Ruffin à la version Latine des Canons du Concile de Nicée.—P. 215, &c. ed. Paris, 1620.]

[a] [Accessit ad hæc et tertium, quod] cum Orientales et Græcæ ecclesiæ, Africanæ etiam, multis opinionum dissensionibus inter se tumultuarentur, hæc sedatior aliis, et minus turbulenta fuerit. — Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 6. §. 16. [Op., tom. viii. p. 298.]

that ancient apostolic Church in all those things in which it keeps to the doctrine and discipline delivered by the apostles. In Irenæus's time, it kept these better than any other Church; and by this, in part, obtained *potentiorem principalitatem*, "a greater power" than other Churches, but not over all other Churches. And, as they understand Irenæus, a necessity lay upon all other Churches to agree with this; but this necessity was laid upon them by the "then integrity of the Christian faith there professed, not by the universality of the Roman jurisdiction now challenged." And let Rome reduce itself to the observation of tradition apostolic, to which it then held; and I will say, as Irenæus did, "that it will be then necessary for every Church, and for the faithful everywhere, to agree with it." Lastly, let me observe too, that Irenæus made no doubt but that Rome might fall away from apostolical tradition, as well as other particular Churches of great name have done. For he does not say, *in qua servanda semper erit,* sed *in qua servata est:* not, "in which Church the doctrine delivered from the apostles *shall ever be* entirely kept,"—that had been home indeed—but "in which," by God's grace and mercy, "*it was*" to that time of Irenæus so "kept and preserved." So we have here, in Irenæus's judgment, the Church of Rome then entire, but not infallible; and endowed with "a more powerful principality" than other Churches, but not with an universal dominion over all other Churches;—which is the thing in question.

XIV.—But to this place of Irenæus, A. C. joins a reason of his own. For he tells us, "the bishop of Rome is S. Peter's successor," and therefore to him we must have recourse. The fathers, I deny not, ascribe very much to S. Peter; but it is to S. Peter in his own person. And among them, Epiphanius is as free and as frequent in extolling S. Peter as any of them, and yet did he never intend to give an absolute principality to Rome in S. Peter's right. There is a noted place in that father, where his words are these: "For the Lord Himself made S. Peter the first of the apostles, a firm rock, upon which the Church of God is built, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, &c. For in him the faith is made firm every way, who received the key

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of heaven, &c. For in him all the questions and subtleties of the faith are found."[b] This is a great place at first sight too, and deserves a marginal note, to call young readers' eyes to view it. And it hath this note in the old Latin edition, at Paris, 1564: "*Petri principatus et præstantia,*" "Peter's principality and excellency." This place, as much show as it makes for the Roman principality, I shall easily clear, and yet do no wrong either to S. Peter or the Roman Church. For most manifest it is, that the authority of S. Peter is urged here to prove the Godhead of the Holy Ghost.[c] And then follow the eulogies given to S. Peter, the better to set off and make good that authority: as that he was "*princeps apostolorum,*[d] 'the prince of the apostles,' and pronounced blessed by Christ; because as God the Father revealed to him the Godhead of the Son, so did the Son the Godhead of the Holy Ghost." After this, Epiphanius calls him "*solidam petram,*[e] 'a solid rock,' upon which the Church of God was founded, and against which the gates of hell should not prevail." And adds, "that the faith was rooted and made firm in him[f] every way, in him who received the key of heaven." And after this, he gives the reason of all: "Because in him,"—mark, I pray, it is still "in him," as he was blessed by that revelation from God the Father, S. Matt. xvi.— "were found all the λεπτολογήματα, 'the very niceties' and exactness of the Christian faith."[g] For he professed the Godhead of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and so, *omni*

Matt. xvi. 17.

[b] Ipse autem Dominus constituit eum primum apostolorum, petram firmam super quam Ecclesia Dei ædificata est, et portæ inferorum non valebunt adversus illam, &c. Juxta omnem enim modum in ipso firmata est fides, qui accepit clavem cœlorum, &c. In hoc enim omnes quæstiones ac subtilitates fidei inveniuntur.—Epiphan. in Ancorato. [cap. ix.] ed. Paris. Lat. 1564. fol. 497. A. ed. vero Græco-Latin. tom. ii. p. 14. [B. ed. Petav. Paris. 1622. Ἔδει τὸν πρῶτον τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν πέτραν τὴν στερεὰν, ἐφ' ἣν ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ᾠκοδόμηται, καὶ πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς· πύλαι μὲν ᾅδου αἱ αἱρέσεις καὶ οἱ αἱρεσιάρχαι· κατὰ πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστερεώθη ἡ πίστις, ἐν τῷ λαβόντι τὴν κλεῖν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐν τῷ λύοντι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ δεόντι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ἐν τούτῳ γάρ ἐστι πάντα τὰ ζητούμενα λεπτολογήματα τῆς πίστεως εὑρισκόμενα.]

[c] [Φησὶ οὖν ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος τοῖς περὶ Ἀνανίαν·] τί ὅτι ἐπείρασεν [ὑμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς ψεύσασθαι τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ; καὶ φησὶ, Οὐκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ Θεῷ· ἄρα Θεὸς ἐκ Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ᾧ ἐψεύσαντο οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμήματος νοσφισάμενοι.] (For there begins the argument of Epiphanius.) —[ibid. p. 14. A.]

[d] [καθὼς μάρτυρει] ὁ κορυφαιότατος [τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὁ καταξιωθεὶς μακαρισθῆναι ὑπὸ Κυρίου, ὅτι ὁ Πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἀπεκάλυψε·—ibid.]

[e] τὴν στερεὰν πέτραν.—[ibid.]

[f] καὶ πάντα γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.—[ibid.]

[g] ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.—[ibid.]

modo, every point of faith was rooted in him. And this is the full meaning of that learned father, in this passage. Now, therefore, "building the Church upon S. Peter," in Epiphanius's sense, is not as if he and his successors were to be monarchs over it for ever; but it is the edifying and establishing the Church in the true faith of Christ, by the confession which S. Peter made. And so he expresses himself elsewhere most plainly: "S. Peter," saith he, "who was made to us indeed a solid rock, firming the faith of our Lord; on which rock the Church is built *juxta omnem modum*, 'every way.'[h] First, that he confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God; and by and by he heard, 'Upon this rock of solid faith I will build My Church.' And the same confession he made of the Holy Ghost." Thus was S. Peter a solid rock, upon which the Church was founded *omni modo*, "every way;" that is, the faith of the Church was confirmed by him in every point.[i] But that S. Peter was any rock or foundation of the Church, so as that he and his successors must be relied on in all matters of faith, and govern the Church like princes or monarchs, that Epiphanius never thought of. And that he did never think so, I prove it thus. For beside this apparent meaning of his context, as is here expressed, how could he possibly think of a supremacy due to S. Peter's successor, that in most express terms, and that twice repeated,[k] makes S. James, the brother

[h] ὃς γέγονεν [ἡμῖν ἀληθῶς στερεὰ Πέτρα θεμελιοῦσα τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐφ' ᾗ ᾠκοδόμητο ἡ ἐκκλησία κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ὡμολόγησε Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ταύτῃ τῆς ἀσφαλῆς πίστεως οἰκοδομήσω μοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς αὐτὸν ὡμολόγησεν Υἱὸν ἀληθινόν . . . . Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὁ αὐτὸς ἀσφαλίζεται ἡμᾶς, λέγων τοῖς περὶ Ἀνανίαν, κ. τ. λ.] Qui factus est nobis revera solida petra firmans fidem Domini. In qua (petra) ædificata est ecclesia juxta omnem modum. Primo, quod confessus est Christum esse Filium Dei vivi, et statim audivit, Super hanc petram solidæ fidei ædificabo Ecclesiam meam . . . Etiam de Sp. Sancto idem, &c. — Epiphan. [adversus Hæres.] lib. ii. tom i. [cap. 7, 8.] Hæres. lix. contra Catharos, [Op.,] tom. i. p. 500. [B, C.] ed. Græco-Latin. [Petav. Paris. 1622.]

[i] περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὁ αὐτὸς ἀσφαλίζεται ἡμᾶς.—ibid. [cap. 8.]

[k] Ille primus, (speaking of S. James, the Lord's brother), episcopalem cathedram cepit, quum ei ante cæteros omnes suum in terris thronum Dominus tradidisset. [Καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος εἴληφε τὴν καθέδραν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾧ πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ·]—Epiphan. [adversus Hæres.] lib. iii. tom. ii. [cap. 7.] Hæres. lxxviii. [contra Antidicomarianitas, Op., tom. i] p. 1039. [B. ed. Petav. Paris. 1622.] —Et fere similiter, [Κατασταθέντος εὐθὺς Ἰακὼβ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κυρίου καλουμένου καὶ ἀποστόλου, ἐπισκόπου πρώτου υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ φύσει ὄντος, κ. τ. λ. —Epiphan. [adversus Hæres.] lib. i. tom. ii. [cap. 3. in fin.] Hæres. xxix.

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of our Lord, and not S. Peter, "succeed our Lord in the principality of the Church?" And Epiphanius was too full both of learning and industry, to speak contrary to himself in a point of this moment.

XV.—Next, since A. C. speeds no better with Irenæus, he will have it out of Scripture. And he still tells us, "the bishop of Rome is S. Peter's successor." Well, suppose that. What then? What? Why then he succeeded in all S. Peter's prerogatives[l] which are ordinary, and belonged to him as a bishop,—though not in the extraordinary, which belonged to him as an apostle. For that is it which you all say, but no man proves.[m] If this be so, yet then I must tell A. C., S. Peter in his ordinary power was never made "pastor of the whole Church;" nay, in his extraordinary, he had no "more powerful principality"[n] than the other apostles had. A "primacy of order"[o] was never denied him by the Protestants; and an "universal supremacy of power" was never granted him by the primitive Christians. Yea, but "Christ promised the keys to S. Peter." True, but so did He to all the rest of the apostles; and to their successors as much as to his. So it is *tibi et illis*, not *tibi non illis*, "I give the keys to thee and them," not "to thee to exclude them;" unless any man will think heaven-gates so easy, that they might open and shut them without the keys. And S. Augustine is plain: "If this were said only to S. Peter, then the Church hath no power to do it;"[p] which,

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Matt. xvi. [19.] Matt. xviii. [18]. John xx. [23.]

[contra Nazaræos, Op., tom. i. p. 119. A.]

[l] Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 9. § 45. [ubi sup. p. 186. note r.]

[m] Sect. xxv. No. 10. [ubi sup. p. 185.]

[n] Bellarmin. ibid. [ubi sup. p. 186. note r.]

[o] "The fathers gave three prerogatives to S. Peter: of Authority, of Primacy, and of Principality; but not of supremacy of power."—Rainoldes against Hart, chap. v. Divis. iii. And he proves it at large. [His words are: "These sayings, and the like, which are alleged out of the fathers, do touch three prerogatives which they give to Peter: the first, of Authority; the second, of Primacy; the third, of Principality. But none of them all doth prove the supremacy which you pretend to Peter, and mean to the pope. For by that supremacy is signified the fulness of ecclesiastical, or rather papal, power, even a power sovereign of governing the Church throughout the whole world, in all points and matters of doctrine and discipline."—The Sum of the Conference between John Rainoldes and John Hart, &c. p. 172. ed. London, 1609.]

[p] [Unus malus corpus malorum significat: quomodo Petrus corpus bonorum, immo corpus ecclesiæ, sed in bonis. Nam si in Petro non esset Ecclesiæ sacramentum, non ei diceret Dominus, Tibi dabo claves, &c.] Si hoc Petro tantum dictum est, non facit hoc Ecclesia. [Si autem et in Ecclesia fit, ut quæ in terra ligantur, in cœlo ligentur, et quæ solvuntur in terra, solvantur in cœlo, &c. Si hoc

God forbid! The keys therefore were given to S. Peter and the rest, in a figure of the Church, to whose power and for whose use they were given. But there is not one key in all that bunch, that can let in S. Peter's successor to a "more powerful principality universal" than the successors of the other apostles had. SECTION XXV.

XVI.—Yea, but Christ prayed "that S. Peter's faith might not fail." That is true; and in that sense that Christ prayed, S. Peter's faith failed not; that is, in application to his person, "for his perseverance in the faith," as S. Prosper[q] applies it. "Which perseverance yet he must owe and acknowledge to the grace of Christ's prayer for him, not to the power and ability of his own free will," as S. Jerome[r] tells us. Bellarmine[s] likes not this, "because," saith he, "Christ here obtained some special privilege for S. Peter, whereas perseverance in grace is a gift common to all the elect." And he is so far right. And the special grace which this prayer of Christ obtained for S. Peter was, that he should not fall into a final apostasy; no, not when Satan had sifted him to the bran, that he fell most horribly even into a threefold denial of his Master, and that with a curse. And to recover this, and persevere, was *aliquid speciale*, I trow, if any thing ever were. But this will not down with Bellarmine. No; "The *aliquid speciale*,[t] 'the special thing' A. C. p. 58. Luke xxii. 32.

ergo in Ecclesia fit, Petrus, quando claves accepit, ecclesiam sanctam significavit. Si in Petri persona significati sunt in Ecclesia boni, &c.] —S. Augustin. in Johann. Evang. [cap. xii.] Tractat. l. [12. Op., tom. iii. par. 2. col. 633. D, E.]

[q] [In evangelio autem secundum Lucam,] Deum dare, ut in fide perseveretur, [ita promitur: Dixit autem Jesus Petro, Simon, Simon, &c.]—S. Prosper. [seu potius ignot. auctor.] de Vocat. Gent. lib. i. cap. 24. [apud Op., S. Prosper. col. 885. A.]

[r] [Ego autem] rogavi [pro te] ut non deficeret, &c. Et certe juxta vos in apostoli erat positum potestate, si voluisset, ut non deficeret fides ejus, [qua utique deficiente, peccatum subingreditur.] — S. Hieron. [Dialog.] adversus Pelagianos, lib. ii. [Op., tom. iv. par. 2. col. 521.]

[s] [Altera expositio est quorumdam, qui hoc tempore vivunt, qui docent, Dominum orasse hoc loco pro perseverantia solius Petri in gratia Dei usque ad finem. At contra: primo, quia oravit Dominus paulo post pro perseverantia omnium apostolorum, immo etiam omnium electorum, (Joan. xvii. 11.) Pater Sancte, serva eos, &c.; non erat igitur ratio cur bis pro perseverantia Petri oraret. Secundo, quia sine dubio hic Dominus] aliquid speciale [Petro impetravit, ut patet ex designatione certæ personæ: perseverantia autem in gratia est donum commune omnium electorum.] — Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 3. [§ 3. Op., tom i. col. 806. A.]

[t] [Est igitur tertia expositio vera, quod Dominus duo privilegia Petro impetraverit. Unum, ut ipse non posset unquam veram fidem amittere . . . . . Alterum privilegium est,] ut ipse tanquam pontifex non posset unquam docere aliquid contra fidem,

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here obtained was," saith he, "that neither S. Peter himself, nor any other that should sit in his seat, should ever teach any thing contrary to the true faith." That S. Peter, after his recovery, should preach nothing, either as apostle or bishop, contrary to the faith, will easily be granted him; but that none of his successors should do it, but be all infallible, that certainly never came within the compass of *Rogavi pro te, Petre,* "I have prayed for thee, Peter." And Bellarmine's proof of this is his just confutation. For he proves this exposition of that text only by the testimony of seven[1] popes in their own cause; and then takes a leap to Theophylact, who says nothing to the purpose. So that, upon the matter, Bellarmine confesses there is not one father of the Church, disinterested in the cause, that understands this text as Bellarmine doth, till you come down to Theophylact. So the pope's infallibility appeared to nobody but the popes themselves, for above a thousand years after Christ—for so long it was before Theophylact[u] lived. And the spite of it is, Theophylact could not see it neither. For the most that Bellarmine makes him say, is but this: "Because I account thee as chief of My disciples, confirm the rest; for this becomes thee, which art to be a rock and foundation of the Church after Me."[x] For this is personal too, and of S. Peter, and that as he was an apostle; for otherwise than as an apostle, he was not a rock or foundation of the Church, no, not in a secondary sense. The special privilege therefore which Christ prayed for, was personal to S. Peter, and is that which before I mentioned.

[1] [ubi sup. p. 19. note P.]

sive, ut in sede ejus nunquam inveniretur, qui doceret [contra veram fidem. Ex quibus privilegiis, primum fortasse non manavit ad posteros: at secundum sine dubio manavit ad posteros, sive successores.] — Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 3. [§ 5, 6. Op., tom. i. col. 806. C.]

[u] Theophylactus, [patria Constantinopolitanus, Achridiæ primariæ Bulgarorum ecclesiæ archiepiscopus (Cave, sub voc.),] floruit circa An. Dom. 1072.

[x] Præter hos [pontifices, non desunt etiam alii auctores, qui eodem modo exponunt. Theophylactus in cap. xxii. Lucæ aperte docet, dari Petro hoc privilegium, quia ipse futurus erat princeps, et caput aliorum, ac proinde dari omnibus aliis, qui illi in principatu succederent:] Quia te habeo, inquit, principem discipulorum, confirma cæteros. Hoc enim decet te, qui post me ecclesiæ petra es et fundamentum.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 3. [§ 13. Op., tom. i. col. 807. D. The original words are: "Οτι ἐπειδή σε τῶν μαθητῶν ἔξαρχον ἔχω . . . στήριξον τοὺς λοιπούς. τοῦτο γὰρ προσήκει σοι, ὡς μετ' ἐμὲ ὄντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας πέτρᾳ καὶ στηρίγματι.]—Theophylact. in Luc. xxii. [p. 517. B. ed. Paris. 1635.]

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And Bellarmine himself says, that "Christ obtained by this prayer two privileges, especial ones, for S. Peter:"[y] the one, "that he should never quite fall from the true faith, how strongly soever he were tempted;" the other, "that there should never be found any sitting in his seat, that should teach against it." Now for the first of these, Bellarmine[z] "doubts it did not flow over to his successors." Why, then, it is true which I here say, that this was personal to S. Peter. "But the second," he says, "out of all doubt passed over to his successors." Nay, that is not out of all doubt neither: First, because many learned men have challenged many popes for teaching heresy; and that is against the true faith. And that which so many learned men have affirmed, is not out of all doubt; or if it be, why does Bellarmine take so much pains to confute and disprove them as he doth?[a] Secondly, because Christ obtained of His Father every thing that He prayed for, if He prayed for it absolutely, and not under a condition: "Father, I know that thou hearest Me always." Now, Christ here prayed absolutely for S. Peter; therefore, whatsoever He asked for him was granted. Therefore, if Christ intended his successors as well as himself, His prayer was granted for his successors as well as for himself. But then, if Bellarmine will tell us absolutely, as he doth, "that the whole gift obtained by this prayer for S. Peter did belong to his successors;"[b] and then by and by after, break this gift into two parts, and call the first part into doubt, whether it belongs to his successors or no, he cannot say the second part is out of all doubt. For if there be reason of doubting the one, there is as much reason of doubting the other, since they stand both on the same foot, the validity of Christ's prayer for S. Peter.

John xi. 42.

XVII.—Yea, but "Christ charged S. Peter to govern and

[y] Impetraverit, &c.—ibid. § 5. [ubi sup. p. 209. note [t].]

[z] Ex quibus privilegiis primum fortasse non manavit ad posteros, at secundum sine dubio manavit ad posteros sive successores.—Bellarmin. ibid. [ubi sup. p. 209. note [t].]

[a] Bellarmin. [de Rom. Pont.] lib. iv. cap. 8. [Op., tom. i. col. 819. et seqq. This chapter, and those which follow it, are occupied by Bellarmine with refuting charges which had been made, chiefly by the Magdeburg Centuriators, against several of the popes, forty in number.]

[b] [Quarto,] donum hoc loco Petro impetratum, etiam ad successores pertinet: [nam Christus oravit pro Petro in utilitatem ecclesiæ; ecclesia autem semper indiget aliquo, a quo confirmetur, cujus fides deficere non possit.]—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 3. § 3. [Op., tom. i. col. 806. B.]

Conference with Fisher. feed His whole flock." Nay, soft! It is but His sheep and His lambs; and that every apostle, and every apostle's successor, hath charge to do.[c] But over the whole flock I find no one apostle or successor set. And it is a poor shift to say, as A. C. doth, "that the Bishop of Rome is set over the whole flock, because both over lambs and sheep;" for in every flock, that is not of barren wethers, there are lambs and sheep, that is, weaker and stronger Christians;[d] not people and pastors, subjects and governors, as A. C. expounds it, to bring the necks of princes under Roman pride. And if kings be meant, yet then the command is, *Pasce*, "feed" them; but *deponere*, or *occidere*, to "depose," or "kill" them, is not *pascere* in any sense: *lanii id est, non pastoris;* "that is the butcher's, not the shepherd's, part." If a sheep go astray never so far, it is not the shepherd's part to kill him; at least if he do, *non pascit dum occidit,* "he doth not certainly feed while he kills."

John xxi. 15.

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A. C. p. 58. XVIII.—And for the close, "That the bishop of Rome shall never refuse to feed and govern the whole flock in such sort, as that neither particular man, nor Church, shall have just cause, under pretence of reformation in manners or faith, to make a separation from the whole Church;"—by A. C.'s favour, this is mere begging of the question. He says, the pope shall ever govern the whole Church so as that there shall be no just cause given of a separation. And that is the very thing which the Protestants charge upon him; namely, that he hath governed, if not the whole, yet so much of the Church as he hath been able to bring under his power, so as that he hath given too just cause of the present continued separation. And as the corruptions in the doctrine of faith in the

[c] Matt. xxviii. 29, [19.] and Matt. x. 17, [7.] the same power and charge is given to them all.

[d] And this seems to me to allude to that of S. Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 2. and Heb. v. 12: "Some are fed with milk, and some with stronger meat." The lambs with milk, and the sheep with stronger meat. But here A. C. follows Pope Hildebrand close, who in the case of [Henry IV.] the emperor then, [quum instabant ex his, qui aderant, nonnulli regem non ita cito anathematizandum esse,] asked this question, [Quibus ita pontifex:] Quando, [inquit,] Christus ecclesiam suam Petro commisit, et dixit, Pasce oves meas, excepitne reges? [Nam cum eidem ligandi et solvendi potestatem daret, nullum excepit, vel neminem ejus potentiæ subtraxit.]—Platina, [Vitæ Pontific.] in vita Greg. VII. [p. 173.] And certainly kings are not exempted from being fed by the Church; but from being spoiled of their kingdoms by any churchmen, that they are.

Church of Rome were the cause of the first separation, so are they at this present day the cause why the separation continues. And further, I, for my part, am clear of opinion, that the errors in the doctrine of faith which are charged upon the whole Church, at least so much of the whole as in these parts of Europe hath been kept under the Roman jurisdiction, have had their original and continuance from this, That so much of the universal Church (which indeed they account all) hath forgotten her own liberty, and submitted to the Roman Church and bishop; and so is in a manner forced to embrace all the corruptions which the particular Church of Rome hath contracted upon itself; and being now not able to free herself from the Roman jurisdiction, is made to continue also in all her corruptions. And for the Protestants, they have made no separation from the general Church, properly so called (for therein A. C. said well, "the pope's administration can give no cause to separate from that"), but their separation is only from the Church of Rome, and such other churches as, by adhering to her, have hazarded themselves, and do now miscall themselves the whole Catholic Church. Nay, even here the Protestants have not left the Church of Rome in her essence, but in her errors; not in the things which constitute a Church, but only in such abuses and corruptions as work toward the dissolution of a Church.

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A. C. p. 58.

℣. I also asked, Who ought to judge in this case? The ℬ. said, A General Council.* [A.C.p.59.]

* [It is true, when the question is about the general faith of the Church, the matter may be made most firm, if the Church in a General Council, with the full authority of her chief pastor, and all other pastors, whom all people must obey, (Rom. xv.; Heb. xiii.) decree what is to be held for divine truth, by *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis,* (Acts xv.) and by adding *Anathema* to such as resist this truth. For if this be not firm and infallible, what can be so firm and well-founded in the Church, which, under pretext of seeming evident Scripture or demonstration, may not be shaken and called in question by an erring disputer? For if all pastors being gathered together in the name of Christ, praying *unanimiter* for the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, making great and diligent search and examination of the Scriptures, and other grounds of faith, and hearing each pastor declare what hath been the ancient tradition of his Church, shall, in fine, conclude and decree, in manner aforesaid, what is to be held for Divine truth,—if, I say, the Council in this decree may err, and may be controlled by every particular or any particular, unlearned or learned, man, or Church, pretending evident text of Scripture, or clear demonstration —*supple, Teste et judice seipsis*—what can remain firm or certain upon earth, which may not by a like pretence be controlled, or at least, by one or other, called in question? A General Council, therefore, being lawfully called, con-

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tinued and confirmed, is, doubtless, a most competent judge of all controversies of faith. But what is to be done when a General Council cannot be called, as many times it cannot by reason of manifold impediments; or if, being called, all will not be of one mind? as among Protestants and others, who admit no infallible means, will, or judge, beside "only Scripture," which each man will interpret as seemeth best to his several private judgment or spirit, it is scarce to be hoped that all, or the major part, will ever so agree, as to remain constant in one and the same mind. Hath Christ our Lord in this case provided no means, no rule, no judge, which may infallibly determine and end controversies, and procure unity and certainty of belief, being so necessary for the honour of God, and the good of His Church? Must people, for want of such a judge, rule, or means, continue, not only months and years, but whole ages, in uncertainty and disunity of faith, and in perpetual jars about even main matters of divine truth? There is no earthly kingdom that, in case matters cannot be composed by Parliament—which cannot be called upon all occasions and at all times—hath not, beside the law-books, some living magistrates and judges, and, above all, one visible king, the highest magistrate and judge, who hath authority sufficient to end controversies, and procure peace and unity, and certainty of judgments, about all temporal affairs; and shall we think that Christ, the wisest King, hath provided in His kingdom, which is the Church, only the law-books of Holy Scriptures, and no living visible magistrates and judges; and, above all, one chief magistrate and judge, so assisted with His Spirit and Providence, as may suffice to end controversies, and breed unity and certainty of faith? which never can be while every man may interpret Holy Scripture, the law-book, as he list.—A. C. marg. note to p. 59.]

§ 26. B. I.—And surely, what greater or surer judgment you can have, where sense of Scripture is doubted, than a General A. C. p. 59. Council, I do not see, nor do you doubt. And A. C. grants it to be "a most competent judge of all controversies of faith, so that all pastors be gathered together, and in the name of Christ, and pray unanimously for the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, and make great and diligent search and examination of the Scriptures, and other grounds of faith, and then decree what is to be held for Divine truth. For then," saith he, "it is firm and infallible, or else there is nothing firm upon earth." As fair as this passage seems, and as freely as I have granted that a General Council is the best judge on earth where the sense of Scripture is doubted, yet even in this passage there are some things considerable. As first, When shall the Church hope for such a General Council, in which "all pastors shall be gathered together?" There was never any such General Council yet, nor do I believe such can be had; so that is supposed in vain: and you might have learned this of Bellarmine,[e] if

[e] [Præter hæc argumenta hæreticorum, movent Catholici unum dubium de his, qui interesse debent in concilio; nam vel ad generale concilium faciendum requiruntur omnes episcopi totius orbis, vel aliqui tantum;] si omnes, nullum fuit [ergo] hactenus concilium generale, neque etiam videtur deinceps futurum; [si aliqui tantum, quinam illi sunt? Non enim videtur major ratio de uno, quam de alio.]—Bellarmin. de Conciliis [et Ecclesia,] lib. i. cap. 17. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 34. C.]

you will not believe me. Next, saith he, "If all these pastors pray unanimously for the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost." Why, but if all pastors cannot meet together, all cannot pray together, nor all search the Scriptures together, nor all upon that search decree together; so that is supposed in vain too. Yea, but thirdly, "If all that meet do pray unanimously." What then? "All that meet" are not simply all. Nor doth the Holy Ghost come and give His assistance upon every prayer that is made unanimously, though by very many prelates or other faithful people met together, unless all other requisites, as well as unanimity, to make their prayer to be heard and granted, be observed by them; so that an unanimous prayer is not adequately supposed, and therefore concludes not. But lastly, how far a General Council, if all A. C.'s conditions be observed, is "firm and infallible," that shall be more fully discussed at after.[f] In the mean time, these two words, "firm," and "infallible," are ill put together as synonymes. For there are some things most infallible in themselves, which yet could never get to be made firm among men: and there are many things made firm by law, both in churches and kingdoms, which yet are not infallible in themselves. So to draw all together: to settle controversies in the Church, there is a visible judge and infallible, but not living; and that is the Scripture[g] pronouncing by the Church. And

[f] Sect. xxxiii. Consid. 1.

[g] And this was thought a sufficient judge, too, when Christians were as humble as learned. I am sure Optatus thought so. Quærendi sunt judices: si Christiani, de utraque parte dari non possunt, quia studiis veritas impeditur. De foris quærendus est judex: si paganus, non potest christiana nosse secreta: si Judæus, inimicus est christiani baptismatis: ergo in terris de hac re nullum poterit reperiri judicium; de cœlo quærendus est judex. Sed ut quid pulsamus ad cœlum, cum habeamus hic in evangelio testamentum? Quia hoc loco recte possunt terrena cœlestibus comparari: tale est quod quivis hominum habens numerosos filios, quamdiu pater præsens est, ipse imperat singulis; non est adhuc necessarium testamentum: sic et Christus, quamdiu præsens in terris fuit, (quamvis nec modo desit,) pro tempore quicquid necessarium erat, apostolis imperavit. Sed quomodo terrenus pater, dum se in confinio senserit mortis, timens ne post mortem suam, rupta pace, litigent fratres, adhibitis testibus, voluntatem suam de pectore morituro, transfert in tabulas diu duraturas: et si fuerit inter fratres nata contentio, non itur ad tumulum, sed quæritur testamentum; et qui [in] tumulo quiescit, tacitus de tabulis loquitur. Vivus, cujus est testamentum, in cœlo est: ergo voluntas Ejus, velut in testamento, sic in Evangelio requiratur.—S. Optat. [de Schism. Donatist.] adv. Parmen. lib. v. [cap. 3. Op., p. 81. ed. Dupin. ubi sup. p. 79. note [i].] This pregnant place of Optatus, (that the Scripture is the judge of Divine truth whenever it is questioned,) though Balduin dare not deny, yet he would fain slide both by it and

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there is a visible and a living judge, but not infallible; and that is a General Council, lawfully called, and so proceeding. But I know no formal confirmation of it needful, though A. C. require it,[h] but only that, after it is ended, the whole Church admit it, be it never so tacitly.

by a parallel place as full in S. Augustine in Psalm. xxi. Enarr. 2. [30. Op., tom. iv. col. 101. F. Quare litigas? Fratres sumus, quare litigamus? Non intestatus mortuus est Pater. Fecit testamentum, et sic mortuus est: mortuus est, et resurrexit. Tamdiu contenditur de hæreditate mortuorum, quamdiu testamentum proferatur in publicum; et cum testamentum prolatum fuerit in publicum, tacent omnes, ut tabulæ aperiantur et recitentur: judex intentus audit, advocati silent, præcones silentium faciunt, universus populus suspensus est, ut legantur verba mortui, non sentientis in monumento. Ille sine sensu jacet in monumento, et valent verba ipsius: sedet Christus in cœlo, et contradicitur testamento Ejus? Aperi, legamus. Fratres sumus, quare contendimus?] with this shift, that S. Augustine in another place [de Baptismo, lib. ii. cap. 7; lib. iv. cap. 6, and lib. v. cap. 23.] had rather use the testimony of tradition [non tam Scripturam quam traditionem apostolicam] that is, the testimony *nuncupativi, potius quam scripti, testamenti*—of the nuncupative, rather than the written will of Christ. Balduin. [Annotat.] in S. Optat. lib. v. [apud Op., p. 145. ed. Dupin.] But this is a mere shift. First, because it is *petitio principii*, the mere begging of the question. For we deny any testament of Christ but that which is written. And A. C. cannot show it in any one father of the Church, that Christ ever left behind him a nuncupative obligatory will. Secondly, because nothing is more plain in these two fathers, Optatus and S. Augustine, than that both of them appeal to the written will, and make that the judge, without any exception, when a matter of faith comes in question. In Optatus the words are *habemus in Evangelio*, We have it in the Gospel. And *in Evangelio inquiratur*, Let it be inquired in the Gospel. And Christ put it *in tabulas diu duraturas*, into written and lasting instruments. In S. Augustine the words are: Our Father did not die intestate, &c.; and *tabulæa periantur*, Let His will, His written instruments, be opened; and *legantur verba mortui*, Let the words of Him that died be read. And again, *aperi, legamus;* Open the will, and let us read. And *legamus, quid litigamus?* Why do we strive? Let us read the will. And again, *aperi testamentum, lege;* Open the will, read. All which passages are most express and full for His written will, and not for any nuncupative will, as Balduin would put upon us. And Hart, who takes the same way with Balduin, is not able to make it out, as appears by D. Rainoldes in his Conference with Hart, chap. 8. divis. i. p. 396, &c. [ed. London, 1609.]

[h] Sect. xxviii. No. 1. And so plainly S. Augustine, speaking of S. Cyprian's error about rebaptization, &c. says: Illis temporibus, ante quam plenarii concilii sententia quid in hac re sequendum esset, totius ecclesiæ consensio confirmasset, visum est ei cum [ferme octoginta coepiscopis suis Africanarum ecclesiarum,] &c.—De Baptism. contra Donatist. lib. i. cap. 18. [Op., tom. ix. col. 93. G.] So here is first *sententia concilii;* and then the confirmation of it is *totius ecclesiæ consensio*, the consent of the whole Church yielding unto it. And so Gerson: [Attendendum tamen est, quod non omnia quæ tradit vel tolerat ecclesia publice legenda, sunt de necessitate salutis credenda.... sed duntaxat illa quæ sub definitione judiciali tradit esse credenda, vel opposita reprobanda,] concurrente universali totius ecclesiæ consensu [implicite, vel explicite, vere vel interpretative.]—In Declarat. Veritatum, quæ credendæ sunt [de necessitate salutis,] § 4. [inter Gerson. Op., tom. i. col. 22. C. ed. Dupin. Antwerp. 1706.] For this, that the pope must confirm it, or else the General Council is invalid, is one of the Roman novelties. For this cannot be shown in any antiquity void of just exception. The truth is, the pope, as other patriarchs and great bishops used to do, did give his assent to such councils as he approved. But that is no corroboration of the council, as if it were invalid without it, but a

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A.C. pp. 59, 60.

II.—In the next place, A. C. interposes new matter quite out of the Conference. And first, in case of distractions and disunion in the Church, he would know "what is to be done to re-unite, when a General Council" (which is acknowledged a fit judge) "cannot be had by reason of manifold impediments, or if, being called, will not be of one mind? Hath Christ our Lord," saith he, "in this case provided no rule, no judge, infallibly to determine controversies, and to procure unity, and certainty of belief? Indeed, the Protestants admit no infallible means, rule, or judge, but only Scripture, which every man may interpret as he pleases, and so all shall be uncertain." Truly, I must confess, there are many impediments to hinder the calling of a General Council. You know in the ancient Church there was[i] hindrance enough, and what hurt it wrought. And afterward, though it were long first, there was provision made for frequent calling of councils,[k] and yet no age since saw them called according to that provision in every circumstance: therefore "impediments" there were enough; or else some declined them wilfully, though there were no impediments. Nor will I deny but that when they were called there were as many practices to disturb or pervert the Councils.[l] And these practices

declaration of his consenting with the rest. Sect. xxxiii. Consid. 4. No. 6.

[i] [Canones generalium conciliorum] a temporibus Constantini [cœperunt. In præcedentibus namque annis,] persecutione sæviente, [docendarum plebium minime dabatur facultas. Deinde,] Christianitas in diversas hæreses scissa est, quia non erat licentia episcopis in unum convenire, nisi tempore supradicti Imperatoris.—Isidor. præfat. in Concil. [Origo Conciliorum generalium, quo tempore scil. concilia celebrari cœperunt; et de quatuor Conciliis principalibus: Ex Isidoro. Concil. tom. i. p. 5.] ed. Venetiis, per Nicolinum, 1585. [This short treatise occurs in the above edition before Isidore's Preface, prefixed to the ordinary editions of the Councils.]

[k] Frequens generalium conciliorum celebratio agri Dominici præcipua cultura est, [quæ vepres, spinas et tribulos hæresum, errorum et schismatum extirpat, excessus corrigit, deformata reformat, et vineam Domini ad frugem uberrimæ fertilitatis adducit.] Illorum [vero] neglectus præmissa disseminat atque fovet. Hæc præteritorum temporum recordatio et præsentium consideratio ante oculos nostros ponunt. [Ea propter hoc edicto perpetuo] sancimus, [decernimus atque ordinamus,] ut amodo concilia generalia celebrentur; ita quod primum a fine hujus concilii in quinquennium immediate sequens. Secundum vero a fine illius [mediate sequentis concilii] in septennium, et deinceps in decennium perpetuo celebretur, &c.—Concil. Constant. Sess. xxxix. [Octob. 9. an. 1417.] apud Gerson. [Op.,] tom. i. p. 230. [ed. Paris. 1606. et, tom. ii. col. 290. B. ed. Dupin.]—Et, Pet. de Aliaco Card. Cameracensis libellum obtulit in Concil. Constant. de Reformatione Ecclesiæ contra opinionem eorum qui putarunt concilia generalia minus necessaria esse, quia omnia bene a patribus nostris ordinata sunt, &c.—In fascic. Rerum Expetendarum, [per Orthuinum Gratium, &c. ed. Colon. 1535.] fol. 28. [ccviii.]—Et schismatibus debet ecclesia cito per concilia generalia provideri, ut in primitiva ecclesia docuerunt apostoli, ut Act. vi. et Act. xv.—Ibid. fol. cciv. A.

[l] [Hoc est illud Homousion, quod

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were able to keep many Councils from being all of one mind. But if, being called, they will not be of one mind, I cannot help that; though that very not agreeing is a shrewd sign that the other spirit hath a party there against the Holy Ghost.

III.—Now A. C. would know what is to be done for reuniting of a Church divided in doctrine of the faith, when this remedy by a General Council cannot be had. "Sure Christ our Lord," saith he, "hath provided some rule, some judge, in such and such like cases, to procure unity and certainty of belief." I believe so too; for He hath left an infallible rule, the Scripture. And that, by the manifest places in it which need no dispute, no external judge, is able to settle unity and certainty of belief in necessaries to salvation;[m] and *in non necessariis,* in and about things not necessary, there ought not to be a contention to a separation.[n]

IV.—And therefore A. C. does not well, to make that a crime, that the Protestants admit no infallible rule, but the Scripture only: or as he (I doubt, not without some scorn) terms it, beside "only Scripture." For what need is there of another, since this is most infallible; and the same which the ancient Church of Christ admitted?[o] And if it were

in Concilio Nicæno adversus hæreticos Arianos, a catholicis patribus veritatis auctoritate et auctoritatis veritate firmatum est: quod postea] in concilio Ariminensi, [propter novitatem verbi minus quam oportuit intellectum, quod tamen fides antiqua pepererat,] multis paucorum fraude deceptis, [hæretica impietas, sub hæretico imperatore Constantio labefactare tentavit.] — S. Augustin. contra Maximinum Arianum, lib. iii. [ii.] cap. 14. [Op., tom. viii. col. 704. E.]

[m] Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam quæstiones vocat, [nec multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere sollicitat.] In absoluto nobis et facili est æternitas, Jesum [et] suscitatum a mortuis per Deum credere, et Ipsum esse Dominum confiteri. [Nemo itaque ea, que ob ignorationem nostram dicta sunt, ad occasionem irreligiositatis usurpet.]—S. Hilar. de Trinitate, lib. x. ad fin. [sect. 70. Op., col. 1080. E.]

[n] [Quomodo ergo non perierunt] Cyprianus et tot collegæ ipsius? Qui cum crederent hæreticos et schismaticos baptismum non habere, sine baptismo [tamen] receptis, [cum peccata eorum tam immania tamque sacrilega super eos esse crederent,] eis tamen communicare, quam separari ab unitate maluerunt, [dicente Cypriano, Neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes.]—S. Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. ii. cap. 6. [Op., tom. ix. col. 100. B.] — [A talibus sacrilegis venientes, sine baptismo, ut dicitis, si] Cyprianum non contaminabant, [quomodo vos contaminare poterant non convicti, sed conficti traditores?] — Ibid. in fin. [col. 101. D.]

[o] Recensuit cuncta sanctis Scripturis consona. [*καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρειληφὼς ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς.*] — Euseb. [Eccl.] Hist. lib. v. cap. 20. de Irenæo, [apud Hist. Eccl. Scriptor. tom. i. p. 239. ed. Reading.]—Paracletus [autem multa habens edocere, quæ in illum distulit Dominus, secundum præfinitionem, ipsum primo Christum contestabitur,

sufficient for the ancient Church to guide them, and direct their councils, why should it be now held insufficient for us, at least till a free General Council may be had? And it hath both the conditions which Bellarmine requires to a rule; namely, that it "be certain, and that it be known; for if it be not certain, it is no rule, and if it be not known, it is no rule to us."[p] Now the Romanists dare not deny, but

qualem credimus, cum toto ordine Dei creatoris, et Ipsum glorificabit, et de Ipso commemorabit; et sic] de principali regula agnitus, [illa multa quæ sunt disciplinarum revelabit, fidem dicente pro eis integritate prædicationis, licet novis, quia nunc revelantur; licet onerosis, quia nec nunc sustinentur.] —Tertullian. de Monogamia, cap. 2. [Op., p. 526. A. ed. Rigalt.] And this is true, though the author spoke it when he was lapsed.—[Nec necesse est ut singula deliramenta quæ proferunt, brevior epistolæ sermo subvertat, quum et tu] ipsas Scripturas apprime tenens, [non tam ad eorum mota sis quæstiones.] — S. Hieron. [Epist.] ad Marcellum contra Montanum, [xxvii. al. liv.] tom. ii. [Op., tom. iv. par. 2. col. 65. ed. Benedict.] —Hoc quia de scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur, qua probatur. — S. Hieron. [Comment. lib. iv.] in Matth. cap. xxiii. 35. Op., tom. iv. par. 1. col. 112.] —Manifestus est fidei lapsus, et liquidum superbiæ vitium, vel respuere aliquid eorum quæ Scriptura habet, vel inducere quicquam quod scriptum non est.—S. Basil. Serm. de Fide, tom. ii. p. 154. ed. Basileæ, 1565. [*φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως, κ. τ. λ.*— S. Basil. de Fide, Op., tom. ii. p. 224. D. ubi sup. p. 61. note [q].]—Contra insurgentes hæreses sæpe pugnavi agraphis, verum non alienis a pia secundum Scripturam sententia.—Ibid. p. 153. [ubi sup. p. 69. note [k].]—And before S. Basil, Tertullian. Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem, [quæ mihi et factorem manifestat et facta. In evangelio vero amplius et ministrum atque arbitrum rectoris invenio sermonem. An autem de aliqua subjacenti materia facta sint omnia, nusquam adhuc legi. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina.] Si non est scriptum, timeat, Væ illud, adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum.—Tertullian. advers. Hermog. cap. xxii. [Op., p. 241. D. ed. Rigalt.] And Paulinus plainly calls it Regulam directionis, [in these words: Enutritus a puero in sacris literis ... informa nos ad regulam directionis, pasce nos spiritali cibo, id est, verbo Dei, qui est verus et vivens panis, &c.]—Epist. [ii. al.] xiii. [Op., S. Paulini Nolani Episcopi, p. 8. ed. Paris. 1685.]—De hac regula tria observanda sunt. 1. Regula est, sed a tempore quo scripta. 2. Regula est, sed per ecclesiam applicanda, non per privatum spiritum. 3. Regula est, et mensurat omnia quæ continet: continet autem omnia necessaria ad salutem vel mediate vel immediate. Et hoc tertium habet [Gabr.] Biel. in III. [Sentent.] D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] unica, Conclus. 4. M. [Præterea omnes usum rationis habentes tenentur credere quod omne revelatum a Deo est verum. Item quod Scriptura a Deo revelata sit vera; sed hoc credens explicite omnia credibilia credit implicite; cum omnia credenda sint revelata a Deo, et omnia continentur immediate vel mediate in Scriptura.] —And this is all we say. Hooker, Eccl. Polit. Book V. ch. xxii. [sect. i. Works, vol. ii. p. 114. "The voice and testimony of the Church acknowledging Scripture to be the law of the living God, is for the truth and certainty thereof, no mean evidence .... a further commodity this custom of public reading of the word of God hath, which is to furnish the very simplest and rudest soul with such infallible axioms and precepts of sacred truth, delivered even in the very letter of the Law of God, as may serve them for rules whereby to judge the better all other doctrines and instructions which they hear."]

[p] [Deinde] regula Catholicæ fidei certa notaque esse debet: nam si nota non sit, regula nobis non erit; si certa non sit, ne regula quidem erit.—Bellarmin. de Verbo Dei, lib. i. cap. 2. § 5. [Op., tom. i. col. 3. C.]—At sacris Scripturis, [quæ propheticis et apostolicis literis continetur,] nihil est notius, nihil certius; [ut stultissimum esse necesse sit, qui illis fidem esse

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this rule is "certain;"[q] and that it is sufficiently "known" in the manifest places of it, and such as are necessary to salvation, none of the ancients did ever deny; so there is an infallible rule.

V.—Nor need there be such fear of a "private spirit" in these manifest things, which being but read, or heard, teach themselves. Indeed, you Romanists had need of some other judge, and he a propitious one, to crush the pope's "more powerful principality" out of *Pasce oves*, "Feed My sheep." And yet this must be the meaning (if you will have it), whether Gideon's fleece be wet or dry; that is, whether there be dew enough in the text to water that sense or no. But I pray, when God hath left His Church this infallible rule, what warrant have you to seek another? You have showed us none yet, whatever you think you have. And I hope A. C. cannot think it follows, that Christ our Lord hath provided no rule to determine necessary controversies, because He hath not provided the rule which he would have.

Judges vi.

VI.—Besides, let there be such a living judge, as A. C. would have, and let the pope[r] be he; yet that is not sufficient against the malice of the devil, and impious men, to keep the Church at all times from renting, even in the doctrine of faith, or to solder the rents which are made. For *oportet esse hæreses*, "heresies there will be;" and heresies properly there cannot be, but in doctrine of the faith. And what will A. C. in this case do? Will he send Christ our Lord to provide another rule than the decision of the bishop of Rome, because he can neither make unity, nor certainty of belief? And as it is most apparent he cannot do it *de facto*, so neither hath he power from Christ over the whole Church to do it; nay, out of all doubt, it is not the least reason why

1 Cor. xi. 19.

habendam neget.]—Bellarmin. Ibid. § 6. [col. 3. D.] Therefore the Holy Scripture is the rule of Catholic faith, both in itself, and to us also; for in things simply necessary to Salvation it is abundantly known and manifest, as Sect. xvi. No. 5. [ubi sup. p. 74.]

[q] Convenit [autem] inter nos et omnes omnino hereticos, verbum Dei esse regulam fidei; ex qua de dogmatibus judicandum sit: [esse commune principium ab omnibus concessum, unde argumenta ducantur: denique esse gladium spiritualem, qui in hoc certamine recusari non possit.]—Bellarmin. in Præfat. in fin. [Op.,] tom. i. And although there perhaps he includes traditions, yet that was never proved yet. Neither indeed can he include traditions, for he speaks of that word of God, upon which all heretics consent: but concerning traditions, they all consent not, that they are a rule of faith, therefore he speaks not of them.

[r] For so he affirms, [A. C.] p. 58.

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de facto he hath so little success, because *de jure* he hath no power given. But since A. C. requires another judge besides the Scripture, and, in cases when either the time is so difficult that a General Council cannot be called, or, the council so set, that they will not agree, let us see how he proves it.

VII.—It is thus: "Every earthly kingdom," saith he, A. C. p. 60. "when matters cannot be composed by a parliament, which cannot be called upon all occasions," (Why doth he not add here, "and which being called, will not always be of one mind," as he did add it in case of the council?) "hath, besides the law books, some living magistrates and judges, and above all, one visible king, the highest judge, who hath authority sufficient to end all controversies, and settle unity in all temporal affairs. And shall we think that Christ, the wisest King, hath provided in His kingdom, the Church, only the law-books of the Holy Scripture, and no living visible judges, and above all, one chief, so assisted by His Spirit, as may suffice to end all controversies for unity and certainty of faith? which can never be, if every man may interpret Holy Scripture, the law-books, as he list." This is a very plausible argument with the many, but the foundation of it is but a similitude;[s] and if the similitude hold not in the main, the argument is nothing; and so, I doubt, it will prove here. I will observe particulars, as they lie in order.

VIII.—And first, he will have the whole militant Church, for of that we speak, "a kingdom." But this is not certain; for they are no mean ones, which think our Saviour Christ left the Church militant, in the hands of the apostles and their successors, in an aristocratical, or rather, a mixed government; and that the Church is not monarchical,[t]

[s] Quæ [autem] subtilissime de hoc disputari possunt, ita ut non similitudinibus quæ plerumque fallunt, sed rebus ipsis satis fiat, [ne in præsentia expectes.]—S. Augustin. [lib.] de quantitate animæ, cap. xxxii. [Op., tom. i. col. 433. F.] Whereupon the logicians tell us rightly, that this is a fallacy, unless it be taken *reduplicative*, i. e. *de similibus quæ similia sunt*. And hence Aristotle himself, 2. Top. Loc. xxxii. says: πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, εἰ ὁμοίως ἔχει· (rursum in similibus, si similiter se habent.) [οἷον, εἰ ἐπιστήμη μία πλειόνων, καὶ δόξα· καὶ εἰ τὸ ὄψιν ἔχειν ὁρᾶν, καὶ τὸ ἀκοὴν ἔχειν ἀκούειν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν δοκούντων·—Aristot. Topic. lib. ii. cap. 10. Op., tom. i. p. 294. ed. Bekker.]

[t] When Gerson wrote his tract De Auferibilitate Papæ, sure he thought the Church might continue in a very good being, without a monarchical head; therefore, in his judgment, the

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otherwise than the triumphant and militant make one body under Christ the Head. And in this sense indeed, and in this only, the Church is a most absolute kingdom. And the very expressing of this sense is a full answer to all the places of Scripture, and other arguments brought by Bellarmine,[u] to prove that the Church is a monarchy. But the Church being as large as the world, Christ thought it fitter to govern it aristocratically—by divers, rather than by one viceroy. And I believe this is true; for all the time of the first three hundred years, and somewhat better, it was governed aristocratically, if we will impartially consider, how the bishops of those times carried the whole business of admitting any new consecrated bishops or others to, or rejecting them from, their communion. For I have carefully examined this for the first six hundred years, even to and within the time of S. Gregory the Great;[x] who, in the beginning of the seventh hundred year, sent such letters to Augustine, then archbishop of Canterbury, and to Quirinus,[y] and other

Church is not by any command or institution of Christ, monarchical. [Non in eo versatur iste tractatus ut papam ab ecclesia penitus auferri posse ostendat, ut quidam perperam existimarunt, sed in eo scilicet, hoc contingere posse, ut Ecclesia careat per aliquod tempus pontifice, necnon in nonnullis casibus ab ecclesia posse deponi. — Libell. de auferibilitate papæ ab ecclesia, apud] Gerson. [Op., tom. ii. col. 209. ed. Dupin.] par. 1. p. 154. [ed. 1606.]—When S. Jerome wrote thus: Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii; sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii; sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. — S. Hieron. Epist. [ad Evangelum, al.] Evagrium, [cii. Op., tom. iv. par. 2. col. 803.] doubtless he thought not of the Roman bishop's monarchy. For what bishop is of the same merit, or of the same degree in the priesthood, with the pope, as things are now carried at Rome?—Affirmamus etiam, patribus, et Græcis et Latinis, ignotas esse voces de Petro aut Papa monarcha et monarchia. Nam quod in superioribus observabamus, reperiri eas dictiones positas pro episcopo et episcopatu, nihil hoc ad rem facit.—Isaacus Casaubon. Exercitatione xv. ad Annales Ecclesiasticos Baronii, § xii. p. 378. [p. 272. ed. Francof. 1615.] et § xi. p. 360. [ibid. pp. 256—262.] diserte asserit et probat ecclesiæ regimen aristocraticum fuisse.

[u] [Nam secundum Scripturas ecclesia non est democratia, vel aristocratia, sed monarchia, sive regnum Christi, juxta illud Ps. ii. Ego autem constitutus sum Rex, &c.; et Lucæ, cap. i. Regni Ejus non erit finis; et Joann. xviii. Regnum Meum non est, &c. . . . Denique Scriptura passim vocat Christum regem, &c.]—Bellarmin. de Concili[orum auctoritate,] lib. ii. cap. 16. § 1, 2, 3. [Op., tom. ii. col. 93. C.]

[x] S. Gregor. [Magn. Registr.] Epistol. lib. ix. Epist. lviii. [lib. xi. Indict. 4. Epist. xxviii. Op., tom. ii. col. 1109. E.]—Et, lib. xii. Epist. xv. [lib. xi. Indict. 4. Epist. lxiv, lxv. Op., tom. ii. col. 1150. B. et seqq.]

[y] S. Gregor. [Magn. Registr. Epistol.] lib. ix. Epist. lxi. [lib. xi. Indict. 4. Epist. lxvii. Op., tom. ii. col. 1166. D. This epistle the Benedictine editors, following the authority of Peter de Marca, Cardinal Bona, and others, inscribe Quirico, et cæteris episcopis in *Hiberia*—not *Hibernia*—Catholicis. It seems impossible that the epistle could have been addressed to any Irish bishops, not only because its subject is

bishops in Ireland. And I find, that the *literæ communicatoriæ*, which certified from one great patriarch to another who were fit or unfit to be admitted to their communion, if they upon any occasion repaired to their sees, were sent mutually; and as freely, and in the same manner, from Rome to the other patriarchs, as from them to it. Out of which I think this will follow most directly, That the Church government then was aristocratical. For had the bishop of Rome been then accounted sole monarch of the Church, and been put into the definition of the Church, as he is now by Bellarmine,[z] all these communicatory letters should have been directed from him to the rest, as whose admittance ought to be a rule for all to communicate; but not from others to him, or at least not in that even, equal, and brotherly way, as now they appear to be written. For it is no way probable that the bishops of Rome, which even then sought their own greatness too much, would have submitted to the other patriarchs voluntarily, had not the very course of the Church put it upon them.

IX.—Besides, this is a great and undoubted rule, given by Optatus,[a] "That wheresoever there is a Church, there the Church is in the commonwealth, not the commonwealth in the Church. And so also the Church was in the Roman empire." Now from this ground I argue thus: If the Church be within the empire or other kingdom, it is impossible the government of the Church should be monarchical. For no emperor or king will endure another king within his dominion that shall be greater than himself, since the very enduring it makes him that endures it, upon the matter, no monarch. Nor will it disturb this argument, that two great kings in France and Spain permit this. For he that is not blind may see, if he will, of what little value the pope's

the reception of Nestorians into the Church, while the heresy of Nestorius does not appear to have extended beyond the Oriental Church; but because an allusion is made to the fact, that the legate of the bishops, to whom S. Gregory was addressing himself, had lost certain letters at Jerusalem.]

[z] Nostra autem [sententia est, Ecclesiam unam tantum esse, non duas, et illam unam et veram esse cætum hominum ejusdem Christianæ fidei professione, et eorundem sacramentorum communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, ac præcipue unius Christi in terris Vicarii Romani Pontificis.]—Bellarmin. de Ecclesia Militante, lib. iii. cap. 2. § 9. [Op., tom. ii. col. 108. D.]

[a] Non enim respublica est in ecclesia: sed ecclesia in republica: id est, in imperio Romano.—S. Optat. [Milevit.] lib. iii. [cap. 3. Op., p. 52. ubi sup. p. 195. note [x].]

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power is in those kingdoms, farther than to serve their own turns of him, which they do to their great advantage. Nay, farther, the ancient canons and fathers of the Church seem to me plain for this, for the Council of Antioch [b] submits ecclesiastical causes to the bishops. And what was done amiss by a bishop, was corrigible by a synod of bishops,[c] but this with the metropolitan.[d] And in case these did not agree, the metropolitan [e] might call in other bishops out of the neighbouring provinces. And if things settled not this way, a General Council, under the Scripture,[f] and directed by it, was the highest remedy. And S. Cyprian, even to Pope Cornelius himself, says plainly, that "to every bishop is ascribed a portion of the flock for him to govern." [g] And so not all committed to one. In all this the government of the Church seems plainly aristocratical. And if all other arguments fail, we have one left from Bellarmine, who opposes it as much as any, twice for failing.[h] And yet, where he goes to exclude secular princes from Church

[b] Concil. Antioch. [an. 341.] Can. ix. p. 507. [Concil. tom. ii. col. 565. A. *Τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας· κ. τ. λ.*]

[c] Conc. Nicæn. I. [an. 325.] Can. v. [Concil. tom. ii. col. 32. B. *ἵνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένων, τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζοι· κ. τ. λ.*] — Et, Concil. Antioch. Can. xii. [ubi sup. col. 568. A. *εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου καθαιρεθεὶς .... δέον ἐπὶ μείζονα ἐπισκόπων σύνοδον τρέπεσθαι .... προσαναφέρειν πλείοσιν ἐπισκόποις· κ. τ. λ.*]

[d] Concil. Nicæn. I. Can. iv. [ubi sup. col 30. E. *τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.*]—Et, Concil. Antioch. Can. ix. [ubi sup. col. 565. C. *περαιτέρω δὲ μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου· κ. τ. λ.*]

[e] Concil. Antioch. Can. xiv. [ubi sup. col. 568. D. *εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπί τισιν ἐγκλήμασιν κρίνοιτο, ἔπειτα συμβάιη περὶ αὐτοῦ διαφωνεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπους, τῶν μὲν ἀθῷον τὸν κρινόμενον ἀποφαινόντων, τῶν δὲ ἔνοχον· ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς πάσης ἀμφιβητήσεως, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνίδῳ τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιοχώρου ἐπαρχίας μετακαλεῖσθαι ἑτέρους τινὰς τοὺς ἐπικρινοῦντας, καὶ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν διαλύσοντας, τοῦ βεβαιῶσαι σὺν τοῖς τῆς ἐπαρχίας τὸ παριστάμενον.*]

[f] [Quis autem nesciat sanctam] Scripturam canonicam, [tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus episcoporum literis ita] præponi, [ut de illa omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit, quidquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit: episcoporum autem literas, &c.]—S. Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatist. lib. ii. cap. 3. [Op., tom. ix. col. 98. A.]

[g] Nam cum statutum sit ab] omnibus nobis, [et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur ubi est crimen admissum,] et singulis pastoribus portio gregis [sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus, &c.]—S. Cyprian. lib. i. Ep. 3. [Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, p. 86. ed. Benedict.]

[h] [Quod non sit ecclesiasticum regimen præcipue penes episcopos.]—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 8. [in tit. Op., tom. i. col. 526. D.]—Et, [Non esse in Concilio summam potestatem.]—Id. de Concili[orum auctoritate,] lib. ii cap. 16. [in tit. Op, tom. ii. col. 93. C.]

government, all his quotations[i] and all his proofs run upon this head, to show "that the government of the Church was ever in the bishops." What says A. C. now to the confession of this great adversary, and in this great point, extorted from him by force of truth? Now if this be true, then the whole foundation of this argument is gone. The Church militant is no kingdom, and therefore not to be compared or judged by one: the resemblance will not hold.

SECTION XXVI.

A.C. pp.64, 65.

X.—Next, suppose it a kingdom; yet the Church militant remaining one, is spread in many earthly kingdoms, and cannot well be ordered like any one particular kingdom.[k] And therefore, though in[l] one particular kingdom there be many visible judges and one supreme, yet it follows not that in the universal militant Church there must be one supreme. For how will he enter to execute his office, if the kings of those kingdoms will not give leave?

[l] [as . . . (*male*) Edit. 1686.]

XI.—Now here, though A. C. expresses himself no farther, yet I well know what he and his fellows would be at. They would not be troubled to ask leave of any several kings in their several dominions. No; they would have one emperor over all the kings, as well as one pope over all the bishops. And then you know who told us of "two great lights to govern the world, the sun and the moon—that is, the pope

[i] [Quod non sit ecclesiasticum regimen penes principes sæculares.]—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 7. [in tit. Op., tom. i. col. 522. D.]

[k] [Et ideo] licet sit expediens, quod uni populo partiali fideli præsit unus episcopus, non expedit tamen quod toti populo fideli præsit unus solus. Tum quia omnia negotia unius populi partialis potest sustinere unus solus; nullus autem unus potest sustinere omnia negotia etiam majora omnium Christianorum: tum quia minus malum est, ut populus partialis et parvus inficiatur ab uno episcopo, quam ut totus, vel fere totus, populus Christianus inficiatur ab uno capite, quod omnibus præsit.—Ockam. Dial. lib. ii. tract. i. par. 3. cap. 30. ad 8. [apud Goldast. S. Rom. Imper. Monarch. tom. ii. pp 818, 819. ed. Francof. 1614. These dialogues are, according to Thorold, (T.C.,—Laud's Labyrinth, p. 254.) in the Index Expurgatorius.] And besides this of Ockam, to that common argument, That monarchical government is the best, and therefore undoubtedly that which Christ instituted for his Church, it is sufficient to answer, That a monarchy is the best form of government in one city or country. Aristot. Ethic. [Nicom.] lib. viii. cap. 10. [τούτων δὲ βελτίστη μὲν ἡ βασιλεία . . . παρέκβασις δὲ βασιλείας μὲν τυραννίς· ἄμφω γὰρ μοναρχίαι.—Op., tom. ix. p. 166. ed. Bekker.] But it follows not, that it is the best in respect of the whole world, where the parts are so remote, and the dispositions of men so various. And therefore Bellarmine himself confesses, Monarchiam aristocratiæ et democratiæ admixtam utiliorem esse in hac vita, quam simplex monarchia est.—[Bellarmin.] de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap 3. § 1. [in tit. Op., tom. i. col. 515. C. Bellarmine's words are: Regimen temperatum ex omnibus tribus formis, propter naturæ humanæ corruptionem, utilius est, quam simplex monarchia, &c.]

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and the emperor."[1] At the first it began with more modesty—the emperor and the pope; and that was somewhat tolerable. For S. Augustine tells us,[m] "that the militant Church is often in Scripture called the moon, both for the many changes it hath, and for its obscurity in many times of its peregrination." And he tells us too, "that if we will understand this place of Scripture in a spiritual sense, our Saviour Christ is the sun, and the militant Church, as being full of changes in her estate, the moon."[n] But now it must be a triumphant Church here—militant no longer. The pope must be the sun, and the emperor but the moon. And lest Innocent's own power should not be able to make good his Decretal, Gaspar Schioppius[o] doth not only avow the

[1] In the first gloss, ascribed to Isidore, in Gen. i. 16. it is, Per solem intelligitur regnum; per lunam, sacerdotium. [This passage does not occur literally either in the Gloss. Ordinar. or in S. Isidore in Genesin, from which it is taken. In one passage on Gen. i. 16. S. Isidore says: Luminaria in firmamento, id est, legis doctores, SS. inhærentes, &c. . . . . siderum turba, id est, virorum sanctorum numerositas; and in another cited from him as the Gloss on Gen. i. 19.: Splendor siquidem solis regni figurat excellentiam, plebem obtemperantem regi lunæ splendor ostendit, tanquam synagogam. Stellæ vero principes ejus sunt, &c. This last place is slightly varied from S. Isidore's Comment. in Genesin, cap. ii. Op., tom. v. p. 266. ed. Lorenzanæ; et, cap. iii. p. 285. A. ed. Colon. 1617.] But Innocent the Third, almost six hundred years after Isidore's death, perverts both text and gloss, thus: Ad firmamentum [igitur] cœli, hoc est, universalis ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo magna luminaria, id est, duas instituit dignitates, quæ sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestas. [Sed illa, quæ præest diebus, id est, spiritualibus, major est: quæ vero carnalibus, minor:] ut quanta [est] inter solem et lunam, tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur. —Epist. ad Imperat. Constantinopolitanum, [an. 1198.] Decret. [al. Gregor. IX.] lib. i. de Majoritate et Obedientia, tit. 33. cap. [6.] *Solitæ*.

[m] [Ecclesia vero adhuc in ista mortalitate carnis constituta,] propter [ipsam] mutabilitatem, lunæ nomine in scripturis signatur. [Unde est illud Ps. x. 3. (secundum LXX.) Paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetra, ut sagittent in obscura luna rectos corde.]—S. Augustin. Epist. cxix. cap. 6. [ad inquisitiones Januarii, lib. ii. seu Epist. lv. cap. 6. Op., tom. ii. col. 131. E.]

[n] [Fecit lunam in tempora:] Intelligimus spiritaliter ecclesiam [crescentem de minimo, et ista mortalitate vitæ quodam modo senescentem: sed ut propinquet ad solem. Non istam lunam dico visibilem oculis, sed quæ hoc nomine significatur. Ista quando obscura erat ecclesia, quando nondum apparebat, nondum eminebat, seducebantur homines, et dicebatur, Hæc est ecclesia, hic est Christus: ut sagittarent in obscura luna rectos corde (Ps. x. 3.) . . . . Hic enim temporaliter transit Ecclesia: non enim hic erit semper ista mortalitas. Augeri et minui aliquando transibit: in tempora facta est. Sol agnovit occasum suum.] Et hic quis sol, nisi sol [ille] justitiæ, [quem sibi non ortum impiii plangent in die judicii?]—S. Augustin. in Ps. ciii. [Enarr. Sermo iii. 19. Op., tom. iv. col. 1163. B.—Cf. Enarr. in Ps. x. ibid. col. 59. C.]

[o] Gasp[ar] Schiop[pius, in] L[ibro] dicto Ecclesiasticus, [auctoritati Serenissimi D. Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis oppositus.] cap. 145. [Scioppius is meeting an argument derived from Pope Innocent's words, against the union of spiritual and temporal supremacy in the Pope. The points of correspondence which he incidentally gives are these: Sicut luna proprium lumen non habet, sed id a sole mutuatur: sic etiam sæculari

allusion or interpretation, but is pleased to express many circumstances, in which he would fain make the world believe the resemblance holds. And lest any man should not know how much the pope is made greater than the emperor by this comparison, the Gloss[p] furnishes us with that too, and tells us "that by this it appears, that since the earth is seven times greater than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth, it must needs follow, that the pope's power is forty-seven times greater than the emperor's." I like him well—he will make odds enough. But what, doth Innocent the Third give no reason of this his Decretal? Yes. And it is, saith he, "because the sun, which rules in the day, that is, in spiritual things, is greater than the moon, which rules but in the night, and in carnal things."[q] But is it possible that Innocentius the Third, being so wise and so able, as "that nothing which he did, or commended, or disproved in all his life, should after his death be thought fit to be changed,"[r] could think that such an allusion of spiritual things to the day, which the sun governs, and worldly business to the night, which the moon governs, should carry weight enough with it to depress imperial power lower than God hath made it? Out of doubt he could not; for he well knew that *omnis anima*, "every soul," was to "be subject to the higher

Rom. xiii. 1.

potestati spiritualis auctoritatem præbet, cum ei etiam propter conscientiam subditos esse jubet. Et sicut luna videtur luminare magnum cum tamen multis stellarum minor sit; similiter sæcularis potestas amplissima videtur, cum tamen sacerdotio longe sit inferior.—P. 527. ed. Hartbergæ, 1611.]

[p] Igitur cum terra sit septies major luna, sol autem octies major terra; restat ergo ut pontificalis dignitas quadragesies septies sit major regali dignitate.—Gloss. in Decret. prædict. Where, first, the Gloss is out in his Latin: he might have said *quadragies*, for *quadragesies* is no word. Next, he is out in his arithmetic; for eight times seven makes not forty-seven, but fifty-six; and then he is much to blame for drawing down the pope's power from fifty-six to forty-seven. [The margin of the Gloss adds: *Alias*, quinquagies septies;—of which the arithmetic is also open to Laud's remark.] And, lastly, this allusion hath no ground of truth at all; for the emperor being *solo Deo minor*, (Tertul. ad Scap.) cannot be a moon to any other sun. [Tertullian's words are: Colimus ergo et imperatorem sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum; et quicquid est, a Deo consecutum, et solo Deo minorem. Hoc et ipse volet. Sic enim omnibus major est, dum] solo Deo [vero] minor [est. Sic et ipsis Diis major est, dum et ipsi in potestate sunt ejus. Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece.—Tertullian. ad Scap. cap. ii. Op., p. 69.]

[q] Sed illa potestas, quæ præest diebus, *i. e.* in spiritualibus, major est; quæ vero carnalibus, minor.—Innocent. III. ubi sup. [p. 226. note [l].]

[r] [Cujus vita adeo probata fuit,] ut post ejus mortem, nil earum rerum, quæ in vita egerit, laudaverit, improbaveritque, immutatum sit.—Platina in vita Innocent. III. [Vit. Pontific. p. 214.]

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power." And "the higher power"[s] there mentioned, is the temporal. And the ancient fathers[t] come in with a full consent, that *omnis anima*, "every soul," comprehends there all without any exception; all spiritual men, even to the highest bishop, and in spiritual causes too, so the foundations of faith and good manners be not shaken; and where they are shaken, there ought to be prayer and patience, there ought not to be opposition by force. Nay, he knew well, that emperors and kings[u] are *custodes utriusque tabulæ*,

[s] Patres veteres, et præsertim Augustin. Epist. liv. [ad Macedonium, et Chrysostomus (v. infra,) præsenti loco,] Apostolum interpretantur de potestate sæculari tantum loqui, quod et ipse textus subindicat, &c.—Salmeron. Disput. iv. in Rom. xiii. § [5. Salmeron. Comment. &c. tom. xiii. p. 676.]

[t] [*καὶ δεικνὺς ὅτι*] *πᾶσι ταῦτα διατάττεται, καὶ ἱερεῦσι,* [*καὶ μοναχοῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον, ἐκ προοιμίων αὐτὸ δῆλον ἐποίησεν οὕτω λέγων· πᾶσα ψυχή, κ. τ. λ. κἂν ἀποστόλος ᾖς, κἂν εὐαγγελιστής, κἂν προφήτης, κἂν ὁστισοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνατρέπτει τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὕτη ἡ ὑποταγή.*] Omnibus ista imperantur, et sacerdotibus, et monachis, &c. Etiamsi apostolus sis, si evangelista, si propheta, sive quisquis tandem fueris.—S. Chrysostom. [in Epist.] ad Rom. Homil xxiii. [1. Op., tom. ix. p. 686. B.]—Sive est sacerdos [aliquis,] sive antistes, &c.—Theodoret. in Rom. xiii. [*εἴτε ἱερεύς τίς ἐστιν, εἴτε ἀρχιερεύς, εἴτε τὸν μονήρη βίον ἐπαγγελλόμενος, τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς πεπιστευμένοις εἰκέτω.*—Theodoret. Op., tom. iii. p. 99. D. ed. Paris. 1642.]—[Omnis anima (inquit Rom. xiii. 1.) potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit.] Si omnis et vestra. Quis vos excipit ab universitate? [Si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere. Nolite illorum acquiescere consiliis, qui cum sint Christiani, Christi tamen vel sequi facta, vel obsequi dictis, opprobrio ducunt.] Ipsi sunt qui vobis dicere solent, servate vestræ sedis honorem. [Decebat quidem ex vobis: vobis commissam ecclesiam crescere; nunc vero saltem in illa quam suscepistis maneat dignitate. Et vos enim vestro prædecessore impotentior? Si non crescit per vos, non decrescat per vos. Hæc isti.] Christus aliter et jussit et gessit. [Reddite, ait, quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari; et quæ sunt Dei, Deo.]—S. Bernard. Epist. xlii. ad Henricum Senonensem Archiepiscopum, [Op., fol. 199. col. 4. M. ed. Paris. 1551.]—And, Theophylact. in Rom. xiii. [*παιδεύων πᾶσαν ψυχὴν, κἂν ἱερεὺς ᾖ τις, κἂν μοναχὸς, κἂν ἀπόστολος, ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.*—Theophylact. in Epist. D. Pauli Comment. ed. Lindsell. Londin. 1636.] Where it is very observable, that Theophylact lived in the time of Pope Gregory the Seventh, and S. Bernard after it, and yet this truth obtained then; and this was about the year 1130.

[u] An forte de religione fas non est ut dicat imperator, vel quos miserit imperator? cur ergo ad imperatorem vestri venere legati? cur eum fecerunt causæ suæ judicem, non secuturi quod ille judicaret?—S. Augustin. contra Epistolam Parmeniani, lib. i. cap. 9. [Op., tom. ix. col. 20. D.]—[Sed quorsum ista dicuntur?] numquidnam, etiam si obtineant non pertinere ad imperatorem adversus eos aliquid statuere, qui prava in religione sectantur, [propterea si interfecerint eos, quos punierit martyres erunt?]—Ibid. [col. 20. E.] Nor can this be said to be usurpation in the Emperor. For elsewhere S. Augustine speaks thus: [An forte sicut quidam dixit, quod quidem cum vobis diceretur, displicuit; sed tamen prætermittendum non est: ait enim quidam, Non debuit episcopus proconsulari judicio purgari: quasi vero ipse sibi hoc comparaverit, ac non] imperator [ita quæri jusserit;] ad cujus curam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus esset, res illa maxime pertinebat. [Arbitrum enim et judicem causæ traditionis et schismatis illi eum fecerant, &c.]—S. Augustin. Epist. clxii. [Epist. xliii. ad Glorium et Eleusium, &c. cap. 4 Op., tom. ii. col. 93. G.] and, [Postea vero quam

"they, to whom the custody and preservation of both tables of the law," for worship to God and duty to man, "are committed;" that a book of the law was, by God's own command in Moses' time, to be given the king; that the kings under that law, but still according to it, did proceed to necessary reformations in Church businesses; and therein commanded the very priests themselves, as appears in the acts of Hezekiah and Josiah, who yet were never censured, to this day, for usurping the high priest's office. Nay, he knew full well, that the greatest emperors for the Church's honour—Theodosius the Elder, and Justinian, and Charles the Great, and divers others—did not only meddle now and then, but did enact laws, to the great settlement and increase of religion in their several times. But then, if this could not be the reason why Innocentius made this strange allusion, what was? Why, truly, I will tell you: The pope was now grown to a great and a firm height. Gregory the Seventh[x] had set the popedom upon a broad bottom, before this Innocent's time; so that now it is the less wonder if he make so bold with the emperor as to depress him as low as the moon, upon no better ground than a groundless

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Deut xvii. 18.

2 Chron. xxix. 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 2.

cœpit impleri quod scriptum est, (Ps. lxxi. 11.) Et adorabunt Eum omnes reges terræ, &c.] quis mente sobrius regibus dicat, Nolite curare in regno vestro a quo teneatur, vel oppugnetur, ecclesia Domini vestri: [non ad vos pertineat, in regno vestro quis velit esse sive religiosus, sive sacrilegus: quibus dici non potest, Non ad vos pertineat, in regno vestro quis velit pudicus esse, quis impudicus?]—S. Augustin. Epist. iv. [lib. de correctione Donatist. seu Epist. clxxxv. ad Bonifacium, cap. 5. Op., tom. ii. col. 651. E.] —[Ideo dictum est a Paulo: Potestas sit terrori malo operi, et honori bono: et] antiquitas recte dixit, Magistratus est custos legis, scilicet primæ et secundæ tabulæ, quod ad disciplinam attinet. — Confessio Saxonica, cap. xxiii. [apud Syllog Confess. p. 314. ed. Oxon. 1827.]—Et, [Magistratui divinitus commissa est custodia legis divinæ; jam vero ad legem divinam pertinet non solum posterior decalogi tabula de officiis proximo præstandis, verum etiam prior de cultu divino, ejusque publico exercitio . . . . (Deut. xvii. 18.) . . . Ex quibus omnibus sic concludimus: Cui custodia legis divinæ est commissa, ad illum quoque spectat religionis et sacrorum cura. Sed magistratui commissa est legis divinæ custodia. Ergo ad magistratum etiam spectat religionis et sacrorum cura.]—Gerhardus, Locor. Theologor. [loc. xxv. par. 2.] cap. 7. § 5. membr 1. [tom. xiv. p. 24. ed. Tubingæ, 1776.] probat ex Deut. xvii. 18.

[x] [Illud tantum dicam] hunc maximum pontificem, totius ecclesiasticæ libertatis unicum assertorem [fuisse, qui quanquam vir sanctissimus esset, &c.]—Onuph. [Annotat.] in Platin. in vit. Gregor. VII. [apud Platin Vit. Pontific. p. 177.] For, taking occasion by the war which Henry the Fourth had with the Saxons and their neighbours, and the complaint of the Saxons made to the pope, (of which Platina in the life of Gregory the Seventh,) the pope, wise enough for his own advantages, sought not only to free himself from the emperor, but to make the emperor subject to him; and for this the history is plain enough.

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resemblance. But beside this prime reason, there are divers others, which may easily be drawn out of the same resemblance. For, since Innocentius' main aim was to publish the pope's greatness over kings and emperors, why doth he not tell us that the pope is as the sun, and the emperor as the moon? because, as the moon borrows all her light from the sun, so the emperor borrows all his true light from the pope; or because, as the moon still increases in light so long as she follows the sun, but so soon as ever she steps before the sun she wanes presently and her light decreases,—so the emperor, so long as he is content to follow the pope, and do all that he would have him, his light and his power increase; but if he do but offer to step before, though that be his proper place, then his light, and honour, and power, and all decrease. And this Pope Gregory the Seventh made too good upon the Emperor Henry the Fourth;[1] and Pope Adrian the Fourth, and Alexander the Third,[2] and Lucius the Third, with some others, upon Frederick Barbarossa. And some other emperors were alike served, where they did not submit. And I hope no man will blame the pope's holiness for this. For if the emperors kept the popes under for divers years together—whereas Bellarmine[y] tells us it was against all right they should so do, the pope being never rightfully subject unto them—I hope the pope, having now got power enough, may keep the emperors under, and not suffer them any more to step before the sun, lest, like moons as they are, they lose all their light. Or because, as the moon is but *vicaria solis*, "the vicar or substitute of the

[1] [Third... (*male*) Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[2] [Fourth (*male*)... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[y] [Eodem igitur modo Christiani subditi imperatoribus ethnicis, obedientiam illis debebant secundum conscientiam :] summus [autem] pontifex [Christi] Regis regum vicarius imperatoribus terrenis jure subditus non erat, [ac per hoc obedientiam illis non debebat:] sed [tamen,] tum quia potestas ejus nota non erat [imperatoribus paganis,] tum quia viribus temporalibus destitutus erat, vellet nollet, [ut dixi,] subjectus esse cogebatur.—Bellarmin. in Apologia [pro responsione ad librum Jacobi regis, cujus titulus est, Triplici nodo triplex cuneus, &c. cap.] xv. Respons. ad mendacium x. [(p. 37.) Op., tom. vii. col. 818. B. ed. Colon. 1617.] And Bellarmine is at the same argument for deposing of kings too. Quod si Christiani [olim non deposuerunt Neronem, et Diocletianum, et Julianum Apostatam, ac Valentem Arianum, et similes, id fuit] quia deerant vires temporales Christianis. — Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. v. cap. 7. [§ 13. Op., tom. i. col. 904. B.] Now this is a most loud[1] untruth, as appears in Tertullian, who lived about the year 200, under Severus. And the Christians then had strength enough against the emperor, had they had right enough with it.

[1] [lewd .... Edit. 1686.]

sun," as Philo[z] tells us, so the emperor, at least in all spiritual causes, is but the pope's substitute, and that for the night, that his holiness may sleep the quieter on the other side of the sphere. Or, lastly, if you will abuse the Scripture, as you too often do, and as Innocentius did in the Decretal very grossly, you may say it is because the woman, which all grant represented the Church, is "clothed with the sun," Rev. xii. 1. that is, with the glorious rays of the pope, and had the moon, that is, the emperor,[a] under her feet. For this is as good, as literal, as proper interpretation of these words, as that of Innocentius is of the words, "God made two Gen. i. 16. great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the less to rule the night." Thus, he or you may give your wits leave to play, if you will, for the pope's Decretal is a mere fancy. But the true reason, indeed, why Innocentius made it, was that above mentioned. He was now in that greatness, that he thought he might pass anything upon the Christian world, that pleased him; and was therefore resolved to bring it into the body of the Canon, that aftertimes might have a law to legitimate and make good their predecessors' usurpation over emperors and kings. And rather than fail of this, he would not spare the abusing of Scripture itself. Where, by the way, dares A. C. say this pope did not err *in cathedra* when he was so dazzled between the sun and the moon, that he wanted light in the midst of it to expound Scripture? Well, I would have the Jesuits leave their practising, and remember: First, that one emperor will not always be able to establish and preserve one only uniform practice and exercise of religion. Secondly, that, supposing he both can and will so do, yet the Jesuits cannot be certain that that one uniform exercise of religion shall be the Roman Catholic. And thirdly, that as there is a body of earth, a world of confusion, to eclipse their moon, the emperor,—so in the same way, and by like interposition, the moon, when it is grown too near in conjunction, may eclipse their sun, the pope. And there is no great doubt but

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[z] [σελήνην δ' ὑπηρέτην καὶ διάδοχον ἡλίου, κ. τ. λ. — Philo Jud.] de Monarch. lib. [i. cap. 1. Op., p. 812. D. ed. Paris. 1640.]

[a] Sic enim Alexander Tertius collum Friderici Primi pede comprimebat, et dixit, Scriptum est, Super aspidem et basiliscum, &c. — Jo. Nauclerus, Chron. Generatione xl. circa an. 1170. [vol. iii. p. 235.]

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he will, considering what some great kings make of the pope's power at this day, when it pleases them.

XII.—And since we are in this comparison between the sun and the moon, give me leave a little farther to examine, who A. C. and his fellow Jesuits, with some others, would have to be this one emperor. I am not willing to meddle with any the secret designs of foreign states; but if they will express their designs in print, or publish them by great and full authority, I hope then it shall neither be unlawful nor unfit for me either to take notice or to make use of them. Why, then, you may be pleased to know, they would have another translation of the empire from Germany to Spain. They think, belike, this emperor's line, though in the same house, is not Catholic enough. And if you ask me how I know this secret, I will not take it up upon any common report, though I well know what that says; but I will tell you how I know it. Somewhat about four hundred years after Innocentius made his comment upon the two great lights, the sun and the moon, the pope and the emperor, a Spanish friar[b] follows the same resemblance between the monarchies of Rome and Spain, in a tract of his, entitled "The Agreement of the two Catholic Monarchies," and printed in Spanish, in Madrid, anno 1612. In the frontispiece or title-page of this book, there are set out two escutcheons: the one, bearing the cross keys of Rome; the other, the arms of Castile and Leon; both joined together with this motto: *In vinculo pacis,* "In the bond of peace." On the one side of this, there is a portraiture resembling Rome, with the sun shining over it and darting his beams on S. Peter's keys, with this inscription: *Luminare majus,*[c]

[b] John de Puente, [Tomo primero de] la conveniencia de las dos Monarquias Catolicas, la de la Iglesia Romana, y la del Imperio Español, y defensa de la precedencia de los Reyes Catolicos de España a todos los Reyes del Mundo. [Autor el Maestro fr. Juan de la Puente, de la orden de Predicadores, Chronista de la Mag[d] Catolica, Calificador de la Inquisicion y Prior de S[to] Tomas de Madrid. 1612. With reference to this work, Thorold (T. C.) Laud's Labyrinth, p. 227, observes: "We deny not but such a book was both licensed and printed: but doubtless, whoever peruses the contents of it impartially, will judge it was both licensed and printed rather for its witty conceit, and divertisement for the king and his courtiers, than for a solid foundation, whereon to build any serious and dogmatical assertion." The work itself bears no evidence of other than a serious purpose, in its author.]

[c] Luminare majus, ut præsit urbi et orbi. [*orbis* in the original, corrected by Laud.]

"the greater light," that it may govern the city—that is, Rome—and the whole world; and on the other side there is another image designing Spain, with the moon shining over that, and spreading forth its rays upon the Spanish escutcheon, with this impress: *Luminare minus,*[d] "the less light," that it may be subject to the city,—of Rome, he means,—and so be lord to govern the whole world besides. And over all this, in the top of the title-page, there is printed in capital letters, *Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna,* "God made two great lights." There follows after, in this author, a discovery at large[e] of this blazoning of these arms; but this is the substance of it, and abundantly enough to show what is aimed at—by whom—and for whom. And this book was not stolen out without the will and consent of the state, for it hath printed before it all manner of licence that a book can well have: for it hath the approbation of Father Pedro de Buyza, of the company of the Jesuits; of John de Arcediano, provincial of the Dominicans; of Diego Granero, the licenser appointed for the supreme Council of the Inquisition. And some of these revised this book, by order from the lords of that Council.[f] And last of all, the king's privilege[g] is to it, with high commendation of the work. But the Spaniards had need look to it, for all this, lest the French deceive them. For now lately Friar Campanella hath set out an eclogue upon the birth of the Dauphin, and that *permissu superiorum,* "by licence from his superiors," in which he says expressly: "That all the princes are now more afraid of France than ever, for that there is provided for it *regnum universale,* 'the universal kingdom, or monarchy.'"[h]

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[1] [1] [the . . . *carent* Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[d] Luminare minus, ut subdatur urbi, et dominetur orbi.

[e] [Declaracion del blason que està en la cabeça deste libro.—This occupies five pages.]

[f] Por orden de los Seniores del Consejo Supremo, [è visto este primero tomo, &c.]

[g] Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor. [In both cases the words seem to mean that the works were examined and the licence signed by order of the respective authorities, and to be merely the ordinary forms of licensing.]

[h] Quum Gallia alat 20,000,000 hominum, ex singulis centenis sumendo unum, colligit 200,000 strenuorum militum stipendiatorum, commode, perpetuoque. Propterea omnes terræ principes metuunt nunc magis a Gallia, quam unquam [aut] ab aliis; paratur enim illi *regnum universale.* —Ecloga [Christianissimis Regi et reginæ] in [portentosam] Delphini [orbis Christiani summæ spei] nativitatem. F. Thomæ Campanellæ [ord. Præd. sæculorum excubitoris cantus.] cum annot. Discip. Parisiis, 1639. [p. 4. annot. [b].] Cum permissu superiorum.

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A. C. p. 60.

XIII.—But it is time to return. For A. C. in this passage hath been very careful to tell us of a parliament, and of living magistrates and judges, besides the law-books. Thirdly, therefore, The Church of England, God be thanked, thrives happily under a gracious prince, and well understands that a parliament cannot be called at all times; and that there are visible judges besides the law-books, and one supreme (long may he be, and be happy!) to settle all temporal differences; which, certainly, he might much better perform, if his kingdoms were well rid of A. C. and his fellows. And she believes too, that our Saviour Christ hath left in His Church, besides His law-book the Scripture, visible magistrates and judges—that is, archbishops and bishops, under a gracious king, to govern both for truth and peace according to the Scripture; and her own canons and constitutions, as also those of the Catholic Church, which cross not the Scripture and the just laws of the realm.[i] But she doth not believe there is any necessity to have one pope or bishop over the whole Christian world, more than to have one emperor over the whole world—which, were it possible, she cannot think fit. Nor are any of these intermediate judges, or that one which you would have supreme, infallible.

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XIV.—But since a "kingdom" and a "parliament" please A. C. so well to pattern the Church by, I will follow him in the way he goes, and be bold to put him in mind, that in some kingdoms there are divers businesses of greatest consequence, which cannot be finally and bindingly ordered, but in and by parliament; and particularly the statute laws, which must bind all the subjects, cannot be made and ratified but there. Therefore, according to A. C.'s own argument, there will be some business also found, (Is not the settling of the divisions of Christendom one of them?) which can never be well settled, but in a General Council;[k]

[i] [Ad primam illarum respondetur . . . quod Christus est caput fidelium: ideo Christiani non subsunt uni capiti sub Christo. Ad rationem autem in contrarium respondetur, quod] non est necesse, ut sub Christo sit unus rector totius ecclesiæ, sed sufficit quod sint plures diversas regentes provincias, quemadmodum sunt plures reges gubernantes plura regna. — Ockam. Dial. lib. ii. tract. i. par. 3. cap. 30. ad. 1. [apud Goldast. S. Rom. Imper. Monarch. tom. ii. p. 818. ed. Francof. 1614.]

[k] [Ex quibus omnibus arguitur a simili, quod etiam] propter defectum conciliorum generalium totius Ecclesiæ, quæ sola audet intrepide corri-

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and particularly the making of canons, which must bind all particular Christians and Churches, cannot be concluded and established but there. And again, as the supreme magistrate in the state civil may not abrogate the laws made in parliament, though he may dispense with the sanction or penalty of the law, *quoad hic et nunc*, as the lawyers speak,—so in the ecclesiastical body, no bishop, no, not the pope, where his supremacy is admitted, hath power to disannul[l] or violate the true and fundamental decrees of a General Council, though he may perhaps dispense in some cases with some decrees. By all which it appears, though somewhat may be done by the bishops and governors of the Church, to preserve the unity and certainty of faith, and to keep the Church from renting, or for uniting it when it is rent; yet that, in the ordinary way which the Church hath hitherto kept, some things there are, and upon great emergent occasions may be, which can have no other help than a lawful, free, and well composed General Council. And when that cannot be had, the Church must pray that it may, and expect till it may; or else reform itself *per partes*, by national or provincial synods, as hath been said before.[m] And in the mean time, it little beseems A. C., or any Christian, to check at the wisdom of Christ,[n] if He have not

gere omnes, ea mala quæ universalem tangunt Ecclesiam manentia diu incorrecta crescunt, [et inventa sunt de malo in pejus, donec tandem iniqua, sub fictione consuetudinis, reputentur licita. — Joann.] Gerson. declarat. Defectuum Virorum Ecclesiasticorum, [Op.,] tom. i. p. 209. [ed. Paris. 1606. tom. ii. col. 318. C. ed. Dupin. 1706.]

[l] Sunt enim indissolubilia decreta, quibus reverentia debita est.—S. Prosper. [Aquitan. lib.] contra Collatorem, [i. e. pro def. S. Augustin. contra Cassianum,] cap. i. [Op., col. 310. B. His words are: Ecce salva Catholicæ pace victoriæ, salva indissolubilium reverentia decretorum, parati sumus patronos doctrinæ emendatioris audire, &c.] And Turrecremata, who says everything that may be said for the pope's supremacy, yet dares not say, papam posse revocare et tollere omnia statuta generalium conciliorum, sed *aliqua* tantum. — Joann. de Turrecremata, Summæ de Ecclesia, lib. iii. cap. 55. [ed. Lugd. 1496. His words are: In superioribus duobus capitulis ostendimus quod Romanus pontifex prærogativa primatus sui poterat tam interpretari dubia quæ in canonibus conciliorum sacrorum orirentur quam dispensare in illis; nunc restat ostendere quod etiam possit tam canones universalium conciliorum quam decreta suorum prædecessorum aliquorum pro temporum et causarum necessitate revocare tollere atque mutare: licet non universaliter.]—Et postea, Papa non potest revocare decreta primorum quatuor conciliorum, quia non sunt nisi declarativa articulorum fidei. [His words are: Et sic dicimus quod hoc competat illis quatuor conciliis (sc. primis,) quod revocari non possunt, propter hoc: sc. quia non fuerunt nisi declarativa articulorum fidei.]—Ibid. cap. 57. [Respons.] ad secundum.

[m] Sect. xxiv. No. 1. [ubi sup. p. 167.]

[n] "And shall we think that Christ, the wisest King, hath not provided," &c.—A. C. p. 60. Where I cannot

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taken the way they think fittest[1] to settle Church differences; or if, for the Church's sin or trial, the way of composing them be left more uncertain than they would have it, "that they which are approved may be known." But the Jesuit had told me before, that a General Council had adjudged these things already. For so he says.

[1] [fitting... Editt.1673, and 1686.]

1 Cor. xi. 19.

[A.C. pp. 59, 60.]

F. I told him, that a General Council, to wit, of Trent, had already judged, not the Roman Church, but the Protestants,[2] to hold errors.[3] "That," said the **B.** "was not a lawful* Council."

[2] [the Protestant, ... A. C.]

[3] [error ... A.C.]

* [The Chaplain saith, "That the **B.** said not only so, but that it was no General Council." I answer, that if the **B.** said so, it was only for want of memory that the Jesuit did not relate it so; for the exceptions which the **B.** did or can make against the lawfulness or generalness of the Council of Trent, may be made by Arians against the Council of Nice. It is not necessary to the lawfulness and generalness of a Council, that all bishops of the world be actually present, and actually subscribe or yield assent; but that such promulgation be made as is morally sufficient to give notice that such a Council is called, and that all may come if they will, and that a competent number, at least the major part, of those which be present, yield assent to the decree.—A. C. marg. note to p. 60.]

§ 27. **B.** I.—It is true that you replied for the Council of Trent; and my answer was, not only that the Council was not legal in the necessary conditions to be observed in a General Council, but also that it was no General Council—which again you are content to omit. Consider it well. First, Is that Council legal, the abettors whereof maintain publicly that it is lawful for them to conclude any controversy, and make it be *de fide*, and so in your judgment fundamental, though it have not—I do not say now, the written word of

commend either A. C.'s modesty, that he doth not—or his cunning, that he will not—go so far as some have done before him, though in these words, "shall we think," &c. he goes too far. [Nam] non videretur discretus Dominus fuisse, ut, cum reverentia Ejus loquar, nisi unicum post se talem vicarium reliquisset, qui hæc omnia potest. Fuit autem [iste] vicarius ejus Petrus. (Matt. xv.) Et idem dicendum est de successoribus Petri, cum eadem absurditas sequeretur, si post mortem Petri, humanam naturam a se creatam sine regimine unius personæ reliquisset . . . [Et ideo Bonifacius Octavus motus multis aliis efficacibus rationibus, et exemplis, et auctoritatibus sacræ Scripturæ declaravit, dixit, et definivit subesse Romano pontifici omnem humanam creaturam de necessitate salutis, ut in Decretali, *Unam Sanctam*, &c.]—Extrav. Comm. [lib. i.] Tit. viii. de Majoritate et Obedientia, cap. *Unam Sanctam*, &c. in addition. D[om.] Petri Bernardi, ed. Paris. 1585. [in Petr. Bernard. Tract. de Jurisdict. Eccles. et Sæcul. quæst. iv. apud Tractat. Juris Utriusque, tom. xii. fol. 414. col. 1. ed. Venet. 1584. Extat quoque in Max. Bibl. Vet. Patrum, tom. xxvi. p. 134. G.]

God for warrant, either in express letter or necessary sense and deduction, (as all unerring councils have had, and as all must have that will not err,) but,—not so much as probable testimony from it, nay, quite *extra*, "without" the Scripture?[o] Nay, secondly, Is that Council legal[p] where the

[o] [Sed quæ Ecclesia ab apostolorum usque temporibus prima et certa traditione accepit, vel contra hæreses in causa fidei maturo judicio definivit, vel pro loco et tempore in moribus definiendum censuit,] etiamsi nullo Scripturarum, [aut evidenti, aut] probabili testimonio confirmetur, [solidum tamen et indubitatum cuivis fideli et vero Ecclesiæ filio esse debet.] —Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv. iv. de potestate Ecclesiæ in se,] Q[uæst.] 1. Ar[tic.] 3. [Op., tom. i. p. 744. A. ubi sup. p. 32. note [m].]

[p] Here A. C. tells us, "that doubtless the Arians also did mislike that, at Nice, the pope had legates to carry his messages, and that one of them in his place sat as president." Why, but first, it is manifest that Hosius was president at the Council of Nice, and not the Bishop of Rome, either by himself or his legates. And so much Athanasius himself (who was present, and surely understood the Council of Nice, and who presided there, as well as A. C.) tells us: Hosius hic est princeps synodorum. (So, belike, he presided in other councils as well as at Nice.) Hic formulam fidei in Nicæna synodo concepit. (And this the Arians themselves confess to Constantius the emperor, then seduced to be theirs.)—Apud S. Athanas. Epist. ad solitar. vitam agentes. [οὗτος καὶ συνόδων καθηγεῖται, καὶ γράφων ἀκούεται πανταχοῦ· οὗτος καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν ἐξέθετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς ἐκήρυξεν αἱρετικοὺς εἶναι πανταχοῦ·—S. Athanas. Historia Arianorum ad Monachos, cap. xlii. Op., tom i. p. 369. B.] But then, secondly, I do not except against the pope's sitting as president, either at Nice or Trent; for that he might do when called or chosen to it, as well as any other patriarch, if you consider no more but his sitting as president. But at Nice the cause was not his own, but Christ's against the Arian; whereas, at Trent, it was merely his own—his own supremacy, and his Church's corruptions, against the Protestants; and, therefore, surely not to sit president at the trial of his own cause, though in other causes he might sit, as well as other patriarchs. And for that of Bellarmine, de Conciliis [et Ecclesia,] lib. i. cap. 21. § [6. Op., tom. ii. col. 51. C.] Tertia conditio [iniqua est: quia Romanus pontifex non potest privari jure suo indicendi concilia, et eis præsidendi, in cujus possessione jam fuit per 1500 annos, nisi prius in legitimo judicio convincatur, non esse summus pontifex.] viz. "That it is unjust to deny the Roman prelate his right (jus suum) in calling General Councils, and presiding in them; in possession of which right he hath been for 1500 years." That is but a bold assertion of the cardinal's, by his leave; for he gives us no proof of it, but his bare word. Whereas the very authentic copies of the Councils, published and printed by the Romanists themselves, affirm clearly they were called by emperors, not by the pope; and that the pope did not preside in all of them. And I hope Bellarmine will not expect we should take his bare word against the Councils. And most certain it is, that, even as Hosius presided the Council [an. 325.] at Nice, and no way that as the pope's legate; so also in the second [an. 381.] General Council, which was the first of Constantinople, Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, presided.—Concil. Chalced. Act. vi. p. 136. apud Binium. [Concil. tom. ii. col. 953. B.]—In the third, [an. 431.] which was the first at Ephesus, S. Cyril of Alexandria presided; and though Pope Cælestine was joined with him, yet he sent none out of the West to that council till many things were therein finished; as appears apud Act. Concil. tom. ii. capp. 16, 17. [Concil. tom. iii. col. 609, et seqq.]—In the fourth, [an. 451.] at Chalcedon, the legates of the bishop of Rome had the prime place.—[Concil. tom. iv. col. 786.]—In the fifth, [Constantinop. II. an. 553.] Eutychius, bishop of Constantinople, was president.—[Concil. tom. v. col. 416.]—In the sixth, [Constantinop. III. an. 681.] and seventh, [Nicæn. II. an. 787.] the legates of the pope were president; yet so as

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pope, the chief person to be reformed, shall sit president in it, and be chief judge in his own cause, against all law, divine, natural, and human? In a place not free, but in, or too near, his own dominion? To which all were not called that had deliberative or consultative voice? In which none had suffrage, but such as were sworn to the pope and the Church of Rome, and professed enemies to all that called for reformation, or a free council? And the pope[q] himself, to show his charity, had declared and pronounced the appellants heretics, before they were condemned by the council? I hope an assembly of enemies are no lawful council; and I think the decrees of such a one are *omni jure nulla*, and carry their nullity with them through all law.

II.—Again: Is that council general, that hath none of the Eastern Churches' consent, nor presence there? Are all the Greeks so become *non ecclesia*, "no church," that they have no interest in General Councils? It numbers, indeed, among the subscribers six Greeks. They might be so by nation, or by title, purposely given them; but dare you say they were actually bishops of, and sent from, the Greek Church to the Council? Or is it to be accounted a General Council, that in many sessions had scarce ten archbishops, or forty or fifty bishops, present? And for the West of Christendom, nearer home, it reckons one English, S. Asaph. But Cardinal Pole was there too; and English indeed he was by birth, but not sent to that Council by the king and Church of England, but as one of the pope's legates;[r] and so we find him in the fifth session of that Council, but neither before nor after.[1] And at the beginning of the Council he was not bishop in the Church of England; and after he was Archbishop of Canterbury, he never went over to the

[1] [him in the five first sessions of that Council . . . Edit. 1673. —him at the five first sessions of that Council . . . Edit. 1686.]

that almost all the duty of a moderator or president was performed in the seventh by Tharasius, bishop of Constantinople, as appears manifestly in the Acts of that Council.—[Concil. tom. vi. col. 587. and Concil. tom. vii. col. 1. and col. 161. &c.]—And since these seven are all the General Councils which the Greeks and Latins jointly acknowledge, and that in these other patriarchs and bishops presided, as oft at least as the bishop of Rome, what is become of Bellarmine's brag, "that the pope hath been possessed of this right of presiding in General Councils for the space of 1500 years?"

[q] Leo X. Bull. Jun. 8, 1520. [Pro pastoralis igitur officii, divina gratia nobis injuncti, cura quam gerimus, prædictorum errorum virus pestiferum ulterius tolerare seu dissimulare . . . . non possumus.—In Bull. *Exurge Domine*, &c. dat. xvii. Kalend. Julii, an. 1520. apud Bullarium, tom. i. p. 610. ed. Luxemburg. 1727.]

[r] Concil. Trid. Sess. 5. [*carent*, Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

Council. And can you prove that S. Asaph went thither by authority? There were but few of other nations, and, it may be, some of them reckoned with no more truth than the Greeks. In all the sessions under Paul the Third, but two Frenchmen, and sometimes none—as in the sixth under Julius the Third, when Henry the Second of France protested against that Council; and in the end it is well known how all the French, which were then a good part, held off till the Cardinal of Lorraine was got to Rome. As for the Spaniards, they laboured for many things upon good grounds, and were most unworthily overborne. SECTION XXVII.

III.—To all this A. C. hath nothing to say, but "that it is not necessary to the lawfulness and generalness of a Council that all bishops of the world should be actually present, subscribe, or consent; but that such promulgation be made as is morally sufficient to give notice that such a Council is called, and that all may come, if they will; and that a major part at least of those that are present give assent to the decrees." I will forget that it was but p. 59 in which A. C. speaks of "all pastors," and those not only summoned, but "gathered together." And I will easily grant him, that it is not necessary that all bishops in the Christian world be present and subscribe; but, sure it is necessary to the "generalness" of a Council that some be there, and authorized for all particular Churches;[s] and to the "freedom" of a Council, that all that come may come safe; and to the "lawfulness" of a council, that all may come unengaged, and not fastened to a side, before they sit down to argue or deliberate. Nor is such a "promulgation" as A. C. mentions sufficient, but only in case of contumacy; and that where they which are called, and refuse to come, have no just cause for their not coming, as too many had in the case of Trent. And were such a "promulgation" sufficient for the "generalness" of a council, yet for the "freedom" and the "lawfulness" of it it were not. A. C. p. 61. A. C. p. 59.

[s] Quarta, ut saltem [ex majori parte Christianarum provinciarum aliqui adveniant, et si quidem concilium fit in Oriente, semper visum est sufficere, si ex provinciis omnibus Orientis episcopi conveniant multi; ex toto autem Occidente] si mittantur aliqui [a summo pontifice, qui suppleant aliorum locum.] Et [e contrario si celebretur in Occidente] conveniant . . [multi, ex Oriente autem pauci] aliqui veniant, [nomine aliorum,] &c.—Bellarmin. de Concil. [et Ecclesia,] lib. i. cap. 17. § [5. Op., tom. ii. col. 35. A.]

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[A.C. p.61.]

F. "So," said I, "would [the] Arians* say of the Council of Nice." The B. would not admit the case to be like . . .

* [As Protestants do think that the Council of Trent is not lawful, for having, in their judgment, departed from the letter and sense of Scripture, so did the Arians think of the Council of Nice. And as Protestants do justify that some were sent from the pope to Trent, and that the pope was president, so, doubtless, did the Arians mislike that at Nice the pope had legates, who did carry his messages, and one of them in his place sat as president.—A. C. marg. note to p. 61.]

§ 28. B. So indeed you said; and not you alone. It is the common objection made against all that admit not every latter council as fully as that Council of Nice, famous through all the Christian world. In the mean time, nor you nor they consider that the case is not alike, as I then told you. If the case be alike in all, why do not you admit that which was held at Ariminum, and the second of Ephesus, as well as Nice? If you say, as yours do, it was because the pope approved them not, that is a true cause, but not adequate, or full. For it was because the whole Church refused them; with whom the Roman prelate, standing then entire in the faith, agreed, and so, for his patriarchate, refused those councils.[t] But suppose it is true that these synods were not admitted because the pope refused them, yet this ground is gained, That the case is not alike for men's assent to all councils. And if you look to have this granted, That the pope must confirm, or the council is not lawful, we have far more reason to look that this be not denied, That Scripture must not be departed from in letter or necessary sense, or the council is not lawful.[u] For the consent and confirmation of Scripture is of far greater authority to make the council authentical, and the decisions of it *de fide*, than any confirmation of the pope can be. Now of these two, the Council of Nice, we are sure, had the first, the rule of Scripture; and you say it had the

[t] Sect. xxvi. No. 1. [ubi sup. p. 216.]

[u] Here A. C. tells us, that the Arians thought so of the Council of Nice, p. 61; namely, that they departed from letter and sense of Scripture. They said so, indeed. But the testimony of the whole Church, both then and since, went with the Council against the Arian. So is it not here against the Protestant for Trent; for they offer to be tried by that very Council of Nice, and all the ancient councils and fathers of the Church within the first four hundred years, and somewhat farther.

second, the pope's confirmation. The Council of Trent, we are able to prove, had not the first, and so we have no reason to respect the second. And to what end do your learned men maintain that a council may make a conclusion *de fide*, though it be simply *extra*,[x] "out of all bound" of Scripture, but out of a jealousy at least, that this of Trent, and some others, have in their determinations left both letter and sense of Scripture? Show this against the Council of Nice, and I will grant so much of the case to be like. But what will you say, if Constantine[y] required "that things thus brought into question should be answered and solved by testimony out of Scripture?" And the bishops of the Nicene Council never refused that rule. And what will you say, if they profess they depart not from it, "but are ready by many testimonies of divine Scripture to demonstrate their faith?"[z] Is the case then alike betwixt it and Trent? Surely no. But you say that I pretended something else, for my not admitting the case to be alike. SECTION XXVIII.

F. . . . . pretending that the pope made bishops of purpose,* for his side. But this the **B.** proved not. [A.C. p.61.]

* [The Chaplain saith, That the **B.** did not say, That the Pope made bishops of purpose, &c. I answer, that the Jesuit doth not say that the **B.** expressly said so; but that by insinuation he did pretend so much, which in effect the Chaplain seemeth to grant, when he saith, p. 40, the **B.** said, The Pope made himself a strong party in it. For although these words may be taken in another sense, yet they may also be taken in that sense which the Jesuit, by the circumstances of the **B.**'s speech, did then understand and express in his Relation: for that a great number of Italian Bishops, which the Chaplain saith the **B.** alleged as a proof, may very well import that the **B.** conceived the Pope to have made more Italian Bishops than of other countries, of purpose to have

[x] So Stapleton often, [ubi sup. p. 32. note [m];] but the fathers quite otherwise. [Præmitto interim pignus futuri apud te sermonis mei.] Non [aliqua ad scandalum, neque] quæ extra Evangelium sunt, defendam.—S. Hilar. [Pictav.] ad Constantium, lib. ii. [cap. 11. Op., col. 1230. E.]

[y] Literarum divinitus inspiratarum testimoniis.—lib. ii. in Syn. Nic. tom. i. per Nicolinum. [ed. Venet. 1585. *εὐαγγελικαὶ γὰρ βίβλοι, καὶ ἀποστολικαὶ, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν τὰ θεσπίσματα σαφῶς ἡμᾶς ἅπερ χρὴ περὶ τοῦ θείου φρονεῖν ἐκπαιδεύουσι· τὴν πολεμοποιὸν οὖν ἀπελάσαντες ἔριν, ἐκ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λόγων λάβωμεν τῶν ζητουμένων τὴν λύσιν.*—Orat. Constant. in Gelasii Histor. Concil. Nicæni, apud Concil. tom. ii. col. 166. D.]

[z] Ib. in Osii sententia, p. 517. Parati ex Sancti Spiritus arbitrio per plurima divinarum Scripturarum testimonia demonstrare hæc ita se habere. [*ἑτοίμως ἐχόντων ἡμῶν, σὺν εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διὰ πλείστων ὅσων μαρτυριῶν τῶν ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν δεῖξαι, ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν.*—in Gelasii Histor. Concil. Nicæni, apud Concil. tom. ii. col. 174. D.]

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a strong faction. But this proof was so weak, as the Jesuit might well say it was no proof, not worthy of answer, or of looking into the book for it; it being only a surmise of adversaries, who are apt to interpret every thing to the worst. Italian Bishops might be more, as being nearer—as in Greek Councils more Grecians were present—without any factious combination with the Pope, in any other sort than all the Catholic Bishops in the world, who are as much united with the Pope for matters of faith, defined in the Council, as any Italian Bishop. Neither can the ℣. prove that any Catholic French, or Spanish, or of any other country, or the schismatical Greeks, did agree with Protestants in those points which were defined in the Council, especially after it was confirmed by the Pope. For they all, even Grecians, did, and do at this day, unanimously oppose Protestants, as appeareth by the censure of Hieremias, the Grecian Patriarch. So as, if such a free Council as the ℣. and others wished were gathered out of East and West, Protestants doubtless would be condemned for heretics, and their negative refutes and denials of ancient articles for heresies, by more than double the major part, compared to those who would take their part. For although, as all heretics use to do, Protestants persuade themselves Scriptures to be evident for their opinions, and that with evident demonstrations they should be able to convince all the world that they teach truth, and nothing but truth, yet they would find innumerable others as learned, to say no more, and as well studied in Scripture, and skilful in making demonstrations, who are of another mind.—A. C. marg. note to p. 61.]

§ 29. ℣. I.—No: nor had I reason to take on me to prove what I said not. I know it will be expected I should prove what I say. And it is hard to prove the purpose of the pope's heart. For if it be proved that he made bishops at that time; that some of them were titular only, and had no livelihood to subsist, but out of his purse, and so must hang their judgment at the strings of it; that some of these thus made were sent to the Council—and sure not without their errand;—yet if the pope will say he neither made nor sent them to overrule the Holy Ghost at that meeting, or of purpose for his side, (as no question but it will be said,) who can prove it, that is not a surveyor of the heart? But though the pope's heart cannot be seen, yet if these and the like presumptions be true, it is a great sign that Trent was too corrupt and factious a meeting for the Holy Ghost to be at. And sure the case in this not alike at Nice.

II.—That which I said was, "that Trent could be no indifferent Council to the Church, the pope having made himself a strong party in it." And this I proved, though you be here not only content to omit, but plainly to deny the proof. For I proved it thus, (and you answered not,)[a]

[a] Here A. C. is angry, and says, "This was no proof, nor worthy of any answer, or looking into the book for it." First, because it is only "a surmise of adversaries, who are apt to interpret to the worst." Secondly, because "there might be more Italian bishops there, as being nearer, yet without any factious combination with the pope; as in the Greek Councils more Gre-

"That there were more Italian bishops there than of all Christendom besides." More? Yea, more than double. And this I proved out of the Council itself, which you had in your hand, in *decimo sexto*, but had no great heart to look it. For, where the number of prelates is expressed, that had suffrage and vote in that Council, the Italians are set down to be one hundred and eighty-seven, and all the rest make but eighty-three; so that there were more Italian bishops, by one hundred and four, than of all the rest of Christendom. Sure the pope did not mean to be overreached in this Council. And whatsoever became of his infallibility otherwise, he might this way be sure to be infallible in whatsoever he would have determined; and this, without all doubt, is all the infallibility he hath. So I proved this sufficiently, I think. For if it were not to be sure of a side, give any satisfying reason why such a potent party of Italians, more than double to the whole Christian world, should be there? Show me the like for Nice, and I will give it that the case is alike between these two Councils.

III.—Here Bellarmine comes in to help. But sure it will not help you, that he hath offered at as much against the Council of Nice, as I have urged against that at Trent. For he tells us, "that in the Council at Nice there were as few bishops of the West present as were of the East at Trent,"[b]

cians were present."—A. C. p. 62. "No proof," or a "weak" one! Let the reader judge that. But why "no proof?" Because "a surmise of adversaries." Is that a surmise of adversaries that is taken out of the Council itself? Is that Council then become *regnum divisum*, and apt to interpret the worst of itself? Yea, "but there were more Italian bishops, as being nearer." Most true: nearer a great deal than the "Grecian" bishops; but the bishops of France and of some parts of Germany were almost as near as the Italians themselves; and why, then, came no more of these, that were near enough? Well; A. C. may say what he will, but the pope remembered well the Councils of Constance and Basil, and thought it wisdom to make sure work at Trent. For in later times (for their own fears, no doubt), the bishops of Rome have been no great friends to General Councils, especially free ones. Multi suspicantur, quod hæc dissimulaverit Romana curia, et [super his] concilia fieri neglexerit, ut possit ad suæ voluntatis libitum plenius dominari, et jura aliarum ecclesiarum liberius usurpare. Quod non assero esse verum; sed quia [contra eam] hujusmodi laborat infamia, ideo, &c.—Pet. de Alliaco, Card. Cameracensis lib. [tractat.] de Reformat. Eccles. [oblat. in Concil. Constant.] apud Fascic. rerum expetendarum [ac fugiendarum,] fol. cciv. B. [et, apud Joann. Gerson. Op., tom. ii. col. 903, &c. ed. Dupin.]

[b] [Sic] in Concilio Nicæno I. ex occidente solum fuerunt duo presbyteri missi ex Italia, unus episcopus ex Gallia, unus ex Hispania, et unus ex Africa.—Bellarmin. lib. i. de Concil. cap. 17. § antepenult. [Op., tom. ii. col. 35. A.]

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but five in all. Be it so: yet this will not make the case alike between the two Councils. First, because I press not the disparity in number only, but with it the pope's carriage, to be sure of a major part; for it lay upon the pope to make sure work at Trent, both for himself and his Church. But neither the Greek Church in general, nor any patriarch of the East, had any private interest to look to in the Council at Nice. Secondly, because I press not so much against the Council of Trent, that there were so exceeding many bishops of the West compared with those of the East—for that must needs be, when a Council is held in the West—but, that there were so many more Italians, and bishops obnoxious to the pope's power, than of all Germany, France, Spain, and all other parts of the West besides. Thirdly, because both Bellarmine and A. C. seek to avoid the dint of this argument, by comparing the Western with the Eastern bishops, and are content to say nothing about the excessive number of Italians to others of the West. That will receive a fuller answer than any of the rest. For though very few Western bishops were at the Council of Nice, being so remote, yet at[1] the same time Pope Sylvester held a Council at Rome, in which he, with two hundred and seventy-five bishops of the West, "confirmed the Nicene Creed, and anathematized all those which should dare to dissolve the definition of that holy and great Council."[c] Now, let Bellarmine, or A. C., or any else, show, that when the Council of Trent sat, there was another Council—though never so privately, in regard of their miserable oppression—which sat in Greece, or anywhere in the East, under any patriarch or Christian bishop, which did confirm the canons of the Council of Trent, and anathematize them which admitted them not; and I will confess they speak home to the comparison between the Councils, else a blind man may see the difference, and it is a vast one.

[1] [at . . . *caret* Edit. 1686.]

A. C. p. 62.

IV.—But here A. C. makes account he hath found a better reply to this; and now tells us, that "neither French,

[c] Omnes qui ausi fuerint dissolvere definitionem sancti et magni concilii, quod apud Nicæam congregatum est, [sub præsentia piissimi et venerandi principis Constantini Augusti,] anathematizamus.—Concil. Roman. III. sub Sylvestro, apud Binium, p. 449. [Concil. tom. ii. col. 410. E.]

nor Spanish, nor schismatical Greeks, did agree with Protestants in those points which were defined in that council, especially after it was confirmed by the pope, as appears by the censure of Jeremias, the Greek patriarch." Who agreed with the Protestants in the points defined by that Council, as he speaks—or rather, to speak properly, against the points there defined—I know not. And for aught A. C. knows, many might agree with them in heart, that in such a Council durst not open themselves. And what knows A. C. how many might have been of their opinion in the main, before the Council ended, had they been admitted to a fair and a free dispute? And it may be too, some decrees would have been more favourable to them, had not the care of the pope's interest made them sourer. For else what mean these words, "especially after it was confirmed by the pope?" As for Jeremias, it is true, his censure is in many things against the Protestants; but I find not that that censure of his is warranted by any authority of the Greek Church, or that he gave the Protestants any hearing before he passed his censure. And, at the most, it is but the censure of a schismatic, in A. C.'s own judgment. And for his flourish which follows, "that East and West would condemn Protestants for heretics," I would he would forbear prophesying, till both parts might meet in a free General Council that sought Christ more than themselves. But I find the Jesuit hath not done with me yet, but adds: SECTION XXX.

℣. In fine, the ℬ. wished, that a lawful* General Council were called, to end controversies. The persons present said, that[1] the king was inclined thereunto, and that[2] therefore we Catholics might do well to concur. [A. C. pp. 62, 63.]

[1] [that . . . *caret* A.C.]
[2] [that . . . *caret* A.C.]

* [I marvel in what sort the ℬ. will describe such a General Council; and how it should be gathered; and what rules are in it to be observed, which are morally likely so to be observed, as to make an end of controversies, better than our Catholic General Councils.—A. C. marg. note to p. 62.]

§ 30. ℬ. And what say you to my wish? You pretend great love to the truth: would you not have it found? Can you or any Christian be offended, that there should be a good end of controversies? Can you think of a better end than

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by a General Council? And if you have a most gracious king inclined unto it, as you say it was offered, how can you acquit yourselves if you do not consent? Now here A. C.

A. C. p. 62. "marvels what kind of General Council I would have, and what rules I would have observed in it, which are morally like to be observed, and make an end of controversies, better than their Catholic General Councils." Truly, I am not willing to leave A. C. unsatisfied in any thing; nor have I any meaning to trouble the Church with any new devisings of mine. Any General Council shall satisfy me—and, I presume, all good Christians—that is lawfully called, continued, and ended, according to the same course, and under the same conditions,[d] which General Councils observed in the primitive Church; which, I am sure, were Councils General and Catholic, whatever yours be. But I doubt, that after all noise made about these requisite conditions, A. C. and his fellows will be found as much, if not more defective in performance of the conditions, than in the conditions themselves.—Well, the Jesuit goes on, for all this:

[A.C.p.63.] **F.** I asked the **B.** whether he thought a General Council might err? He said, It might.

§ 31. **B.** I presume, you do not expect I should enter into the proof of this controversy, Whether a General Council may err in determination, or not? Yourself brought no proof that it cannot; and till that be brought, my speech is good that it can; and yet I hope to be found no infringer of any power given by Christ to His Church. But it seems by that which follows, you did by this question, "Can a General Council err?" but seek to win ground for your other, which follows:

[A.C.p.63.] **F.** "If a General Council may err, what nearer are we then," said I, "to unity, after a Council hath determined?" "Yes," said he, "although it may err,

[d] Ex iis conciliis quæ omnium consensu generalia fuerunt, qualia sunt quatuor prima: ex consuetudine autem Ecclesiæ colligimus quatuor conditiones [et] sufficere et requiri, [ad generale Concilium.]—Bellarmin. de Concil. lib. i. cap. xvii. § 2. [Op., tom. ii. col. 34. C.]

yet we should be bound* to hold with[1] it till another come to reverse it." SECTION XXXII.

[1] [with . . . *caret* A.C.]

* ['The Chaplain saith, that the ℣. added a caution, which the Jesuit omitteth, saying: The determination of a General Council erring was to stand in force, and have external obedience at least yielded to it, till evidence of Scripture, or a demonstration to the contrary, made the error appear, and until thereupon another Council of equal authority did reverse it. I answer, That added caution, which either was not there added, or not remembered by the Jesuit, maketh the ℣.'s answer far worse than as the Jesuit did relate. For whereas the Jesuit relateth only thus, "although it may err," this caution maketh the case to be, "that it doth actually err." And whereas the Jesuit relateth, "that we," not knowing whether it do err or not, but only that it may err, "are bound to hold it until another come to reverse it;" this caution doth put the case so, as if the determination of a General Council actually erring, were, not *ipso jure* invalid, but, such as is to stand in force, and to have external obedience at least yielded unto it, till not only moral certainty, but, evidence of Scripture, or a demonstration to the contrary, make the error appear; and after the error appeareth, yet we must continue this yielding of obedience. And how long? "Until thereupon a council," and not every council, but "of equal authority, do reverse it," which perhaps will not be found in a whole age. Verily I cannot believe, that the ℣. upon better advisement will allow this caution, or give any thanks to his Chaplain for setting it down; but will commend the Jesuit for relating his speech more truly, and at least less disgracefully.—A. C. marg. note to p. 63.]

℣. I.—Whether a General Council may err or not, is a question of great consequence in the Church of Christ. To say it cannot err, leaves the Church not only without remedy against an error once determined, but also without sense that it may need a remedy, and so without care to seek it; which is the misery of the Church of Rome at this day. To say it can err, seems to expose the members of the Church to an uncertainty and wavering in the faith; to make unquiet spirits; not only to disrespect former councils of the Church, but also to slight and contemn whatsoever it may now determine; into which error some opposers of the Church of Rome have fallen. And upon this is grounded your question, "Wherein are we nearer to unity, if a council may err?" But in relating my answer to this, you are not so candid; for my words did not sound as yours seem to do, "That we should hold with the council, err or not err, till another came to reverse it;" as if grounds of faith might vary at the racket, and be cast of each side as a cunning hand might lay them. § 32.

II.—You forget again—omit, at least—and with what mind you best know, the caution which I added. For I said, "The determination of a General Council erring was to stand in force, and to have external obedience at the least

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yielded to it, till evidence of Scripture,[e] or a demonstration to the contrary, made the error appear; and until thereupon another Council[f] of equal authority did reverse it." And, indeed, I might have returned upon you again: If a General Council not confirmed by the pope may err, (which you affirm,) to what end then a General Council? And you may answer, Yes; for although a General Council may err, yet the pope, as head of the Church, cannot. An excellent means of unity, to have all in the Church as the pope will have it, whatever Scripture say, or the Church think! And then, I pray, to what end a General Council? Will his holiness be so holy, as to confirm a General Council if it determine against him? And as for Bellarmine's[g] reasons

[e] Sect. xxxiii. Consid. 5. No. 1, 2. [vide infra, pp. 272, 273.] And the reason of this is, because to have a General Council deceived, is not impossible: but altogether impossible it is, that demonstrative reason or testimony divine should deceive.—Hooker. Eccl. Polit. Book ii. ch. vii. [Sect. 5. Works, vol. i. p. 407. His words are: "I grant that proof derived from the authority of man's judgment is not able to work that assurance which doth grow by a stronger proof; and therefore although ten thousand General Councils would set down one and the same definitive sentence concerning any point of religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative reason alleged, or one manifest testimony cited from the mouth of God Himself to the contrary, could not choose but overweigh them all; inasmuch as for them to have been deceived, it is not impossible; it is, that demonstrative reason or testimony divine should deceive."]

[f] In which case, Maldonat[us] puts in the shrewdest argument; namely, That this way we should never have a certain end of controversies; for, to try whether any thing were decreed according to the word of God by one General Council, we should need another Council; and then another to try that; and so *in infinitum*. So our faith should never have where to settle and rest itself.—Maldonat. in S. Matth. xviii. 20. [His words are: Quod autem hæretici judicandum esse dicunt utrum in nomine Christi convenerint, si nihil nisi ex verbo Dei constituerint, perverso faciunt judicio. Non enim, quia nihil nisi ex verbo Dei decernunt, in nomine Christi convenerunt: sed quia in nomine Christi convenerunt, nihil nisi ex verbo Dei possunt decernere. Prius enim in nomine Christi conveniunt, quam aliquid decernant. Et qui in Christi nomine non convenerunt, possunt aliquando ex verbo Dei omnia decernere. Itaque incertam nobis hæresim, et fallacem regulam tradunt, quæ si vera esset, nunquam sciri posset, an aliquod concilium in nomine Christi convenisset. Nam ad examinandum, utrum aliquid non ex verbo Dei decrevisset, alio concilio opus esset; et ad examinandum, an illud alterum aliquid dixisset præter verbum Dei, rursus opus altero: sic nusquam fides nostra gradum figeret.] But to this I answer, That the ancient Church took this way, as will afterward appear in S. Augustine. Next, here is no uncertainty at all; for no General Council lawfully called, and so proceeding, can be questioned in another, unless it so fall out, that evident Scripture or a demonstration appear against it. But either of these are so clear and manifest, that there need be no fear of proceeding *in infinitum*, and leaving the faith in uncertainty, in necessaries to salvation. And in curious speculations it is no matter, whether there be certainty or no, with or without a council.—[Vide infra, Sect. xxxiii. Consid. 5. No. 1, 2. [pp. 272, 273.]

[g] [Secunda ratio. Si solus pontifex potest infallibiliter definire dogmata fidei, ergo frustra fiunt concilia, vel

why a General Council should be useful, if not necessary, though the pope be infallible, they are so weak in part, and in part so unworthy, that I am sorry any necessity of a bad cause should force so learned a man to make use of them. SECTION XXXII.

III.—Here A. C. tells me: "The caution mentioned as omitted, makes my answer worse than the Jesuit related it; and that in two things. First, in that the Jesuit relates it thus: 'although it may err;' but the caution makes it as if it did actually err. Secondly, in that the Jesuit relates 'that we are bound to hold it till another come to reverse it;' that is, we not knowing whether it do err or not, but only that it may err. But the caution puts the case so, as if the determination of a General Council actually erring were not *ipso jure* invalid, but must stand in force, and have external obedience yielded to it, till not only moral certainty, but evidence of Scripture, or a demonstration to the contrary, make the error appear; and when it appears, we must yield our obedience till a council of equal authority reverse it, which perhaps will not be found in an whole age. So either the Jesuit relates this speech [more] truly, or less disgracefully." And A. C. thinks that, upon better judgment, I will not allow this caution. Truly, I shall not thank the Jesuit for any his kindness here. And for the "caution," I must and do acknowledge it mine, even upon "advisement," and that whether it make my answer worse or better. And I think farther, that the Jesuit hath no great cause to thank A. C. for this Defence of his Relation. A. C. pp. 63, 64.

IV.—First, then, the Jesuit, so says A.C., doth in his Relation make it but a supposition, that a General Council may err; but the "caution" expresses it as actually erring. True; but yet I hope this expression makes no General Council actually err. And then it comes all to one, whether I suppose that such a Council may err, or that it do err; and it is fitter for clearing the difficulties into which the Church falls in such a case, to suppose—and more than a supposition it is not—a General Council actually[h] erring, than as only under a possi- A. C. p. 63.

certe non sunt necessaria. Respondeo; id non sequi. Nam etsi in pontifice sit infallibilitas, tamen non debet ipse contemnere media humana et ordinaria, &c.]—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 7. § 3. et seqq. [Op., tom. i. col. 816. B, C.]

[h] [Hæc est ecclesia symbolica, cc-

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bility of erring. For the Church hath much more to do to vindicate itself from such an error actually being, than from any the like error that might be.

A. C. p. 63.

V.—Secondly, A. C. thinks he hath got great advantage by the words of the "caution;" in that I say, "a General Council erring is to stand in force, and have external obedience," at least so far as it consists in silence, patience, and forbearance yielded to it, "till evidence of Scripture, or a demonstration to the contrary, make the error appear, and until thereupon another Council of equal authority did reverse it." Well! I say it again. But is there any one word of mine in the caution, that speaks of our "knowing" of this error? Surely not one; that is A. C.'s addition. Now, suppose a General Council actually erring in some point of Divine truth, I hope it will not follow that this error must be so gross as that forthwith it must needs be known to private men; and, doubtless, till they know it, obedience must be yielded; nay, when they know it, if the error be not manifestly against fundamental verity, (in which case a General Council cannot easily err,) I would have A. C. and all wise men consider, whether "external obedience" be not even then to be yielded; for if controversies arise in the Church, some end they must have, or they will tear all in sunder; and I am sure no wisdom can think that fit. Why, then, say a General Council err, and an erring decree be *ipso jure*, by the very law itself, invalid; I would have it wisely considered again, whether it be not fit to allow a General Council that honour and privilege which all other great courts have—namely, that there be a declaration of the invalidity of its decrees, as well as of the laws of other courts, before private men can take liberty to refuse obedience. For, till such a declaration, if the council stand not in force, A. C. sets up private spirits to control General Coun-

clesia Christi inquam catholica et apostolica mater credentium populorum, quæ fidem habet indefectibilem, secundum promissum Christi ad Petrum qui tunc figuram gessit Ecclesiæ, Ego rogavi, &c. Non est ergo specialis ecclesia, non Africana, ut Donatus dixit. Nec utique particularis illa Romana, sed universalis ecclesia, non quidem] in generali synodo [congregata], quam aliquoties errasse percepimus, [velut illa Ariminiensis . . . sed est ecclesia Christi catholica per totum mundum dispersa.]—[Thom.] Waldensis, Doctrinal. Fidei, tom. i. lib. ii. artic. ii. cap. xix. § 1. [fol. xcix. col. 1, 2.]

cils; which is the thing he so often and so much cries out against in the Protestants. Therefore it may seem very fit and necessary for the peace of Christendom that a General Council thus erring should stand in force till "evidence of Scripture," or a "demonstration," make the error to appear, as "that another council of equal authority reverse it."[i] For as for "moral certainty," that is not strong enough in points of faith, which alone are spoken of here. And if another council "of equal authority" cannot be gotten together in an age, that is such an inconvenience as the Church must bear when it happens. And far better is that inconvenience than this other, That any authority less than a General Council should rescind the decrees of it, unless it err "manifestly and intolerably;"[k] or that the whole Church, upon peaceable and just complaint of this error, neglect or refuse to call a council and examine it; and there come in national or provincial councils to reform for themselves.[l] But no way must lie open to private men to refuse obedience[m] till the council be heard and weighed, as well as that which they say against it; yet with Bellarmine's exception still, "so the error be not manifestly intolerable."[n] Nor is it fit for private men, in such great cases as this, upon which the whole peace of Christendom depends, to argue thus: The error appears, Therefore the determination of the council is *ipso jure* invalid; but this is far the safer way—I say still, when the error is neither fundamental nor in itself manifest—to argue thus: The determination is by equal authority, and that *secundum jus*, "according to law," declared to be invalid, Therefore the error appears. And it is a more humble and

[i] It is not long since A. C. compared Councils to Parliaments; it was but p. 60. And I hope a parliament, and the acts of it, must stand in force, though something be mistaken in them, or found hurtful, till another parliament of equal authority reverse it and them. For I presume you will not have any inferior authority to abrogate Acts of Parliament.

[k] Sect. xxxiii. Consid. 4. No. 1. [vide infra, p. 266.]

[l] Sect. xxiv. No. 1. [ubi sup. p. 167.]

[m] Sect. xxxviii. No. 15.

[n] [Alii dicunt concilium illud (sc. Judæorum contra Christum) errasse, quia non processit secundum morem legitimi judicii: sed tumultuaria conspiratione, &c. . . Quia tamen] non est inferiorum judicare, an superiores legitime procedant, necne, nisi manifestissime constet intolerabilem errorem committi. — Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritate,] lib. ii. cap. viii. § 8. [Op., tom. ii. col. 64. B.]—Nisi manifeste constet, &c.—Jac. Almain in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxiv. Q[uæst.] unica, in fine. [ubi sup. p. 165. note [i].]

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conscientious way for any private man to suffer a council to go before him, than for him to outrun the council; but weak and ignorant men's outrunning both God and His Church, is as bold a fault now on all sides, as the daring of the times hath made it common. As for that which I have added concerning the possibility of a General Council's erring, I shall go on with it, without asking any farther leave of A. C.

§ 33. For, upon this occasion, I shall not hold it amiss a little more at large to consider the point of General Councils, How they may, or may not err; and a little to look into the Roman and Protestant opinion concerning them; Which is more agreeable to the power and rule which Christ hath left in His Church; and, Which is most preservative of peace established, or ablest to reduce perfect unity into the Church of Christ, when that poor ship hath her ribs dashed in sunder by the waves of contention. And this I will adventure to the world, but only in the nature of a consideration, and with submission to my mother, the Church of England, and the mother of us all, the Universal Catholic Church of Christ: as I do most humbly all whatsoever else is herein contained.

Consid. I. First, then, I consider, Whether all the power that an Œcumenical Council hath to determine, and all the assistance it hath not to err in that determination, it hath it not all from the catholic universal body of the Church,[o] and clergy in the Church, whose representative[p] it is? And it seems it hath. For the government of the Church being not monarchical,[q] but as Christ is[1] head, this principle is inviolable in nature: Every body collective that represents,

[1] [the head .... Edit. 1686.]

[o] [Quod] si ecclesiæ universitati non est data ulla auctoritas, ergo neque concilio generali, quatenus ecclesiam universalem repræsentat.—Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 16. § 4. [Op. tom. ii. col. 94. C.]

[p] Dubit. sext. Secunda propositio,] Concilium generale, [eam (scil. ecclesiam Romanam)] representans, [legitime congregatum, non potest errare in fide.]—Jac. Almain. in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxiv. Q[uæst.] unica. [fol. lxxii.] —[Secunda restrictio est, ut illud, Ecclesia non potest errare, intelligatur de sola ecclesia universali, non autem extendatur ad] episcopos, qui sunt Ecclesia repræsentative, ut nostri loquuntur: [quilibet enim episcopus gerit personam suæ ecclesiæ particularis, et proinde omnes episcopi gerunt personam totius ecclesiæ.—Bellarmin. de Ecclesia Militante, lib. iii. cap. 14. § 3. [Op., tom. ii. col. 148. C, D.]

[q] Sect. xxvi. No. 8. [ubi sup. p. 221.]

receives power and privileges from the body which is represented; else a representation might have force without the thing it represents, which cannot be. So there is no power in the council, no assistance to it, but what is in and to the Church. But then it may be questioned, Whether the representing body hath all the power, strength, and privilege which the represented hath?[r] And suppose it hath all the legal power, yet it hath not all the natural, either of strength or wisdom, that the whole hath. Now, because the representative hath power from the whole—and the main body can meet no other way—therefore the acts, laws, and decrees of the representative, be it ecclesiastical or civil, are binding in their strength; but they are not so certain, and free from error, as is that wisdom which resides in the whole: for in assemblies merely civil, or ecclesiastical, all the able and sufficient men cannot be in the body that represents. And it is as possible so many able and sufficient men,[s] for some particular business, may be left out, as that they which are in may miss or misapply that reason and ground upon which the determination is principally to rest. Here, for want of a clear view of this ground, the representative body errs; whereas the represented, by virtue of those members which saw and knew the ground, may hold the principle inviolated. SECTION XXXIII.

Secondly, I consider, That since it is thus in nature and in civil bodies, if it be not so in ecclesiastical too, some reason must be given why; "for that body also consists of Consid. II.

[r] Omnis representatio virtute minor est re ipsa, vel veritate, cujus representatio est. Colligitur aperte ex S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ. Prim. Secund. Q[uæst.] ci. Art. 2. [Respons.] ad 2. [His words are: Conclusio: Cum tradenda hominibus non sunt divina mysteria nisi secundum eorum capacitatem, ne contemnant quod capere non possunt: recte cæremonialia veteris legis præcepta sub sensibilium figurarum velamine rudi illi populo tradita sunt .... Ad Primum ergo dicendum, quod divina non sunt revelanda hominibus nisi secundum eorum capacitatem, alioquin daretur in eis præcipitii materia, dum contemnerent quæ capere non possent. Et ideo utilius fuit, ut sub quodam figurarum velamine divina mysteria rudi populo traderentur, ut sic saltem ea implicite cognoscerent, dum illis figuris deservirent ad honorem Dei. Ad Secundum dicendum, quod sicut poetica non capiuntur a ratione humana propter defectum veritatis, qui est in eis, ita etiam ratio humana perfecte capere non potest divina propter excedentem ipsorum veritatem: et ideo utrobique opus est repræsentatione per sensibiles figuras.]

[s] [Quia] posset contingere quod congregati in Concilio Generali essent pauci et viles, tam in re, quam in hominum reputatione, respectu illorum, qui ad illud Concilium Generale minime convenissent, &c.—Ockam. Dial. par. 3. lib. iii. cap. 13. [apud Goldast. Monarch. S. Roman. Imper. tom. ii. p. 829.]

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men;"[t] those men, neither, all equal in their perfections of knowledge and judgment, whether acquired by industry, or rooted in nature, or infused by God;—not all equal, nor any one of them perfect and absolute, or freed from passion and human infirmities. Nor doth their meeting together make them infallible in all things; though the act which is hammered out by many together, must in reason be perfecter than that which is but the child of one man's sufficiency. If, then, a General Council have no ground of not erring from the men or the meeting, either it must not[1] be at all, or it must be by some assistance and power upon them when they are so met together; and this, if it be less than the assistance of the Holy Ghost, it cannot make them secure against error.

[1] [not . . . *caret(male)* Edit. 1686.]

Consid. III.

1.—Thirdly, I consider, That the assistance of the Holy Ghost is without error. That is no question; and as little there is, That a council hath it. But the doubt that troubles is, Whether all[2] assistance of the Holy Ghost be afforded in such a high manner, as to cause all the definitions of a council in matters fundamental in the faith, and in remote deductions from it, to be alike infallible? Now the Romanists, to prove there is "infallible assistance,"[u] produce some places of Scripture; but no one of them infers, much less enforces, an infallibility. The places which Stapleton there rests upon, are these: "I will send you the Spirit of Truth, Which will lead you into all truth." And, "This Spirit shall abide with you for ever." And, "Behold, I am with you to the end of the world." To these, others add, "The founding of the Church upon the rock, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail." And Christ's prayer for S. Peter, "that his faith fail not." And Christ's promise, "that where two or three are gathered together in His name, He will be in the midst of them." And that in the Acts, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us."

[2] [the assistance . . . Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

John xvi. 13.
John xiv. 16.
Matt. xxviii. 20.
Matt. xvi. 18.
Luke xxii. 32.
Matt. xviii. 20.
Acts xv. 28.

[t] Ecclesia est unum corpus mysticum per similitudinem ad naturale. —Durand. in III. Sentent. Distinct. xiv. Quæst. i. No. 5.—[Hæc ordinatio in cœlo præfulget: in naturis ostenditur: in Christo operibus exemplatur: in divinis legibus præcipitur: in toto corpore Christi mystico observatur.]—[Gabr.] Biel. in Exposit. Can. Missæ, &c. lect. xxiii. [fol. xxxi. *v.* col. 2.]

[u] Omnem veritatem infallibiliter docendi, &c.—Stapleton. Relect. [Controv.] Præf. ad Lectorem. [Op., tom. i. p. 514.]

2.—For the first, which is, "leading into all truth," and that "for ever;" "all,"[x] is not always universally taken in Scripture. Nor is it here simply for "all truth:" for then a General Council could no more err in matter of fact than in matter of faith, in which yet yourselves grant it may err.[y] But "into all truth,"[z] is a limited "all:" "into all truth absolutely necessary to salvation;" and this, when they suffer themselves to be led by the Blessed Spirit, by the word of God; and all truth which Christ had before, at least fundamentally, delivered unto them: "He shall receive of Mine, and show it unto you." And again, "He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, which I have told you." And for this necessary truth, too, the Apostles received this promise, "not for themselves and a council, but for themselves and the whole Catholic Church,"[a] of which a council, be it never so general, is a very little part. Yea, and this very assistance is not so absolute, nor in that manner, to the whole Church, as it was to the Apostles; neither doth Christ in that place speak directly of a council, but of His Apostles' preaching and doctrine.

John xvi. 14.

John xiv. 26.

3.—As for Christ's "being with them unto the end of the world," the fathers are so various, that, in the sense of the ancient Church, we may understand Him present in majesty,[b]

[x] [Et quod de omni Israele dici videtur, in his tantum quos sibi gratiæ electio reliquos fecit, ostenditur .... ut unum genus in duas species intelligeremus esse divisum, et omnem hominem, omnem plenitudinem, omnem Israëlem non semper ad universitatem, sed plerumque ad partem esse referendum.—S.] Prosp. [Aquitan. seu potius, ignoti auctoris,] de vocat. [omn.] gentium, lib. i. cap. 10. [apud S. Prosper. Op., col. 862. B—D.]

[y] Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctorit.] lib. ii. cap. 8. § [5. Op., tom. ii. col. 64. A.] Where he saith, Respondeo, quidam [aiunt,] quæstionem fuisse de facto, non de jure, [quam Concilium illud judicavit, videlicet, num Jesus necandus esset;] in ejusmodi [autem] judiciis concilia errare posse, non dubium est.

[z] Dubium est, an quod dicit, Docebit omnia, S. Joh. xiv. 26. referendum sit, (ad illud [verbum,] Quæcunque dixero vobis,) quasi non aliud docturum Spiritum Sanctum dicat, quam quod Ipse antea docuisset, [quemadmodum et verbum *suggeret* eo utique refertur.] Non repugnabo, si quis ita velit interpretari, &c.—Maldonat. in S. Johan. xiv. [26.]

[a] Bellarmin. de Conc. [auctorit.] lib. ii. cap. 9. § [3. Op., tom. ii. col. 80. A.] Assistit [enim concilio] Spiritus Sanctus non [tam] propter [ipsum] concilium, quam [propter] Ecclesiam universam.

[b] [Loquebatur enim, (sc. Johan. cap. xii. 8. Me autem non semper habebitis,) de præsentia corporis Sui. Nam secundum majestatem Suam, secundum providentiam, secundum ineffabilem et invisibilem gratiam, impletur quod ab Eo dictum est, Ecce Ego vobiscum, &c.]—S. Augustin. in Johan. [Evang. cap. xii.] Tract. l. [Op., tom. iii. par. 2. col. 634. A.]—[Christus in cœlum ascendens, discessit quidem carne, sed præsens est majestate, secundum illud, quod ait; Ecce Ego vobiscum, &c.]—S. Isidor. [Hispalens.] Sentent. lib. i. cap. 14. [§ 17. Op., tom. vi. p. 151. ed. Lorenzanæ.]

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in power,[c] in aid and assistance[d] against the difficulties they should find for preaching Christ; which is the native sense, as I take it: and this promise was made to support their weakness. As for His presence "in teaching by the Holy Ghost,"[e] few mention it; and no one of them which doth, speaks of any infallible assistance, farther than the succeeding Church keeps to the word of the Apostles, as the Apostles kept to the guidance of the Spirit. Besides, the fathers[f] refer their speech to the Church Universal, not to any council or representative body. And Maldonate adds, "That this His presence by teaching is, or may

[c] [Sed quid sibi vult, esse Eum in circuitu populi Sui, ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum; quia non relinquet virgam peccatorum, &c.? In virga potestatem intelligi convenit; insigne enim potestatis est.]—S. Hilar. [Pictav. Tractat.] in Ps. cxxiv. [cap. 7. Op., col. 405. C.]—S. Justin. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphone. [There is no passage in Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho—nor does there appear to be one in any of his works—which comments on the text announcing our Lord's perpetual presence in the Church.]—[Quod utique nunc eadem potentia Dominus indesinenter operatur, qui ait, Ecce Ego vobiscum, &c.]—S. Prosper. [Aquitan. seu potius, ignoti auctoris,] ad Demetriadem [virgin.]Epist.[cap.13. apud S. Prosper. Op., col. 945. A.]

[d] [Sciens ergo Dominus, &c.] S. Hilar. in Ps. cxxiv. [ubi sup. p 181. note [f].]—[Et ne prædicantium ministeria humano tantum viderentur opere peragenda, inquit, Ecce Ego vobiscum, &c. Id est, cum sicut oves introieritis in medium luporum, nolite de vestra infirmitate trepidare, sed de Mea potestate confidite, qui vos usque ad consummationem sæculi in omni hoc opere non derelinquam; non hoc ut nihil patiamini, sed, quod multo majus est, præstiturus ut nulla sævientium crudelitate superemini. In Mea enim potestate prædicabitis, &c.]—S. Prosper. [Aquitan. seu potius, ignoti auctoris,] de vocat. [omn.] gentium, lib. ii. cap. 2. [apud S. Prosper. Op., col. 888. D.]—[Ut autem noverint corda fidelium habere se, unde ad supernam sapientiam spretis mundi cupiditatibus valeant elevari, spondet nobis Dominus præsentiam suam, dicens, Ecce ego vobiscum, &c.]—S. Leon. [Magn.] de Resurrect. Domini, Serm. ii. cap. 3. [Serm. lxxii. (al. lxx.) Op., tom. i. col. 286. ed. Ballerini, ubi sup. p. 181. note [f].]—Jesus igitur noster solem stare fecit, &c.]—S. Isidor. [Hispalens.] in Josue, cap. xii. [ubi sup. p. 181. note [f].]

[e] ['Ιδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν, κ. τ. λ. ἔπεμψε δὲ ἡμῖν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸν παράκλητον, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐν ᾧ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐστι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐλίζεται, οὐκ ὀθνεῖον ἡμῖν ἐγχέων, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἴδιον πνεῦμα.]—S. Cyril. [Alexandr.] de [Sancta] Trinitat. dialog. vii. [Op., tom. v. p. 642. A. ed. Aubert. Venet. 1638.]—[Quod utique, &c.]—S. Prosper. [Aquitan. seu potius, ignot. auctor.] ad Demetriad. [ubi sup. note [c].]

[f] [Sciens ergo Dominus . . . . ei qui in Eum credat adsistit.]—S. Hilar. in Ps. cxxiv. [ubi sup. p. 181. note [f].]—[ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ, κ.τ.λ.]—S. Cyril. [Alexandr.] de [Sancta] Trinitate, lib. vii. [ubi sup. note [e].]—[Sic eos allocutum Deum, quemadmodum Christus nos nondum natos, etiam longe post futuros, nec tantum nos, sed etiam eos omnes qui futuri sunt post nos. Omnibus enim dicebat, quos suos futuros videbat, Ecce Ego vobiscum, &c.]—S. Augustin. de Genesi ad literam, [lib.] vi. cap. 8. [Op., tom. iii. par. 1. col. 201. G.]—[Idem est super cœlorum altitudines victor mortis ascendens, et usque ad consummationem sæculi universam ecclesiam non relinquens.]—S. Leon. [Magn.] de Nativitat. Dom. Serm. x. cap. 5. [Serm. xxx. (al. xxxi.) Op., tom. i. col. 109. ed. Ballerini.]—[Jesus igitur noster solem, &c.]—S. Isidor. [Hispalens.] in Josue, cap. xii. [ubi sup. p. 181. note [f].] In all which places, *vobiscum* is either interpreted *cum suis*, or *fidelibus*, or *universa ecclesia*.

be, a collection from the place, but is not the intention of Christ." [g]

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4.—For "the rock upon which the Church is founded," which is the next place, we dare not lay any other foundation than Christ: Christ laid His Apostles, no question, but upon Himself. With these S. Peter was laid, no man questions, and in prime place of order, (Would his claiming successors be content with that?) as appears, and divers fathers witness, by his particular designment, *Tu es Petrus*. But yet the "rock" even there spoken of is not S. Peter's person, either only or properly, but the faith which he professed. And to this, besides the evidence which is in text and truth, the fathers come in[1] with very full consent.[h]

[Matth. xvi. 18.] 1 Cor. iii. 11. Eph. ii. 20.

[1] [in .... *carent* Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[g] [Fateor Christum, quatenus Deus est, ubique esse, sed aliam hic præsentiam suam Apostolis pollicetur; fateor Christum misso Spiritu Sancto ecclesiam usque ad consummationem sæculi gubernaturum,] idque ex hoc loco colligi non nego, [quemadmodum illi, quos modo nominavimus, auctores (sc. S. Cyril. Alexandr., Salvian., et S. Leo,) recte collegerunt;] sed non quærimus, quid [ex eo, quod Christus dixit,] colligatur, sed quid dicere voluerit.—Maldonat. in S. Matth. xxviii. [20.]

[h] S. Ignatius, Epist. ad Philadelph. Qui suam firmavit Ecclesiam super petram, ædificatione spirituali. [*ὃς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον βούλημα ἐστήριξεν αὐτοῦ βεβαίως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ, οἰκοδομῇ πνευματικῇ, ἀχειροποιήτῳ, κ. τ. λ.*—S. Ignat. Epist. Interpolat. ad Philadelph. in Inscript. apud Patr. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 75. ed. Cotelerii, Amst. 1724.]—Super hanc igitur confessionis petram Ecclesiæ ædificatio est. —S. Hilar. de Trinitat. lib. vi. [§ 36. Op., col. 903. E.]—Et paulo post, Hæc fides, ecclesiæ fundamentum est: [per hanc fidem infirmes adversus eam sunt portæ inferorum.—Id. col. 904. A.]—Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam, super confessionem videlicet Christi, [quia dixerat: Tu es Christus, filius Dei viventis.]—[Pseudo-] S. Gregor. Nyssen. de Trin. adversus Judæos, [seu potius, Testimonia de adventu Domini in carne, adversus Judæos, cap. ult. Op., tom. ii. p. 162. B. ed. Paris. 1638.]—Ut hac ratione certam omnibus confessionem traderet, quam ab eo inspiratus Petrus tanquam basim, ac fundamentum jecit, super quod Dominus Ecclesiam suam extruxit. [*ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀσφαλῆ ὁμολογίαν διδάξαι πάντας βουλόμενος, ἣν ἐμπνευσθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς κρηπῖδα καὶ βάθρον ἀπέθετο, ἐφ' ᾗ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ὁ Κύριος ᾠκοδόμησε.*]—S. Isidor. Pelusiot. [de interpret. SS.] Epistol. lib. i. Epist. ccxxxv. [ad Serenum, Op., p. 67. B. ed. Paris. 1638.]—Petram opinor quasi denominative, aliud nihil quam inconcussam et firmissimam discipuli fidem appellans, in qua Ecclesia Christi ita fundata, et firmata esset, ut non laberetur, &c. [*πέτραν οἶμαι παρωνύμως, ἕτερον οὐδὲν, ἢ τὴν ἀκατάσειστον καὶ ἑδραιοτάτην τοῦ μαθητοῦ πίστιν ἀποκαλῶν, ἐφ' ᾗ καὶ ἀδιαπτώτως ἐρήρεισταί τε καὶ διαπέπηγεν ἡ ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ, καὶ αὐταῖς ἀνάλωτος ταῖς ᾅδου πύλαις εἰσαεὶ διαμένουσα.*]—S. Cyril. Alexandr. de Trinitat. lib. iv. [Op., tom. v. p. 507. E.]—Petram appellat fidei pietatem, veritatis professionem, &c. Et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam. [*καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ τῆς πέτρας, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν μέλαινα γίνηται· πέτραν δὲ καλεῖ τὴν εὐσεβῆ πίστιν, τὴν ἀληθῆ ὁμολογίαν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ Κυρίῳ εἰρηκότι . . . Πέτρος ἔφησε· Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς, κ. τ. λ. ᾧ ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων . . . Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, κ. τ. λ.*]—B. Theodoret. [Episcop. Cyren. Interpret.] in Cantic. [Cantic. ii. 14. lib. ii. Op., tom. i. col. 1028. D. ed. Sirmond. Paris. 1642.]—In vera fide persistite, et vitam vestram in petra Ecclesiæ, hoc est, in confessione beati Petri apostolorum principis solidate.—S. Gregor. [Magn. Registr.] Epistol. lib. iii. Epist. xxxiii. [lib. iv. Indict. 12. Epist. xxxviii. ad

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And this, "that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," is not spoken of the not erring of the Church principally, but of the not falling away of it from the foundation.[i] Now, a Church may err, and dangerously too, and

Theodelindam Reginam, Op., tom. ii. col. 718. D.]—Super eum ædificavit Ecclesiam, quia enim confessus erat, &c. quod hæc confessio fundamentum erit, &c. [*ἀμείβεται τὸν Πέτρον ὁ Κύριος, μισθὸν αὐτῷ διδοὺς μέγαν, τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὡμολόγησεν αὐτὸν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ ὁ Πέτρος, φησὶν ὅτι, αὕτη ἡ ὁμολογία ἣν ὡμολόγησας, θεμέλιον μέλλειν εἶναι τῶν πιστευόντων· ὥστε πάντα ἄνθρωπον μέλλοντα κτίζειν τὸν τῆς πίστεως οἶκον, ταύτην τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὑποτιθέναι θεμέλιον.*] — Theophylact. [Comment.] in Matt. xvi. [p. 93. E. ed. Paris. 1635.] — Quid est, super hanc petram? &c. Super hanc fidem, super id quod dictum est, Tu es [Christus, filius Dei vivi.] — S. Augustin. in 1. Epistol. Johann. cap. 5. Tractat. x. [Op., tom. iii. col. 894. B.] —Hanc confessionem Christus petram cum nominasset, Petrum nuncupat eum qui primum illam est confessus, donans illi hanc appellationem tanquam insigne, et monumentum hujus confessionis. Hæc enim est revera pietatis petra, hæc salutis basis, &c. [*ταύτην τὴν ὁμολογίαν πέτραν καλέσας ὁ Χριστὸς, Πέτρον ὀνομάζει τὸν πρώτως ταύτην ὁμολογήσαντα· γνώρισμα τῆς ὁμολογίας τὴν προσηγορίαν δωρούμενος· αὕτη γὰρ ἀληθῶς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡ πέτρα· αὕτη τῆς σωτηρίας ἡ κρηπίς· τοῦτο τῆς πίστεως τὸ τείχος· οὗτος ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας θεμέλιος· θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται, κ. τ. λ.*]—S. Basil. Seleuciæ, Orat. xxv. [in fin. Op., p. 142. B. ad calc. Op., S. Gregor. Thaumaturg. &c. ed. Paris. 1622.]—[*ἵνα γένηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, εἰς καρποφορίαν ἔργων ἀγαθῶν, εἰς στηριγμὸν τῆς ἁγίας σοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν ἐθεμελίωσας*] *ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τῆς πίστεως,* [*ἵνα πύλαι ᾅδου μὴ κατισχύσωσιν αὐτῆς, ῥυόμενος αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν ἀνομίαν, διαφυλάττων αὐτὴν μεχρὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.*]—S. Jacobi Liturgia [Hierosolymitana, apud Assemanni Cod. Liturg. (lib. iv. par. 2.) tom. v. pp. 40, 41. Considerable doubt has been thrown upon the genuineness of the latter clauses of this prayer.]—And some which join the person of S. Peter, profess it is *propter robur confessionis.* [Ex. grat. *καὶ γὰρ Υἱὸν Θεοῦ Χριστὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐπιγνόντα αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα πρότερον καλούμενον, ἐπωνόμασε Πέτρον.*]—Justin. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphon. [Jud. Sect. c. Op., p. 195. D. ed. Benedict.]—[*καὶ ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι δίκαιοι ἐλέῳ τειχίζονται, ἄκουε τί φησι τῷ Πέτρῳ, τῷ στύλῳ, τῇ κρηπῖδι, τῷ διὰ τοῦτο κληθέντι Πέτρῳ, ἐπειδὴ τῇ πίστει πεπετρωμένος ἦν, Σίμων, Σίμων, κ. τ. λ.*—Pseudo-] S. Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in Ps. l. [§ 2. Op., tom. v. p. 584. C. ed. Benedict.]—[Bene conscius sui non ad tempus adsumtum, sed jamdudum Deo cognitum, Petrus testificatur affectum. Quis est enim alius qui de se hoc facile profiteri possit? Et ideo quia solus profitetur ex omnibus, omnibus antefertur; major enim omnibus caritas.]—S. Ambros. Expos. Evang. sec. Lucam, lib. x. in cap. xxiv. [175, &c. Op., tom. i. col. 1542. D. ed. Benedict.] —And S. Gregory gives it for a rule, when *petra* is read in the singular number, (and so it is here,) *Christus est,* "Christ is signified." [Quem alium signat petra, nisi Eum, de quo per Paulum dicitur, Petra autem erat Christus?—S. Gregor. Moral. lib. iii. in cap. ii. B. Job. cap. 30. Op., tom. i. col. 96. E.—Et, Quia petræ nomine Christus accipitur, &c.—Id. Moral. lib. xix. in cap. xxix. B. Job. cap. 15. Op., tom. i. col. 616. D.—Et, In sacro eloquio cum singulari numero petra nominatur, quis alius quam Christus accipitur?—Id. Moral. lib. xxxi. in cap. xxxix. B. Job. cap. 48. Op., tom. i. col. 1040. D.]

[i] [Et nos transeamus ad ea quæ sequuntur: Tenui Eum, nec dimittam, &c. (Cant. iii. 4.) Ita est, ex tunc et deinceps] non deficit [genus Christianum, nec fides de terra, nec caritas de ecclesia.]—S. Bernard. Serm. lxxix. in Cant. [fol. 181. col. 4. L.]—And Bellarmine himself, going to prove *Ecclesiam* [*visibilem*] *non posse deficere,* begins with this very place of Scripture. [Primum, id ostenditur ex Scripturis, ubi aperte nominatur Ecclesia, Matt. xvi. (18.) Super hanc petram, &c.—Bellarmin.] de ecclesia [militante,] lib. iii. cap. 13. [§ 2. Op., tom. ii. col. 145. D.]

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yet not fall from the foundation, especially if that of Bellarmine be true, "that there are many things, even *de fide*, 'of the faith,' which yet are not necessary to salvation."[k] Besides, even here again, the promise of this stable edification is to the whole Church, not to a council; at least no farther than a council builds as a Church is built—that is, upon Christ.

5.—The next place is "Christ's prayer for S. Peter's faith." [Luke xxii. 32.] The native sense of which place is, that Christ prayed, and obtained for S. Peter perseverance in the grace of God against the strong temptation which was to winnow him above the rest. But to conclude an infallibility hence in the pope, or in his chair, or in the Roman see, or in a General Council, though the pope be president, I find no one ancient father that dare adventure it. And Bellarmine[l] himself, besides[1] some popes in their own cause—and that in epistles counterfeit or falsely alleged—hath not a father to name for this sense of the place till he come down to Chrysologus, Theophylact, and S. Bernard; of which Chrysologus' speech is but a flash of rhetoric, and the other two are men of yesterday, compared with antiquity, and lived when (it was God's great grace and learned men's wonder) the corruption of the time had not made them corrupter than they are. And Thomas[m] is resolute, that what is meant here beyond

[1] [beside... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[k] Quinto, si esset [vera Calvini sententia, maxima pars dogmatum fidei in dubium revocari posset: nam] multa sunt de fide, quæ non sunt absolute necessaria ad salutem.—[Bellarmin.] de ecclesia [militante,] lib. iii. cap. 14. § 13. [Op., tom. ii. col. 150. A.]

[l] [For the passages from the writings of the popes, vindicating the papal infallibility, vide supra, p. 20. note P. Bellarmine adds,] de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 3. [§ 13. Op., tom. i. col. 807. D.: Præter hos pontifices non desunt etiam alii auctores, qui eodem modo exponunt. Theophylactus in Lucæ cap. xxii. aperte docet dari Petro hoc privilegium, quia ipse futurus erat princeps, et caput aliorum, ac proinde dari omnibus aliis, qui illi in principatu succederent: Quia te habeo, inquit, principem discipulorum, confirma cæteros. Hoc enim decet te, &c. (ubi sup. p. 210. note x.) Petrus Chrysologus in Epistola ad Eutychetem, quæ habetur in primo tomo Conciliorum, ante concilium Chalcedonense, Hortamur te, inquit, frater honorabilis, ut his, quæ a beatissimo papa Romanæ civitatis scripta sunt, obedienter attendas; quoniam B. Petrus, qui in propria sede vivit, et præsidet, præstat quærentibus fidei veritatem. (Cf. Concil. tom. iv. col. 38. A.) .... Bernardus in Epist. cxc. ad Innocentium: (Op., fol. 227. col. 2. E.) Oportet, inquit, ad vestrum referri apostolatum pericula quæque et scandala emergentia in regno Dei, ea præsertim quæ de fide contingunt. Dignum namque arbitror, ibi potissimum resarciri damna fidei, ubi non possit fides sentire defectum. Hæc quippe hujus prærogativa sedis. Cui enim alteri aliquando dictum est, Ego pro te, &c?]

[m] [S. Thom. Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] ii. A[rtic.] 3. [seu potius, Ibid. Quæst. i. Artic. 10. Unde et Dominus, Luc. xxii. Petro dixit, quem summum pontificem constituit, Ego pro te rogavi, &c. Et hujus ratio est, quia una fides debet

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S. Peter's person is referred to the whole Church. And the Gloss upon the Canon Law is more peremptory than he, even to the denial that it is meant of the pope.[n] And if this place warrant not the pope's faith, where is the infallibility of the council that in your doctrine depends upon it?

6.—The next place is Bellarmine's choice one, and his first; and he says, "it is a proper place for proof of the infallibility of General Councils."[o] This place is Christ's promise: "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them;" and he tells us, "the strength of the argument is not taken from these words alone, but as they are continued with the former; and that the argument is drawn *a minori ad majus*, 'from the less to the greater.'"[p] Thus: "If two or three gathered together in My name do always obtain that which they ask at God's

Matt. xviii. 19, 20.

esse totius Ecclesiæ; secundum illud, 1 Cor. i. (10.) Id ipsum dicatis omnes, &c.] Probat enim [S. Thom. Aquin.] ex his verbis, fidem Ecclesiæ universalis non posse deficere.

[n] [Quæro, de qua Ecclesia intelligas, quod hic dicitur, quod non possit errare? Si de ipso papa, qui ecclesia dicitur, &c. Sed] certum est, quod Papa errare potest.—Gloss. [in Decret. par. ii.] Caus. xxiv. Quæst. 1. cap. (ix.) *A recta ergo.*

[o] Testimonia propria sunt tria: primum est Matt. xviii. (19.) [ubi sunt duo, &c.]—Bellarmin. de concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 2. § 3. [Op., tom. ii. col. 53. C. The title of the chapter is: Concilia generalia a pontifice confirmata, errare non posse, ex Scripturis demonstratur.] — [Ad tertium dicendum, quod] firmitas conciliorum illis [Christi] verbis *proprie* non innititur: [quia nec Christus ibi de conciliis episcoporum loquitur, sed de quavis fidelium unanimi congregatione; nec etsi Christus adsit in medio talium, tamen ad omnem affectum adest, aut ad hunc qui est judicare de fide.]—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. [de medio judic. Eccles. in causa fidei,] Q[uæst.] iii. A[rtic.] 4. [Respons.] ad 3. [Op., tom. i. p. 821. D.] — Non [enim ad infallibilem certitudinem alicujus sententiæ, in quam plures in nomine Christi consentiant,] locus hic [evangelii] *proprie* accommodari debet, [sed ad efficaciam consensionis plurium ad id impetrandum, quod unanimiter in Christi nomine petunt, si id quidem ad eorum salutem expediat.—Gregor. de] Valentia, [Commentar. Theologic.] in [Secund. Secund.] S. Thom. [Aquin.] tom. iii. Disp. i. [de fide,] Q[uæst.] 1. [de objecto fidei,] Punct. vii. § 45. [de Conciliis, col. 320. C. ed. Paris. 1609.]

[p] [Calvinus non adeo magni facit hoc testimonium, propterea quod ex eo videatur probari posse, etiam concilium duorum hominum non posse errare. Sed is hoc testimonium non contemnet, qui observarit, argumentum sumi non simpliciter ex his verbis, sed ex his verbis continuatis cum superioribus, et propterea] addita argumentatione a minori ad majus. [Dixerat enim antea Dominus de homine incorrigibili: Dic ecclesiæ, &c. At ne quis ecclesiam, sive congregationem prælatorum contemnendam putaret, adjunxit continuo: Amen dico vobis, quæcunque ligaveritis, &c.]—Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 2. § 3. [Op., tom. ii. col. 54. A.] —Et, [Hæc tamen Christi verba ad conciliorum firmitatem merito applicarunt Patres in Synodo VI. (Constant. III.) Act. xvii. (Gr. xviii.) et in Synodo Chalcedon. in Epist. ad Leonem, (cf. Concil. tom. vi. col. 1023. D. et, Concil. tom. iv. col. 834. D.) per argumentum a minore ad majus: quia si in duorum aut trium conventu Christus adest .... multo magis in concilio tot pastorum, &c.]—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. Q[uæst.] iii. A[rtic.] 4. [ut sup. note [o]. Op., tom. i. p. 822. A.]

hands, to wit, wisdom and knowledge of those things which are necessary for them, how much more shall all the bishops gathered together" in a council "always obtain wisdom and knowledge to judge those things which belong to the direction of the whole Church?"[q] I answer, first: It is most true that here is little strength in these words alone; for though the fathers make different interpretations of this place of Scripture, yet most of them agree in this, That this place is to be understood of consent in prayer:[r] and this is manifest enough in the text itself. Secondly, I think there is as little strength in them by the argument drawn *a minori ad majus;* and that I prove two ways. First, because though that argument hold in natural and necessary things, yet I doubt it holds not either in voluntary or promised things, or things which depend upon their institution: for he that promises the less, doth not hereby promise the greater; and he which will do the less, will not always do the greater. Secondly, because this argument from the less to the greater can never follow but where and so far as the thing upon which the argument is founded agrees to the less; for if it do not always agree to the less, it cannot necessarily pass from thence to the greater. Now, that

[q] [Quorum verborum hæc sententia est:] Si duo vel tres congregati in nomine Meo, obtinent semper quod petunt a Deo, [nimirum sapientiam, et lumen, quod sufficit eis ad cognoscenda ea, quæ ipsis necessaria sunt, quanto magis episcopi omnes congregati in nomine Meo, semper obtinebunt, quod juste petunt, id est, sapientiam, et lumen ad indicanda ea, quæ ad totam ecclesiam dirigendam pertinent.]—Bellarmin. ibid. § 4. [Op., tom. ii. col. 54. C.]

[r] Ubi duo vel tres pari spiritu et voluntate collecti sunt, &c. [*καὶ γὰρ ἀπειλήσας ἐκεῖνα τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ, τὰ μεγάλα ἐνταῦθα τῆς συμφωνίας τίθησιν ἔπαθλα· εἴγε καὶ τὸν πάτερα πείθουσιν οἱ συμφωνοῦντες, ὑπὲρ ὧν αἰτοῦσι, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἔχουσιν εἰς τὸ μέσον.*]—S. Chrysostom. Hom. [lx. al.] lxi. in Matth. xviii. [20. Op., tom. vii. p. 608. D.]—[*συνάγει ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ῥημάτων εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκώλυσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκανδαλίζειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ βλάπτειν καὶ βλάπτεσθαι; νῦν λέγει καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμφωνίας· συμφωνοῦντες δὲ νοοῦνται, οὐχ οἱ ἐπὶ κακῷ συνερχόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ· ὅρα γὰρ τί εἶπεν· ἐὰν δύο ὑμῶν, τουτέστι τῶν πιστευόντων, τῶν ἐναρέτων . . . . ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις εὐχόμενοι οὐ λαμβάνομεν, διότι οὐδὲ συμφωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχομεν*]—Theophyl. in [loc. (sc.] Matth. xviii. [20.) p. 106. D.]—[Ubicunque fuerint duo aut tres, &c. non homines ab ecclesia dividit qui instituit et fecit ecclesiam, sed exprobrans discordiam perfidis, et fidelibus pacem sua voce commendans, ostendit magis esse se cum duobus aut tribus unanimiter orantibus, quam cum dissidentibus plurimis, plusquam impetrari posse paucorum concordi pace quam discordiosa oratione multorum.] — S. Cyprian. lib. iv. Epist. 4. [de unitate ecclesiæ, Op., p. 198. ed. Benedict.] —[Ipse enim quia pax atque charitas est, sedem atque habitationem in bonis atque pacificis voluntatibus collocabit.]—S. Hilar. in Matth. xviii. [20. apud Catenam Auream.]

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upon which this argument is grounded here, is infallible hearing and granting the prayers of two or three met together in the name of Christ; but this infallibility is not always found in this less congregation where two or three are gathered together. For they often meet and pray, yet obtain not; because "there are divers other conditions necessarily required," as S. Chrysostom observes, "to make the prayers of a congregation heard," beside their gathering together in the name of Christ;[s] and therefore it is not extended to a greater congregation or council, unless the same conditions be still observed: neither doth Christ's promise, *Ero in medio*, "I will be in the midst of them," infer that they—the greater or the less, three or three hundred—have all, even necessary things, infallibly granted unto them as oft as they ask, if they ask not as well *as* they ought as *what* they ought.[t] And yet most true it is, that where more or fewer are gathered together in the name of Christ, there is He in the midst of them—but to assist and to grant whatsoever He shall find fit for them, not infallibly whatsoever they shall think fit to ask for themselves; and therefore S. Cyprian, though he use this very argument, *a minori ad majus*, "from the less to the greater," yet he presumes not to extend it as Bellarmine doth, to the obtaining of infallibility; but only useth it in the general way, in which

[s] Quomodo igitur a Patre cuncta non consequentur? Quia multæ sunt causæ non impetrandi, &c. [Πῶς οὖν οὐ πάντα ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν; ὅτι πολλαὶ αἱ αἰτίαι τοῦ ἀποτυγχάνειν· ἢ γὰρ ἀσύμφορα πολλάκις αἰτοῦσι. καὶ τί θαυμάζεις εἰ ἕτεροι τινες, ὅπουγε καὶ Παῦλος τοῦτο ἔπαθεν, ἡνίκα ἤκουσεν, ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου.]—S. Chrysostom. Hom. [lx. al. lxi.] in Matth. xviii. [20. Op., tom. vii. p. 608. D.]—Et Bellarminus ipse, [his verbis: sc.] Si congregari in nomine Christi sit nota Ecclesiæ, [certe] non erit congregari quomodocunque [in nomine Christi:] sic enim omnes hæreses et schismata congregantur in nomine Christi. Sed [erit congregari ab illis, qui funguntur Christi auctoritate, quales sunt episcopi legitime ordinati, &c.—Bellarmin.] de notis ecclesiæ, lib. iv. cap. 2. § [16. Op., tom. ii. col. 164. D.]

[t] Nec etsi Christus adsit in medio talium, tamen ad omnem effectum adest, aut ad hunc qui est judicare de fide.—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. Q[uæst.] iii. A[rtic.] 4. [ubi sup. p. 260. note °.]—[Nos vero per inductionem ex contrario concludimus: si singuli, ergo et omnes simul errare possunt, quamvis in nomine Domini congregati et uno ore docentes. At dixit Deus se fore in medio eorum. Certe dixit, et est in medio ipsorum ut Deus: etiam in medio errantium, ne aberrent ad mortem:] sed nec illi semper ad Deum respiciunt, qui in medio ipsorum est: nec Deus sic adest iis qui respiciunt ad Ipsum, ut omnem veritatem doceat in instanti et omni tempore simul: [omnem veritatem docet, nos vero successive capimus.—Fr.] Junius in Bellarmin. [Controv. iv.] de Concil. [et Eccles.] lib. ii. in cap. 2. [Op., tom. ii. col. 1070. ed. Genevæ, 1613.]

there neither is nor can be doubt of the truth of it. Thus: "If two that are of one mind to Godward can do so much, what might be done if there were unanimity among all Christians?"[u] Undoubtedly more, but not all whatsoever they should ask, unless all other requisites were present. Thirdly: In this their own great champions[x] disagree from Bellarmine, or he from them. For Gregory de Valentia and Stapleton tell us, "That this place doth not belong properly to prove an infallible certainty of any sentence in which more agree in the name of Christ, but to the efficacy of consent for obtaining that which more shall pray for in the name of Christ, if at least that be for their souls' health: For else you may prove out of this place, that not only the definition of a General Council, but even of a provincial—nay, of two or three bishops gathered together,—is valid, and that without the pope's assent." Section XXXIII.

7.—The last place mentioned for the infallibility of General Councils is that, where the Apostles say of themselves and the council held by them, "It seems good to the Holy Ghost and to us." And they might well say it; for they had infallibly the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and they kept close to His direction. But I do not find that any General Council since, though they did implore, as they ought, the assistance of that Blessed Spirit, did ever take upon them to say, *in terminis*, "in express terms," of their definitions, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis*, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us;"—acknowledging even thereby, as I conceive, a great deal of difference in the certainty of those things which a General Council at after determined in the Church, and those which were settled by the Apostles when they sat in council. But though I do not Acts xv. 28.

[u] Si duo unanimes tantum possunt; quid, si unanimitas apud omnes esset? —S. Cypr. lib. iv. Epist. iv. [de unitate ecclesiæ, ubi sup. p. 261. note [r].]

[x] Non ad infallibilem certitudinem alicujus sententiæ, in quam plures in nomine Christi consentiant, locus hic Evangelii proprie accommodari debet, sed ad efficaciam consensionis plurium ad id impetrandum, quod unanimiter in Christi nomine petunt, si id quidem ad eorum salutem expediat. Secus enim non modo ex illo loco probabitur, &c.—Greg. de Valen. tom. ii. in Thom. Disput. i. Q[uæst.] i. Punct. vii. § 45. [ubi sup. p. 260. note [o].] And although Stapleton approves this argument *a minori ad majus*, yet withal he says: Firmitas conciliorum illis Christi verbis proprie non innititur: quia nec Christus ibi de conciliis episcoporum loquitur, sed de quavis fidelium unanimi congregatione. Nec etsi, &c.—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. Q[uæst.] iii. A[rt.] 4. [ubi sup. p. 260. note [o].]

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find, that they used this speech punctually, and "in terms," yet the fathers, when they met in council, were confident, and spake it out, that they had assistance from the Holy Ghost; yet so, as that they neither took themselves, nor the councils they sat in, as infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost, as the Apostles were. And Valentia is very right: "That though the council say they are gathered together in the Holy Ghost, yet the fathers are neither arrogant in using the speech, nor yet infallible, for all that."[y] And this is true, whether the pope approve or disapprove their definitions; though Valentia will not admit that: the pope must be, with him, infallible, whatever come of it. Now though this be but an example, and include no precept, yet both Stapleton[z] and Bellarmine[a] make this place a proper proof of the infallibility of General Councils; and Stapleton[b] says the decrees of councils are "the very oracles of the Holy Ghost," which is little short of blasphemy; and Bellarmine

[y] Quintum argumentum: [Concilii patres asserunt se in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregari: itemque statuunt sub anathemate, &c. At nisi infallibiliter per se definiunt, arroganter id quidem ab illis vel dici vel fieri videri posset.] Aut sunt igitur arrogantes, quod putandum non est, aut infallibiliter [profecto] definiunt. [Respondeo: In Spiritu Sancto legitime congregare concilium non aliud est, quam omnino placere Deo, ut ex præscripto pontificis conveniant patres ad decernendum, eisque proinde Spiritum Sanctum assistere, ut per pontificem postea vel confirmantem vel emendantem eorum decreta, infallibiliter de veritate doceantur. Quod vero statuunt sub anathemate, faciunt quidem hoc illi, ut quantum est in se, astringant hac ratione magis obligationem eam, quam sperant per pontificis futuram confirmationem, robur habituram. Et vero Concilia olim nisi prius accepissent sedis apostolicæ decretum, controversias fidei non definiebant, ut ostendit Turrecremata (Summ. de Eccl. cap. xxxiii.) Quod ipsum magno argumento est, verissimum id esse quod docemus, Concilii universalis decreta ante pontificis confirmationem non habere certitudinem infallibilem.—Gregor. de] Valentia [sic] respondet concedendo neutrum: [Commentar. Theolog.] in [Secund. Secund.] S. Thom. [Aquin.] tom. iii. Disp. i. [de fide,] Q[uæst.] 1. [de objecto fidei,] Punct. vii. § 45. [col. 321. D.]

[z] Ad tertium [dicendum, quod firmitas Conciliorum illis Christi verbis proprie non innititur . . . sed potius] exemplo primi concilii apostolici eorum firmitas nititur, [vel aliis Christi in Evangelio promissionibus apostolis suis proprie factis.]—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. &c. Q[uæst.] iii. A[rtic.] 4. [Respons.] ad. 3. [Op., tom. i. pp. 821, 822. ubi sup. p. 260. note °.]

[a] Et Bellarminus dicit locum hunc esse tertium e propriis. [His words are:] Tertius locus [est Act. xv. ubi primum concilium confidenter ait: Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis. Si autem illud concilium, ex quo formam acceperunt omnia alia concilia, asserit decreta sua esse decreta Spiritus Sancti, certe idem asserere possunt cætera legitima concilia, &c. —Bellarmin.] de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 2. § [7. Op., tom. ii. col. 55. A.]

[b] [Sed contra est quod in primo concilio apostolico dicitur: Act. xv. Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis. Ergo] conciliorum decreta sunt Spiritus Sancti oracula.—Stapleton. ibid. Sentent. Orthodox. i. [ut sup. p. 820. B.]

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adds, that because "all other councils borrowed their form from this, therefore other lawful councils may affirm also that their decrees are the decrees of the Holy Ghost;"[c] little considering therewhile, that it is one thing to borrow the form, and another thing to borrow the certainty and the infallibility, of a council. For suppose that after-councils did follow the form of that first council exactly in all circumstances, yet I hope no advised man will say there is the like infallibility in other councils, where no man sat that was inspired, as was in this, where all that sat as judges were inspired; or if any Jesuit will be so bold as to say it, he had need bring very good proof for it, and far better than any is brought yet. Now that all councils are not so infallible as was this of the Apostles, nor the causes handled in them as there they were, is manifest by one of their own, who tells us plainly, "That the Apostles in their council dealt very prudently; did not precipitate their judgment, but weighed all things; for in matters of faith, and which touch the conscience, it is not enough to say *Volumus et mandamus,* 'We will and command.' And thus the Apostles met together in simplicity and singleness, seeking nothing but God and the salvation of men. And what wonder if the Holy Ghost were present in such a council? *Nos aliter:* but 'we meet otherwise,' in great pomp; and seek ourselves, and promise ourselves, that we may do anything out of the plenitude of our power. And how can the Holy Ghost allow of such meetings?"[d] And if not "allow" or approve the meetings,

[c] Si illud concilium, ex quo formam acceperunt omnia alia concilia, asserit decreta sua esse decreta Spiritus Sancti, certe idem asserere possunt cætera legitima concilia, &c. — Bellarmin. ibid. [ut sup. note [a].]

[d] Vide quam prudenter agunt, non præcipitant sententiam, sed singula expendunt. In rebus enim fidei et quæ conscientiam tangunt, non satis est dicere *Volumus, mandamus.* Vides igitur quomodo conveniunt Apostoli. Simpliciter conveniunt, nihil nisi Deum quærunt, et aliorum salutem expetunt, [denique omnia prudenter perpendunt.] Quid igitur mirum si in hoc concilio fuerit Spiritus Sanctus? [Juxta promissum Domini, ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint, &c.] Nos aliter convenimus, nempe, cum magna pompa, nosque ipsos quærimus, atque nobis pollicemur nihil nobis non licere de plenitudine potestatis. Et quomodo Spiritus Sanctus ejusmodi conventus probare possit?— Ferus in Act. xv. 7. [p. 180. ed. Colon. 1567. — Joannis Feri Franciscani Opera omnia in Romano indice (Clem. VIII. an. 1595.) prohibita sunt, exceptis annotationibus et commentariis in Matth. et Joann. Evangelia, et in Joannis Epist. 1. Romæ recognitis et impressis. Possevin. Apparat. Sacr. p. 875. (quoted by Thorold, T. C. Laud's Labyrinth, p. 254.) In a Portuguese Index Expurg.: sc. Index auctorum damnatæ memoriæ, Ulyssipp. 1624. p. 782. the Commentary on the Acts is expurgated. In the Index of Madrid, 1640. Index Libb.

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then certainly not concur to make every thing infallible that shall be concluded in them.

8.—And for all the places together, weigh them with indifferency, and either they speak of the Church, including the Apostles, as all of them do—and then, all grant the voice of the Church is God's voice, divine and infallible;—or else they are general, unlimited, and appliable to private assemblies as well as General Councils, which none grant to be infallible but some mad enthusiasts;—or else they are limited, not simply into "all truth," but "all necessary to salvation;" in which I shall easily grant a General Council cannot err, suffering itself to be led by this Spirit of truth in the Scripture, and not taking upon it to lead both the Scripture and the Spirit. For, suppose these places, or any other, did promise assistance, even to infallibility, yet they granted it not to every General Council, but to the Catholic body of the Church itself; and if it be in the whole Church principally, then is it in a General Council but by consequent, as the council represents the whole. And that which belongs to a thing by consequent, doth not otherwise nor longer belong unto it than it consents and cleaves to that upon which it is a consequent. And therefore a General Council hath not this assistance, but as it keeps to the whole Church and spouse of Christ, whose it is to hear His word, and determine by it. And therefore if a General Council will go out of the Church's way, it may easily go without the Church's truth.

Consid. IV.

1.—Fourthly, I consider, that all agree, That the Church in general can never err from the faith necessary to salvation; no persecution, no temptation, no "gates of hell," whatsoever is meant by them, can ever so "prevail against it." For all the members of the militant Church cannot err, either in the whole faith, or in any article of it; it is impossible. For if all might so err, there could be no union between them as members, and Christ the head; and no union between head and members, no body; and so no Church;

Matt. xvi. 18.

prohib. et expurg. de concilio supremæ Senat. S. General. Inquisit. Joannes Ferus, fraude sectariorum vitiatus (p. 706.) is expurgated in the Commentaries on S. Matthew's and S. John's Gospels,—S. John 1 Epist.—and S. Paul to the Romans: Cætera ejus opera, sectariis vitiata, prohib. donec recognoscantur, (p. 712.) The same in the Index of Madrid, 1667.]

which cannot be. But there is not the like consent, That General Councils cannot err.[e] And it seems strange to me, the fathers having to do with so many heretics, and so many of them opposing Church authority, that in the condemnation of those heretics, this proposition, even in terms, "A General Council cannot err," should not be found in any one of them, that I can yet see. Now suppose it were true, that no General Council had erred in any matter of moment to this day—which will not be found true—yet this would not have followed, That it is therefore infallible, and cannot err. I have no time to descend into particulars; therefore to the general, still. S. Augustine[f] puts a difference between the rules of Scripture, and the definitions of men. This difference is, *Præponitur Scriptura,* "That the Scripture hath the prerogative." That prerogative is, "That whatsoever is found written in Scripture, may neither be doubted nor disputed whether it be true or right. But the letters of bishops may not only be disputed, but corrected, by bishops that are more learned and wise than they, or by National Councils; and National Councils, by Plenary or General; and even Plenary Councils themselves may be amended, the former by the latter."[g] It seems it was no

[e] [Hæc est ecclesia symbolica,] ecclesia [Christi inquam] catholica [et apostolica, mater credentium populorum, quæ] fidem habet indefectibilem, [secundum promissum Christi, &c.] . . . Nec utique particularis illa Romana, sed] universalis ecclesia, non quidem in generali synodo congregata, quam aliquoties errasse percepimus, &c. — [Thom.] Waldens. Doctrinal. Fidei, [tom. i.] lib. ii. Artic. ii. cap. xix. § 1., Et § 38. No. 4. [fol. xcix. &c. ubi sup. p. 250. note [h].]

[f] [Vos certe nobis objicere soletis Cypriani literas, Cypriani sententiam, Cypriani concilium: cur auctoritatem Cypriani pro vestro schismate assumitis, et ejus exemplum pro ecclesiæ pace respuitis? Quis autem nesciat sanctam Scripturam canonicam, tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus episcoporum literis ita præponi, ut de illa omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit, quidquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit: episcoporum autem literas quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapientiorem cujuslibet in ea re peritioris, et per aliorum episcoporum graviorem auctoritatem doctioremque prudentiam, et per concilia licere reprehendi, si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est: et ipsa concilia quæ per singulas regiones vel provincias fiunt, plenariorum conciliorum auctoritati quæ fiunt ex universo orbe Christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere: ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus emendari; cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat; sine ullo typho sacrilegæ superbiæ, sine ulla inflata cervice arrogantiæ, sine ulla contentione lividæ invidiæ, cum sancta humilitate, cum pace catholica, cum caritate Christiana?]—S. Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatist. lib. ii. cap. 3. [Op., tom. ix. col. 98. A.]

[g] ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora a posterioribus emendari.—[ut sup. note [f].]

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news with S. Augustine, that a General Council might err; and therefore inferior to the Scripture, which may neither be doubted nor disputed where it affirms. And if it be so with the "definition" of a council too, as Stapleton[h] would have it, that that may neither be doubted nor disputed, where is then the Scripture's prerogative?

2.—I know there is much shifting about this place, but it cannot be wrastled off. Stapleton says first, "That S. Augustine speaks of the rules of manners and discipline."[i] And this is Bellarmine's last shift. Both are out, and Bellarmine in a contradiction. Bellarmine in a contradiction; for first he tells us, "General Councils cannot err in precepts of manners;"[k] and then, to turn off S. Augustine in this place, he tells us, "That if S. Augustine doth not speak of matter of fact, but of right, and of universal questions of right, then he is to be understood[l] of precepts of manners, not of points of faith:" where he hath first run himself upon a contradiction; and then we have gained this ground upon him, That either his answer is nothing; or else, against his own state of the question, "A General Council can err in precepts of manners." So, belike, when Bellarmine is at a shift, a General Council can, and cannot, err in precepts of manners. And both are out; for the whole dispute of S. Augustine is against the error of S. Cyprian, followed by the Donatists, which was an error in faith—namely: "That true baptism could not be given

[h] Est [autem] ecclesiæ [testificantis et docentis] vox [sic ab omnibus fidelibus audienda,] ut non de ea judicemus rectene an secus docuerit, [sed satis nobis sit quod ecclesia hoc vel illud docuerit.]—So Stapleton, Relect. Controv. [Controv.] iv. [de potestate ecclesiæ in se,] Q[uæst.] i. A[rtic.] 1. [Respons. ad 7. Op., tom. i. p. 731. B.]

[i] Ad primum [ergo dicendum, quod Augustinus loquitur] de regulis morum ac disciplinæ, [quæ ad factum pertinent, &c. . . . . Sed si etiam de causa fidei loquatur . . . . sensus est quod posteriora concilia emendant, id est, perfectius explicant fidem in semine antiquæ doctrinæ latentem, quam priora, &c.]—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. Q[uæst.] iii. A[rtic.] 4. [Respons.] ad 1. [Op., tom. i. p. 821. C.]

[k] [Catholici vero omnes constanter docent, Concilia generalia a summo pontifice confirmata, errare non posse, nec in fide explicanda, nec in tradendis morum præceptis toti ecclesiæ communibus.—Bellarmin.] de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 2. in init. [§. 1. Op., tom. ii. col. 53. D.]

[l] Potest etiam [tertio dici, si contendant adversarii eum loqui de universalibus quæstionibus, Concilia priora emendari per posteriora, quoad præcepta morum, non quoad dogmata fidei; præcepta enim mutantur juxta temporum, locorum, et personarum mutationes, &c.—Bellarmin.] ibid. cap. 7. [§ 8. Op., tom. ii. col. 62. B.]

by heretics, and such as were out of the Church." And the proof which Stapleton and Bellarmine draw out of the subsequent words, "When by any experiment of things, that which was shut is opened,"[m] is too weak. For experiment there is not, of fact; nor are the words, *Conclusum est*, as if it were of a rule of discipline concluded, as Stapleton cites them, but a farther experiment or proof of the question in hand, and pertaining to faith, which was then shut up, and, as S. Augustine after speaks, "wrapped up in cloudy darkness."[n] SECTION XXXIII.

3.—Next, Stapleton will have it, That if S. Augustine do speak of a cause of faith, then his meaning is, that later General Councils can mend, that is, "explicate more perfectly, that faith which lay hid in the seed of ancient doctrine."[o] He makes instance, That about the divinity of Christ, the council of Ephesus explicated the first of Nice; Chalcedon, both of them; Constance,[1] Chalcedon. And then concludes: "In all which things, none of" (these) "councils taught that which was erroneous."[p] An excellent conclusion! These councils, and these in this thing, taught no error, and were only explained; Therefore no council can err in any matter of faith;—or, Therefore S. Augustine speaks not of an emendation of error, but of an explanation of sense. Whereas every eye sees neither of these can follow.

[1] [Constantinople... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

4.—Now that S. Augustine meant plainly, That even a Plenary Council might err, and that "often,"[q] (for that is his word,) and that in matter of faith, and might and ought so to be amended in a later council, I think will thus appear. First, his word is, *emendari*, "to be amended;" which properly supposes for error and faultiness, not explanation.

[m] cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat.—[ut sup. note [f].]

[n] [Quomodo enim potuit ista res tantis altercationum] nebulis involuta, [ad plenarii concilii luculentam illustrationem confirmationemque perduci, &c.—S. Augustin. ubi sup. p. 267. note [f].] ibid. cap. 4. [col. 98. F.]

[o] Sensus est, quod posteriora concilia emendant, id est, perfectius explicant fidem in semine antiquæ doctrinæ latentem, &c.—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. Q[uæst.] iii. A[rt.] 4. [ubi sup. p. 268. note [i].]

[p] [Hæc quippe omnia posterius definita, per posteriora Concilia clarius cognoscebantur, quod in posterioribus tamen virtute latebat.] Qua in re nihil erroneum ullum concilium docuit, [sed posteriora perfectius quam priora, propter novas hæreses insurgentes, quibus quasi novis morbis nova definitionum remedia aptanda fuerant.—Stapleton. ibid. p. 821. D.]

[q] sæpe.—[S. Augustin. ubi sup. note [f].]

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And S. Augustine needed not to go to a word of such a forced[r] sense; nor sure would, especially in a disputation against adversaries. Next, S. Augustine's dispute is against S. Cyprian and the council held at Carthage about Baptism by Heretics; in which point that National Council erred, as now all agree. And S. Augustine's deduction goes on: Scripture cannot be other than right; that is the prerogative of it: but bishops may, and be "reprehended[s] for it, if peradventure they err from the truth,"[t] and that either by "more learned bishops," or "by Provincial Councils." Here reprehension, and that for deviation from the truth, is, I hope, "emendation" properly, and not "explanation" only. Then Provincial Councils, they must "yield"[u] to General; and to yield is not in case of explanation only. Then it follows, that even "Plenary Councils themselves may be amended, the former by the later;" still retaining that which went before, "if peradventure they erred, or made deviation from the truth." And if this be not so, I would fain know why, in one and the same tenor of words, in one and the same continuing argument and deduction of S. Augustine, *reprehendi* should be in proper sense, and *a veritate deviatum* in proper sense, and *cedere* in proper sense, and only *emendari* should not be proper, but stand for an "explanation?" If you say the reason is, because the former words are applied to men and National Councils, both which may err, but this last to General Councils, which cannot err, this is most miserable begging of the principle and thing in question.

5.—Again: S. Augustine concludes there, That the General Council preceding may be amended by General

[r] Not used, but either for *corrigere* or *auferre;* and so S. Augustine uses the word: [Sed aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus, aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, et donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur.—S. Augustin.] contra Faustum [Manichæum,] lib. xx. cap. 21. [Op., tom. viii. col. 348. A.]—And Bellarmine, though he interpret it in matter of fact, yet equals the word with *correxit,* [in these words:] Respondeo, quæstionem [fuisse de facto .... Quia vero Johannes postea re melius investigata ... correxit errorem concilii prioris, juxta regulam Augustini, qui dicit: Concilia priora aliquando emendari, &c.—Bellarmin.] de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 8. § 72. [Op. tom. ii. col. 78. B.]

[s] reprehendi.—[S. Augustin. ubi sup. note [f].]

[t] si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est.—[S. Augustin. ubi sup. note [f].]

[u] cedere.—[S. Augustin. ubi sup. note [f].]

Councils that follow, "when that is known which lay hid before."[x] Not, as Stapleton would have it, "lay hid as in the seed of ancient doctrine" only, and so needed nothing but explanation; but hid in some darkness or ambiguity, which led the former into error and mistaking, as appears. For S. Augustine "would have this amendment made without sacrilegious pride,"—doubtless, of insulting upon the former council that was to be amended—"and without swelling arrogancy,"—sure, against the weakness in the former council—"and without contention of envy,"—which uses to accompany man's frailty, where his or his friend's error is to be amended by the later council—"and in holy humility, in Catholic peace, in Christian charity,"—no question, that a schism be not made to tear the Church, (as here the Donatists did,) while one council goes to reform the lapse of another, if any be. Now to what end should this learned father be so zealous, in this work, this highest work that I know in the Church — reviewing and surveying General Councils—to keep off "pride," and "arrogance," and "envy," and to keep all in "humility," "peace," and "charity,"—if, after all this noise, he thought later councils might do nothing but "amend," that is, "explain," the former?

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6.—That shift which Bellarmine[y] adds to these two of Stapleton is poorest of all—namely, "That S. Augustine speaks of unlawful councils; and it is no question but they may be amended, as the second Ephesine was at Chalcedon." For this answer hath no foundation but a "peradventure;" nor durst Bellarmine rest upon it. And most manifest it is, that S. Augustine speaks of councils in general, that they may err, and be amended in doctrine of faith; and in case they be not amended, that then they be condemned and rejected by the Church, as this of Ephesus and divers others were. And as for that mere trick of the pope's "instruction, approbation, or confirmation,"[z] to preserve it from error, or ratify it that it hath not

[x] cum cognoscitur quod latebat. —[S. Augustin. ubi sup. note [f].]

[y] Respondeo primo, forte [loqui Augustinum de conciliis illegitimis, quæ per posteriora legitima emendantur, ut accidit Concil. Ephesino II. quod in Chalcedonensi emendatum est.]—Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 7. § 7. [Op., tom. ii. col. 62. B.]

[z] Sect. xxvi. No. 1. [ubi sup. p. 214.]

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erred, the most ancient Church knew it not. He had his suffrage, as other great patriarchs had; and his vote was highly esteemed, not only for his place, but for worth too, as popes were then. But that the whole council depended upon him and his confirmation, was then unknown, and I verily think at this day, not believed, by the wise and learned of his adherents.

Consid. V.

1.—Fifthly, it must be considered, If a General Council may err, who shall judge it? S. Augustine is at *priora a posterioribus*,[a] Nothing, sure, that is less than a General Council.[b] "Why, but this yet lays all open to uncertainties, and makes way for a whirlwind of a private spirit to ruffle the Church." No, neither of these. First, All is not open to uncertainties: for General Councils, lawfully called and ordered, and lawfully proceeding, are a great and an awful representation, and cannot err in matters of faith, keeping themselves to God's rule, and not attempting to make a new of their own; and are with all submission to be observed by every Christian, where Scripture or evident demonstration come not against them. Nor doth it make way for the whirlwind of a private spirit: for private spirits are too giddy to rest upon Scripture, and too heady and shallow to be acquainted with demonstrative arguments. And it were happy for the Church if she might never be troubled with private spirits till they brought such arguments. I know this is hotly objected against Hooker[c]: the author[d] calls

[a] [S. Augustin. ubi sup. p. 267. note [f].]

[b] Sect. xxxii. No. 5. [ubi sup. p. 250.]

[c] ["Are those reasons demonstrative, are they necessary, or but mere probabilities only? An argument necessary and demonstrative is such, as being proposed unto any man and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I grant, the conscience, and setteth it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of this whole Church unto those things which are established, doth make it but probable that they are good. And therefore unto a necessary proof that they are not good, it must give place. But if the skilfullest amongst you can show that all the books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be given." —Hooker,] Preface [to Eccl. Polity, ch. vi. 6.] p. 29. [Works, vol. i. p. 212. ed. Keble.]

[d] Dialogus dictus, Deus et Rex. [The present Editor has not been able to procure a sight of this rare volume. It was written (see Alegambe, Scriptores Societatis Jesu) by John Floyd, a Jesuit, commonly called, as Wood states, Father Fludd, and was published at S. Omer's (Audomari,) 1620. It was translated into English by Thomas More, also a Jesuit, and published at Cologne, 1620. Thomas More was the brother of Henry More, the historian of the English Jesuits, and a member of one of the younger branches of Chancellor Sir T. More's

him a "wise Protestant," [e] yet turns thus upon him: "If a Council must yield to a demonstrative proof, who shall judge whether the argument that is brought be a demonstration or not? For every man that will kick against the Church, will say the Scripture he urges is evident, and his reason a demonstration. And what is this but to leave all to the wildness of a private spirit?" Can any ingenuous man read this passage in Hooker and dream of a "private spirit?" For to the question, "Who shall judge?" Hooker answers as if it had been then made: "An argument necessary and demonstrative, is such," saith he, "as, being proposed to any man, and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent unto it." [f] So it is not enough to think or say it is "demonstrative." The light, then, of a "demonstrative argument" is the evidence which itself hath in itself to all that understand it. Well; but because all understand it not, if a quarrel be made, who shall decide it? No question but a "General Council," [g] not a private spirit: first, in the intent of the author; for Hooker in all that discourse makes the "sentence of the Council" [h] binding, and therefore that is made "judge," not a private spirit. And then for the "judge

family, and settled in Cambridgeshire. This Thomas More died at Ghent, 1623, æt. 37, and is not to be confounded with Thomas More who died at Rome, 1625, æt. 59, the great-grandson of Sir Thomas More, who conducted the affairs of the English Jesuits at Rome. The "Life of Sir Thomas More" is sometimes attributed to this latter Thomas More, but it was written by his younger and only surviving brother, Christopher Cresacre More. Consequently these, Thomas and Christopher, were cousins of Thomas More, the translator of Floyd. —Another work is extant under the title, Deus et Rex, sive dialogus quo demonstratur serenissimum D. nostrum Jacobum Regem, immediate sub Deo constitutum in regnis suis, justissime sibi vindicare quicquid in juramento fidelitatis requiritur. Cantabrigiæ, &c. 1615. Another edition was printed at London of the same date. A translation, 12mo. appeared, London, 1616: and a reprint was issued, London, 1663. This work is of a character opposite to that of Floyd.]

[e] Cordatus Protestans. [Ibid.]

[f] [Hooker,] Pref. p. 29. [ubi sup. note [c].] And therefore A. C. is much to blame, after all this, to talk of a "pretext of seeming evident Scripture, or demonstration;" as he doth, p. 59.

[g] Sect. xxxii. No. 2. [ubi sup. p. 247.]

[h] ["For if God be not the author of confusion, but of peace, then can He not be the author of our refusal, but of our contentment, to stand unto some definitive sentence... When the Council of Jerusalem had given their definitive sentence, all controversy was at an end. Things were disputed before they came to be determined: men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey... As for the orders which are established, sith equity and reason, the law of nature, God and man, do all favour that which is in being, till orderly judgment of decision be given against it, it is but justice to exact of you, and perverseness in you it should be to deny, thereunto your willing obedience."—Hooker,] Preface [&c., ch. vi. 3—5. Works, vol. i. pp. 209—211.]

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of the argument," it is as plain: for if it be evident to any man, then to so many learned men as are in a Council, doubtless: and if they cannot but assent, it is hard to think them so impious that they will define against it. And if that which is thought evident to any man be not evident to such a grave assembly, it is probable it is no "demonstration," and the producers of it ought to rest, and not to trouble the Church.

2.—Nor is this Hooker's alone, nor is it newly thought on by us. It is a ground in nature, which grace doth ever set right, never undermine. And S. Augustine[i] hath it twice in one chapter, that S. Cyprian and that Council at Carthage would have presently yielded to "any one that would demonstrate truth."[k] Nay, it is a rule with him, "Consent of nations, authority confirmed by miracles and antiquity, S. Peter's chair, and succession from it, motives to keep him in the Catholic Church, must not hold him against demonstration of truth;[l] which if it be so clearly demonstrated that it cannot come into doubt, it is to be preferred before all those things by which a man is held in the Catholic Church."[m] Therefore, "an evident scripture, or demonstration of truth," must take place everywhere; but where these cannot be had, there must be submission to authority.

3.—And doth not Bellarmine himself grant this? For,

[i] [Quapropter Sanctus Cyprianus, tanto excelsior, quanto humilior . . . satis ostendit facillime se correcturum fuisse sententiam suam, si quis ei demonstraret baptismum Christi sic dari posse ab eis qui foras exierunt, &c. —S. Augustin.] de Baptism. contra Donatist. lib. ii. cap. 4. [Op., tom. ix. col. 98. D.]

[k] [Quia profecto] uni verum dicenti, et demonstranti [posset facillime consentire tam sancta anima, tam pacata, &c.—Ibid. F.]

[l] [In catholica enim Ecclesia . . . multa sunt alia quæ in ejus gremio me justissime teneant. Tenet consensio populorum atque gentium: tenet auctoritas miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, caritate aucta, vetustate firmata: tenet ab ipsa sede Petri apostoli, cui pascendas oves suas post resurrectionem Dominus commendavit, usque ad præsentem episcopatum successio sacerdotum: tenet postremo ipsum Catholicæ nomen, quod non sine causa inter tam multas hæreses sic ista ecclesia sola obtenuit, ut cum omnes hæretici se catholicos dici velint, quærenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur nullus hæreticorum vel basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere.—S. Augustin.] contra [Epistolam Manichæi, quam vocant] Fundamenti, cap. iv. [Op., tom. viii. col. 153. B.]

[m] [Apud vos autem, ubi nihil horum est quod me invitet ac teneat, sola personat veritatis pollicitatio:] quæ quidem si tam manifesta monstratur, ut in dubium venire non possit, præponenda est omnibus illis rebus, quibus in Catholica teneor . . . [Quod] si [forte] in Evangelio aliquid apertissimum [de Manichæi apostolatu invenire potueris, infirmabis mihi Catholicorum auctoritatem,&c.—S. Augustin.] ibid. capp. iv. [v. col. 153. D. 154. C.]

speaking of Councils, he delivers this proposition: "That inferiors may not judge whether their superiors" (and that in a Council) "do proceed lawfully, or not." But then, having bethought himself, that inferiors at all times and in all causes are not to be cast off, he adds this exception, "unless it manifestly appear that an intolerable error be committed." [n] So then if such an error be, and be manifest, inferiors may do their duty, and a Council must yield, unless you will accuse Bellarmine, too, of leaning to a private spirit; for neither doth he express who shall judge whether the "error be intolerable."

4.—This will not down with you, but the definition of a General Council is and must be "infallible." Your fellows tell us, and you can affirm no more, "That the voice of the Church determining in Council is not human, but divine." [o] That is well; "divine," then sure "infallible:" yea, but the proposition sticks in the throat of them that would utter it. It is not divine simply, but "in a manner [p] divine." Why, but then, sure, not "infallible," because it may speak loudest in that manner in which it is not divine. Nay more: "The Church, forsooth, is an infallible foundation of faith, in a higher kind than the Scripture: for the Scripture is but a foundation in testimony, and matter to be believed; but the Church as the efficient cause of faith, and in some sort the very formal." [q] Is not this blasphemy? Doth not this knock

[n] Alii dicunt, Concilium [illud, (sc. Judæorum contra Jesum Christum) errasse, quia non processit secundum morem legitimi judicii: sed tumultuaria conspiratione, subornatis falsis testibus, Christum damnavit . . . Quia tamen non est inferiorum judicare, an superiores legitime procedant, necne,] nisi manifestissime constet intolerabilem errorem committi; [et credibile est, Deum non permissurum, ut Concilia, quibus summus pontifex præsidet, non legitime procedant.—Bellarmin.] de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 8. § 8. [Op., tom. ii. col. 64. B.]

[o] [Vox et determinatio Ecclesiæ est suo modo divina.]—Stapleton. Relect. [Controv.] Controv. iv. [de potestat. Ecclesiæ in sc,] Q[uæst.] 3. A[rtic]. 1. [in tit. Op., tom. i. p. 750. C. ubi sup. p. 41. note [k].]

[p] suo modo divina.—[Stapleton.] Ibid. And so A. C. too, who hath opened his mouth very wide to prove the succession of pastors in the Church to be of divine and infallible authority, yet in the close is forced to add, "at least in some sort," p. 51.

[q] [Scripturam autem fundamentum et columnam fidei fatemur in suo genere esse, scilicet in genere testimoniorum, et in materia credendorum: quo sensu unus primarius articulus est fundamentum multorum, ut de Petri confessione et fide incarnati Filii Dei scripsit Hilarius de Trinit. lib. vi.: sed non est solum fundamentum. Ecclesia enim fundamentum et columna alia est, (1 Tim. iii. 15.)] in altiori genere, videlicet, in genere causæ efficientis, atque adeo aliqua ex parte formalis. —[Stapleton.] ibid. Q[uæst.] 1. A[rtic.] 3. [in fin. Respons. ad Arg. 13. Op., tom. i. p. 744. B]

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against all evidence of truth, and his own grounds that says it? Against all evidence of truth: for in all ages, all men that once admitted the Scripture to be the word of God, as all Christians do, do with the same breath grant it most undoubted and infallible. But all men have not so judged of the Church's definitions, though they have in greatest obedience submitted to them. And against his own grounds that says it: for the Scripture is absolutely, and every way, divine; the Church's definition is but *suo modo*, "in a sort or manner," divine. But that which is but in a sort, can never be a foundation in a higher degree than that which is absolute and every way such: therefore neither can the definition of the Church be so infallible as the Scripture, much less *in altiori genere*, "in a higher kind," than the Scripture. But because, when all other things fail, you fly to this, That the Church's definition in a General Council is by inspiration, and so divine and infallible, my haste shall not carry me from a little consideration of that too.

Consid. VI.

1.—Sixthly, then, if the definition of a General Council be infallible, then the infallibility of it is either in the conclusion, and in the means that prove it; or in the conclusion, not the means; or in the means, not the conclusion. But it is infallible in none of these. Not in the first—the conclusion and the means: for there are divers deliberations in General Councils, where the conclusion is catholic, but the means by which they prove it not infallible. Not in the second—the conclusion and not the means: for the conclusion must follow the nature of the premises or principles out of which it is deduced; therefore if those which the Council uses be sometimes uncertain, as is proved before, the conclusion cannot be infallible. Not in the third—the means and not the conclusion: for that cannot but be true and necessary, if the means be so. And this I am sure you will never grant; because if you should, you must deny the infallibility which you seek to establish.

2.—To this—for I confess the argument is old, but can never be worn out, nor shifted off—your great master,[r]

[r] [Responde, Ecclesiæ infallibilitatem secundo modo fieri, nempe circa conclusiones tantum, et non semper circa media, &c.—Stapleton.] Relect. [Controv.] Controv. iv. Q[uæst.] 2. [Respons.] ad Arg. 11. [Op., tom. i. p. 750. A.]

Stapleton, who is miserably hampered in it,—and indeed so are you all—answers, that the infallibility of a Council is in the second course, that is, "it is infallible in the conclusion, though it be uncertain and fallible in the means and proof of it." [s] How comes this to pass? It is a thing altogether unknown in nature and art too, that fallible principles can, either father or mother, beget or bring forth an infallible conclusion.

3.—Well, that is granted in nature, and in all argumentation, that causes knowledge; but we shall have reasons for it: "First, because the Church is discursive, and uses the weights and moments of reason in the means; but is prophetical, and depends upon immediate revelation from the Spirit of God in delivering the conclusion." [t] It is but the making of this appear, and all controversy is at an end. Well, I will not discourse here, To what end there is any use of means, if the conclusion be prophetical, which yet is justly urged; for no good cause can be assigned of it. If it be prophetical in the conclusion—I speak still of the present Church; for that which included the Apostles, which had the spirit of prophecy and immediate revelation, was ever prophetic in the definition, but then that was infallible in the means too—then, since it delivers the conclusion not according to nature and art, that is, out of principles which can bear it, there must be some supernatural authority which must deliver this truth: that, say I, must be the Scripture. For if you fly to immediate revelation now, the enthusiasm must be yours. But the Scriptures, which are brought in the very exposition of all the primitive Church, neither say it nor enforce it. Therefore Scripture warrants not your prophecy in the conclusion; and I know no other

[s] And herein I must needs commend your wisdom. For you have had many popes so ignorant, grossly ignorant, as that they have been no way able to sift and examine the means. And therefore you do most advisedly make them infallible in the conclusion without the means. [Vide infra,] Sect. xxxix. No. 8.

[t] [Quarto notabimus, quod Ecclesia nihilominus in conclusione fidei semper est certissima et infallibilis. Ratio est, quia ejus doctrina nec simpliciter est prophetica .... nec simpliciter discursiva, et solis vel rationum momentis vel humanis documentis utitur, quia ex Deo loquitur ... sed ejus doctrina est in mediis discursiva .... in ipsa autem conclusione est prophetica et divina ... Est igitur in ipsa doctrina infallibilis, etsi in forma et ratione docendi non ita.—Stapleton.] ibid. Q[uæst.] 2. Not[abile] 4. [p. 747. C.]

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thing that can warrant it. If you think the tradition of the Church can, make the world beholding to you. Produce any Father of the Church that says, This is an universal tradition of the Church, That her definitions in a General Council are prophetical, and by immediate revelation. Produce any one Father that says it of his own authority, that he thinks so. Nay, make it appear that ever any prophet, in that which he delivered from God as infallible truth, was ever discursive at all in the means. Nay, make it but probable in the ordinary course of prophecy—and I hope you go no higher, nor will I offer at God's absolute power—that that which is discursive in the means can be prophetic in the conclusion, and you shall be my great Apollo for ever.[u] In the mean time I have learned this from yours, "That all prophecy is by vision, inspiration," &c.;[x] and that no vision admits discourse; that all prophecy is an illumination, not always present, but when "the word of the Lord came to them,"[y] and that was not by discourse. And yet you say again, "That this prophetic infallibility of the Church is not gotten without study and industry."[z] You should do well to tell us too why God would put His Church to study for the spirit of prophecy, which never any particular prophet was put unto. And whosoever shall study for it shall[1] do it in vain, since prophecy is a gift,[a] and can never be an acquired habit. And there is somewhat in it, that Bellarmine, in all his dispute for the authority of General Councils, dares not come at this rock. He prefers the conclusion and the canon, before the acts and deliberations, of Councils,[b] and so

[1] [shall not . . . . *male*, Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

1 Cor. xii. 10.

[u] [Dic quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo, &c. Virg. Bucol. iii. 104.]

[x] [Ad tertium dicendum, quod, in statu primæ conditionis non erat auditus ab homine exterius loquente, sed] a Deo interius inspirante: [sicut et] prophetæ audiebant, [secundum illud Ps. lxxxiv. Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus.]—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] v. A[rtic]. 1. [Respons.] ad 3.

[y] "The word of the Lord came unto me," is common in the Prophets.

[z] [Responde, hanc infallibilitatem docentis Ecclesiæ non sine studio et industria comparari . . . quia Deus, qui disponit omnia suaviter, dans ipsum finem, dat etiam media ad finem necessaria.]—Stapleton. Relect. [Controv.] Controv. iv. Quæst. 2. p. 473. [Respons. ad Arg. 10. Op., tom. i. p. 749. D.]

[a] Propheticam revelationem nullo pacto haberi posse, vel ope naturæ, vel studio, contra Avicennam, Algazalem, Averroem, [Rabbi Mosen Ægyptium, Narbonensem, et alios.—Joan.] Fran. Picus [Mirandula, de Rerum] prænot[ione, lib.] ii. cap. 4. [in tit. apud Op., Joann. Pic. Mirandulæ, tom. ii. p. 281. ed. Basil. 1496.]

[b] [Credimus enim nullum esse verbum in Scriptura frustra, aut non recte positum, at in conciliis maxima pars actorum ad fidem non pertinet.

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do we; but I do not remember that ever he speaks out, That the conclusion is delivered by prophecy or revelation. Sure, he sounded the shore, and found danger here. He did sound it: for a little before, he speaks plainly--would his bad cause let him be constant,—"Councils do deduce their conclusions"[c]—What, from inspiration? No: but—"out of the word of God, and that *per ratiocinationem*, 'by argumentation.'" Neither have they, nor do they write, any immediate revelations.

4.—The second reason why Stapleton will have it prophetic in the conclusion, is, "Because that which is determined by the Church is matter of faith, not of knowledge: and that therefore the Church proposing it to be believed, though it use means, yet it stands not upon art, or means, or argument, but the revelation of the Holy Ghost: else, when we embrace the conclusion proposed, it should not be an assent of faith, but a habit of knowledge."[d] This, for the first part—That the Church uses the means, but follows them not—is all one in substance with the former reason. And for the later part, That then our admitting the decree of a Council would be no "assent of faith," but an "habit of knowledge," what great inconvenience is there, if it be granted? For I think it is undoubted truth, that one and the same conclusion may be faith to the believer that cannot prove, and knowledge to the learned that can. And S. Augustine, I am sure, in regard of one and the same thing, even this, the very wisdom of the Church in her doctrine,[1] ascribes "understanding"

[1] [doctrines .... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

Non enim sunt de fide disputationes, quæ prætermittuntur, neque rationes quæ adduntur, neque ea quæ ad explicandum et illustrandum adferuntur, sed tantum ipsa nuda decreta, et ea non omnia, sed tantum quæ proponuntur tanquam de fide ... Denique in ipsis decretis de fide, non verba, sed sensus tantum ad fidem pertinet.—Bellarmin.] de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 12. [§ 7. Op., tom. ii. col. 87. B.]

[c] [At] Concilia non habent, neque scribunt immediatas revelationes, [aut verba Dei,] sed [tantum declarant, quodnam sit] verbum Dei [scriptum, vel traditum, et quomodo intelligi debeat, et præterea] ex eo per ratiocinationem deducunt conclusiones.—Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 12. § 3. [Op., tom. ii. col. 86. C.]

[d] [Causa est, quia est conclusio fidei, non scientiæ; et credenda proponitur, non probatur scienda; nec ex demonstratione ad videndum, sed ex revelatione ad credendum profertur; non ratione, sed auctoritate nititur; nec argumentis, sed testimonio comprobatur. Quare si alicui conclusioni in materia fidei propter media tantum et argumenta, quibus probatur, assentirer; assensus ille meus non fidei assensus, sed scientiæ habitus esset.]—Stapleton. ibid. p. 374. [id est, Relect. Controv. Controv. iv. Quæst. 2. Respons. ad Arg. 11. Op., tom. i. p. 750. A.]

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to one sort of men, and "belief" to another weaker sort.[e] And Thomas[f] goes with him.

5.—Now, for further satisfaction, if not of you, yet of others, this may well be thought on. Man lost by sin the integrity of his nature, and cannot have light enough to see the way to heaven but by grace. This grace was first merited, after given, by Christ: this grace is first kindled in[1] faith, by which, if we agree not to some supernatural principles, which no reason can demonstrate simply, we can never see our way. But this light, when it hath made reason submit itself, clears the eye of reason; it never puts it out. In which sense, it may be, is that of Optatus, "That the very Catholic Church itself is reasonable, as well as diffused everywhere."[g] By which "reason enlightened,"[h] which is stronger than reason, the Church in all ages hath been able either to convert or convince, or at least "stop the mouths" of philosophers and the great men of reason, in the very point of faith where it is at highest.[i] To the present occasion, then. The first, immediate, fundamental points of faith, without which there is no salvation, as they cannot be proved by reason, so neither need they be determined by

[1] [by .... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[e] [In catholica enim ecclesia, ut omittam sincerissimam sapientiam, ad cujus cognitionem pauci spiritales in hac vita perveniunt, ut eam ex minima quidem parte, quia homines sunt, sed tamen sine dubitatione cognoscant: ceteram quippe turbam non intelligendi vivacitas, sed credendi simplicitas tutissimam facit.—S. Augustin.] contra [Epistolam Manichæi dictam] Fundamenti, cap. iv. [Op., tom. viii. col. 153. A.]

[f] [Sic enim fides præsupponit cognitionem naturalem, sicut gratia naturam, et ut perfectio perfectibile;] nihil [tamen] prohibet illud, quod secundum se demonstrabile est, et scibile, ab aliquo accipi, ut credibile, qui demonstrationem non capit.—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] ii. A[rtic.] 2. ad primum.

[g] Ubi ergo erit proprietas catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit catholica, quod sit] rationabilis et ubique diffusa.—[S. Optat. Milevitan. de Schism. Donatist. lib. ii. cap. 1. Op., p. 26. S. Optatus is illustrating the name Catholic from the two derivations which had been given of it; one as though it were from *κατὰ λόγον, secundum rationem*—the other from *καθ' ὅλον, secundum totum.*]

[h] [Eos sequamur, qui nos invitant certa cognoscere, quod nondum valemus intueri,] ut ipsa fide valentiores facti, quod credimus intelligere mereamur, non jam hominibus, sed [ipso] Deo intrinsecus mentem nostram illuminante et firmante.—S. Augustin. cont. Epist. Fundamenti, [ut sup.] cap. 14. [Op., tom. viii. col. 160. E.]

[i] [Neque enim de his libris loquimur, in quibus nulla, vel pauca ac non multa apertissima prophetico spiritu prænuntiata, jam quoque ipsis rebus impletis, auctoritatem divinam fidelissima et præclarissima veritatis luce testantur: ut omnino decipiat, quisquis eos superflue vel quasi fatue locutos aliquid putat, quibus non solum] omnia [hominum] ingeniorum[que] genera subdita [videt, verum etiam hoc ab eis prædictum legit, perfectumque cognoscit.]—S. Augustin. cont. Faust lib. xxii. cap. 96. [Op., tom. viii. col. 420. F.]

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any Council; nor ever were they attempted, they are so plain set down in the Scripture. If about the sense and true meaning of these, or necessary deduction out of these prime articles of faith, General Councils determine any thing, as they have done in Nice and the rest, there is no inconvenience that one and the same canon of the Council should be believed, as it reflects upon the articles and grounds indemonstrable, and yet known to the learned by the means and proof by which that deduction is vouched and made good.[k] And again, the conclusion of a Council—suppose that in Nice about the consubstantiality of Christ with the Father—in itself considered, is indemonstrable by reason: there I believe and assent in faith: but the same conclusion, if you give me the[1] ground of Scripture and the Creed (and somewhat must be supposed in all, whether faith or knowledge) is demonstrable by natural reason, against any Arian in the world.[1] And if it be demonstrable, I may know it, and have a habit of it. And what inconvenience in this? For the weaker sort of Christians, which cannot deduce, when they have the principle granted, they are to rest upon the definition only, and their assent is mere faith: yea, and the learned too, where there is not a demonstration evident to them, assent by faith only, and not by knowledge. And what inconvenience in this? Nay, the necessity of nature is such, that, these principles once given, the understanding of man cannot rest but it must be thus. And the Apostle would never have required "a man to be able to give a reason and an account of the hope that is in him," if he [1] Pet. iii. 15.

[1] [the . . . *carent* Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[k] Almain [in] III. [Sentent.] D[istinct. xxiv. Q[uæst.] unica. [The argument in the text is rather implied than expressed in Almain. The passage cited thus opens: Concl. 1ma Respectu aliquorum credibilium potest esse scientia et in beatis et in viatoribus: quorundam tamen apud beatos, quorundam nec apud istos, nec apud illos. Patet: ista propositio, Deus est, est unum credibile; sicut patet per Paulum; Accedentem ad Deum oportet credere quod Deus est; et tamen de ista propositione et viatores et beati possunt habere scientiam. De beatis notum est; de viatoribus patet; illa potest demonstrari, Deus est, &c. fol. 74.]—Et, [Et sic similiter potest contingere, ut] id quod est [visum, vel] scitum, ab uno homine etiam in statu viæ, sit ab alio creditum, qui hoc demonstrative non novit. — S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] i. A[rtic.] 5. [in] C[onclus.]

[1] [Et cum] Nicænum concilium [definivit, Christum esse homoousion Patri,] deduxit conclusionem ex Scripturis: [in quibus diserte continetur unum esse Deum, et Patrem esse Deum, ac Filium esse Deum.]—Bellarmin. de Concil[iorum auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 12. § 4. [Op., tom. ii. col. 86. D.]

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might not be able to know his account, or have lawful interest to give it when he knew it, without prejudicing his faith by his knowledge. And suppose exact knowledge and mere belief cannot stand together in the same person, in regard of the same thing, by the same means, yet that doth not make void this truth. For where is that exact knowledge, or in whom, that must not merely, in points of faith, believe the article or ground upon which they rest? But when that is once believed, it can demonstrate many things from it. And definitions of Councils are not *principia fidei*, "principles of faith," but deductions from them.

Consid. VII.

1.—And now because you ask, "Wherein are we nearer to unity by a Council, if a Council may err?"—besides the answer given, I promised to consider which opinion was most agreeable with the Church, which most able to preserve or reduce Christian peace: the Roman, That a Council cannot err; or the Protestants', That it can. And this I propose not as a rule, but leave the Christian world to consider of it, as I do.

2.—First, then, I consider, Whether in those places of Scripture before mentioned, or any other, there be promised to the present Church an absolute infallibility? or whether such an infallibility will not serve the turn as Stapleton, after much wriggling, is forced to acknowledge? "one not every way exact: because it is enough, if the Church do diligently insist upon that which was once received. And there is not need of so great certainty to open and explicate that which lies hid in the seed of faith sown, and deduce from it, as to seek out and teach that which was altogether unknown."[m] And if this be so, then, sure, the Church of the Apostles required guidance by a greater degree of infallibility than the present Church; which yet, if it follow the Scripture, is infallible enough, though it hath not the same degree of certainty which the Apostles had and the Scripture hath.

[m] [Conservare enim tradita, rigare quod plantatum est, fovere quod jam in lucem editum est, superædificare fundamento jacto, metere quæ alii seminaverunt,] exacta et omnimoda infallibilitate non indiget; sed satis est semel acceptis [diligenter insistere; neque tanta certitudine opus est aperire et explicare quod virtute in semine fidei latet, aliudque ex alio deducere, quam de novo rem penitus ignoratam explorare et docere.—Stapleton.] Relect. Controv. [Controv.] iv. Q[uæst.] 2. Notab[ile] 3. [Op., tom. i. p. 747. C.]

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Nor can I tell what to make of Bellarmine, that in a whole chapter disputes five prerogatives, in certainty of truth, "that the Scripture hath above a Council;" [n] and at last concludes "That they may be said to be equally certain in infallible truth."

3.—The next thing I consider is, Suppose this "not exact" but congruous infallibility in the Church, is it not residing, according to power and right of authority, in the whole Church, [always[1] understanding the Church in this place *pro communitate prælatorum*, for Church governors which have votes in councils,] and in a General Council only by power deputed, with mandate to determine? [o] The places of Scripture, with expositions of the Fathers upon them, make me apt to believe this. "S. Peter," saith S. Augustine, "did not receive the keys of the Church, but as sustaining the person of the Church." [p] Now for this particular, suppose the key of doctrine be to let in truth and shut out error; and suppose the key rightly used, "infallible" in this: yet this infallibility is primely in the Church [docent,][2] in whose person, not strictly in his own, S. Peter received the keys. But here Stapleton lies cross my way again, and would thrust me out of this consideration. He grants that S. Peter received these keys, indeed, and in the person of the Church; "but," saith he, "that was because he was primate of the Church; and, therefore, the Church received the keys finally, but S. Peter formally" [q]—that is, if I mistake him not, S. Peter, for himself and his successors, received the keys in his own right; but to this end—to benefit the Church, of which he was made pastor. But I keep in[3] my consideration still; [for[4] the

[1] [This passage within brackets, "always understanding . . . . in councils," is added in Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[2] [docent . . . added in Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[3] [on in . . . Edit. 1673. on . . . Edit. 1686.]

[4] [The whole of this passage within brackets, "for the Church here is taken . . . finally and formally," is added in Editt.1673, and 1686.]

[n] Cum [enim] utraque sint infallibilis veritatis, æque certa dici possunt.—[Bellarmin.] de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 12. § ult. [Op., tom. ii. col. 88. C.]

[o] Quod si Ecclesiæ universitati non est data ulla auctoritas, ergo neque Concilio Generali, quatenus Ecclesiam universalem repræsentat.—Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 16. § 4. [Op., tom. ii. col. 94. C.]

[p] [Non enim sine causa inter omnes Apostolos hujus] Ecclesiæ Catholicæ personam sustinet Petrus: huic enim [Ecclesiæ] claves [regni cœlorum] datæ sunt, cum Petro datæ [sunt.—S. Augustin.] de Agone Christiano, cap. xxx. [Op., tom. vi. col. 260. C.]

[q] [Ad confirmationem responde: quod Petrus accepit a Christo claves in persona ecclesiæ,] sed propter primatum quem gerebat Ecclesiæ, ideoque etsi finaliter Ecclesia [illas] accepit, tamen formaliter Petrus accepit. —[Stapleton.] Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. [de med. jud. Eccl. in causa fidei,] Q[uæst.] 3. Artic. v. [in fine. Op., tom. i. p. 828. A.]

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Church here is taken *pro communitate prælatorum,* "for all the prelates," that is, for the Church as it is docent and regent, as it teaches and governs: for so only it relates to a General Council; and so S. Augustine[r] and Stapleton himself understand it in the places before alleged. Now in this sense S. Peter received the keys formally for himself and his successors at Rome, but not for them only; but as he received them in the person of the whole Church docent, so he received them also in their right as well as his own, and for them all. And in this sense S. Peter received the keys in the person of the Church (by Stapleton's good leave) both finally and formally]. And[1] I would have this considered, Whether it be ever read in any classic author, That to receive a thing in the person of another, or sustaining the person of another, is only meant finally to receive it, that is, to his good, and not in his right. I should think he that receives any thing in the person of another, receives it indeed to his good, and to his use, but in his right too; and that[2] the primary and formal right is not in the receiver, but in him whose person he sustains while he receives it.

[1] [For I would have it considered also, ... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[2] [the formal right is not in the receiver only, but in him, or them also, whose person ... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[EDIT. 1639.]

A man purchases land, and takes possession of it by an attorney. I hope the attorney,[s] being the hand to receive

[EDITT. 1673, AND 1686.]

[I will take one of Stapleton's[t] own instances. A consul or prime senator in an aristocratical government (such

[r] [Et cum ei dicitur] ad omnes dicitur, [Amas Me?] Pasce oves, &c.—S. Augustin. de Agone Christiano, cap. xxx. [ut sup. note P.] Which cannot be spoken or meant of the laity. —And, ["Therefore when Augustine sayeth, *Si hoc Petro tantum dictum est,* &c. (ubi sup. p. 208. note P.) we must not think by the name of the Church he intendeth the lay presbytery or the people, but he doth attribute this power to the Church, because the Apostles and their successors, the pastors and governors of the Church, received the keys in Peter and with Peter."]—Bilson, Perpetual Government [of Christ's Church,] chap. viii. in fin. [p. 104. ed. London, 1610.]

[s] [Quod meo nomine possideo, possum alieno nomine possidere: nec enim muto mihi causam possessionis, sed desino possidere, et alium possessorem ministerio meo facio:] nec idem est possidere, et alieno nomine possidere. Nam possidet, cujus nomine possidetur. Procurator alienæ possessioni præstat ministerium.—[Digest. lib. xli. tit. ii.] de adquir. [vel amittend.] possess. cap. *Quod meo,* 18. Celsus, in princip.

[t] [Accepit ergo Ecclesia, id est, tota communitas prælatorum ecclesiæ, in persona Petri, tanquam in persona capitis, ut respublica in persona principis, vel magistratus supremi; aut ut senatus civicus in persona primi scabini, seu consulis. Talis acceptio non excludit personam Petri, aut principis in republica, vel primi scabini aut consulis in senatu, sed maxime et potissimum includit. Ille enim non solum cum cæteris accipit, sed etiam præ cæteris, in quantum caput est cæterorum.]—Stapleton. Relect. Con-

it instrumentally, and no more, shall take nor use nor right from the purchaser. A man marries a wife by a proxy [u] (this is not unusual among great persons), but I hope he that hath the proxy, and receives the woman with the ceremonies of marriage in the other's name, must also leave her to be the other's wife, who gave him power to receive her for him.

as the Church's is ministerially under Christ) receives a privilege from the senate; and he receives it as primarily and as formally for them as for himself, and in the senate's right as well as his own, he being but a chief part, and they the whole. And this is S. Peter's case in relation to the whole Church docent and regent, saving that his place and power was perpetual, and not annual, as the consul's was.]

This stumbling-block, then, is nothing; and in my consideration it stands still, That the Church[1] in general, by the hands of the Apostles and their successors, received the keys, and all power signified by them, and [transmitted[2] them to their successors, who] by the assistance of God's Spirit may be able to use them, but still in and by the same hands —and perhaps to open and shut in some things infallibly —when the Pope, and a General Council too, forgetting both her and her rule, the Scripture, are to seek how to turn these keys in their wards.

4.—The third particular I consider is: Suppose, in the whole Catholic Church militant, an "absolute infallibility in the prime foundations of faith absolutely necessary to salvation;" and that this power of not erring so is not communicable to a General Council [x] which represents it,

[1] [That the Church, in this notion, by the hands of S. Peter, received the keys .... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[2] [This passage within brackets "transmitted ... who," added in Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

trov. [Controv.] iii. [de prim. subjecto potestat. Eccles.] Q[uæst.] i. Artic. 1. [Resp.] ad Arg. 2. [Op., tom. i. p. 672. C.]

[u] [Secunda conclusio,] Quando matrimonium fit per procuratorem, [nec procurator est minister, nec in ipso recipitur sacramentum, nec verba ipsius sunt materia et forma sacramenti &c. ...] procurator autem est conditio sine qua non.—Sanchez, de [sancto] matrim[onii Sacramento,] lib. ii. Disput. xi. Q[uæst.] 4. No. 28. p. 128. [col. 2. ed. Antverp. 1626.]

[x] Non omnia illa quæ tradit Ecclesia sub definitione judiciali (*i. e.* in Concilio) sunt de necessitate salutis credenda, sed illa duntaxat quæ sic tradit concurrente universali totius Ecclesiæ consensu, *implicite*, vel *explicite*, *vere*, vel *interpretative*. — Gerson. Tract. in Declaratione Veritatum, quæ credendæ sunt, &c. Op., par. i. § 4. p. 414. [ed. 1606. et, tom. i. col. 22. C. ed. Dupin. ubi sup. p. 216. note [h].]

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but that the council is subject to error. This supposition doth not only preserve that which you desire in the Church, an infallibility, but it meets with all inconveniences which usually have done, and daily do, perplex the Church.[y] And here is still a remedy for all things: For if private respects, if bandies in a faction,[z] if power and favour of some parties, if weakness of them which have the managing, if any unfit mixture of State Councils, if any departure from the rule of the Word of God, if any thing else, sway and wrench the council,—the whole Church,[a] upon evidence found in express Scripture, or demonstration, of this miscarriage, hath power to represent herself in another body or council, and to take order for what was amiss, either practised or concluded. So here is a means, without any infringing any lawful authority of the Church, to preserve or reduce unity; and yet grant, as I did, and as the Church of England doth,[b] "That a General Council may err." And this course the Church heretofore took; for she did call and represent herself in a new council, and define against the heretical conclusions of the former; as in the case at Ariminum, and the second of Ephesus, is evident; and in other councils named by Bellarmine.[c] Now, the Church is never more cunningly abused, than when men, out of this truth, That she may err, infer this falsehood, That she is not to be obeyed. For it will never follow: She may err,—Therefore, She may not govern. For

[y] Possit tamen contingere quod quamvis generale concilium definiret aliquid contra fidem, Ecclesia Dei non exponeretur periculo: quia posset contingere, quod congregati in Concilio Generali essent pauci et viles, tam in re, quam in hominum reputatione, respectu illorum, qui ad illud Concilium Generale minime convenissent. Et tunc illorum leviter error extirparetur per multitudinem meliorum et sapientiorum et famosiorum illis, quibus etiam multitudo simplicium adhæreret magis [scilicet quam decem, vel duodecim, aut quindecim, per quos possit generale concilium celebrari.]—Ockam. Dial. par. 3. lib. iii. cap. 13. [apud Goldast. Monarch. S. Rom. Imper. tom. ii. p. 829.]

[z] Many of these were potent at Ariminum and Seleucia.

[a] Determinationibus quæ a concilio, vel pontifice summo fiant super eis dubitationibus, quæ substantiam fidei concernunt, [quoad] dum universalis Ecclesia non reclamaret, necessario credendum est.—Fran. Picus Mirandula, [de fide et ordine credendi,] Theorema viii. [in tit. apud Op., Joann. Pic. Mirandulæ, tom. ii. p. 185.]

[b] Artic. XXI.

[c] Tertio: Concilium sine papa [potest errare, etiam in fidei decretis, ut patet in Concilio Smyrnensi, cui subscripsit Hosius: item Mediolanensi, Ariminensi, Ephesino II., Constantinopolitano, sub Justiniano II., Constantinopolitano, sub Leone Isauro, et alio, sub Constantino Copronymo.]—Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 16. § 6. [Op., tom. ii. col. 94. D.]

He that says, "Obey them which have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls," commands obedience, and expressly ascribes rule to the Church. And this is not only a pastoral power, to teach and direct, but a prætorian also, to control and censure too, where errors or crimes are against points fundamental or of great consequence. Else S. Paul would not have given the rule for excommunication; nor Christ Himself have put the man that will not hear and obey the Church, into the place and condition of an ethnic and a publican, as He doth. And Solomon's rule is general, and he hath it twice: "My son, forsake not the teaching or instruction of thy mother." Now this is either spoken and meant of a natural mother—and "her authority over her children is confirmed;" and "the fool" will be upon him "that despiseth her"[d]—or it is extended to our mystical and spiritual mother, the Church. And so the Geneva note[e] upon the place expresses it. And I cannot but incline to this opinion; because the blessings which accompany this obedience are so many and great, as that they are not like to be the fruits of obedience to a natural mother only, as Solomon expresses them all. And in all this, here is no exception of the mother's erring; for *mater errans*, "an erring mother," loses neither the right nor the power of a mother by her error. And I marvel what son should show reverence or obedience, if no mother that hath erred might exact it. It is true, the son is not to follow his mother's error, or his mother into error; but it is true too, it is a grievous crime in a son to cast off all obedience to his mother, because at some time or in some things she hath fallen into error. And, howsoever, this consideration meets with this inconvenience, as well as the rest; for suppose, as I said, in the whole Catholic militant Church, an absolute infallibility in the prime foundations of faith absolutely necessary to salvation;—and then, though the mother Church, provincial or national, may err, yet, if the grandmother, the whole Universal Church, cannot in

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Heb. xiii. 17.

1 Cor. v. 5.

Matt. xviii. 17.

Prov. i. 8. Prov. vi. 20.

Eccles. iii. 2. Prov. xv. 20.

Prov. vi. [20—23.]

Prov. vi. 22.

[d] Vide S. Augustin. Confess. lib. ii. cap. 3. [Op., tom. i. col. 83. In this chapter, S. Augustine speaks of the early care and watchfulness which his mother, Monica, exerted over him.]

[e] "'Forsake not thy mother's instruction,' that is, the teaching of the Church, wherein the faithful are begotten by the incorruptible seed of God's word."—Annot. in Prov. i. 8.

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these necessary things, all remains safe, and all occasions of disobedience, taken from the possibility of the Church's erring, are quite taken away. Nor is this mother less to be valued by her children, because in some smaller things age had filled her face fuller of wrinkles. For where it is said, Eph. v. 27. that "Christ makes to Himself a Church without spot or wrinkle," that is not understood of the Church militant, but of the Church triumphant. And to maintain the contrary, is a branch of the spreading heresy of Pelagianism.[f] Nor is the Church on earth any freer from wrinkles in doctrine and discipline, than she is from spots in life and conversation.

5.—The next thing I consider is: Suppose a General Council infallible in all things which are of faith: if it prove not so but that an error in the faith be concluded, the same erring opinion that makes it think itself infallible, makes the error of it seem irrevocable. And when truth which lay hid shall be brought to light, the Church, who was lulled asleep by the opinion of infallibility, is left open to all manner of distractions, as it appears at this day. And that a Council may err—besides all other instances, which are not few—appears by that error of the Council of Constance.[g] And one instance is enough to overthrow a general, be it a Council. Christ instituted the sacrament of His body and blood in both kinds. To break Christ's institution is a damnable error, and so confessed by Stapleton.[h] The council is bold, and defines peremptorily, That to "communicate in both kinds is not necessary; with a *non obstante* to the institution of Christ." Consider now with me, Is this

Matt. xxvi. [27.] 1 Cor. xi. 23, [25.]

[f] In id [etiam] progrediuntur (Pelagiani) ut dicant vitam justorum in hoc sæculo nullum omnino habere peccatum, et ex his ecclesiam Christi in hac mortalitate perfici, ut sit omnino sine macula et ruga, quasi non sit Christi Ecclesia, quæ in toto terrarum orbe clamat ad Deum: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, &c.—S. Augustin. Lib. de Hæresibus, Hær. lxxxviii. [Op., tom. viii. col. 26. D.]

[g] Sess. xiii. [Vide infra, p. 290, note [n].]

[h] [Habemus igitur duos diversos mores. Habemus duplicem Ecclesiæ consuetudinem. Quid ergo? an per alterutram harum violata est institutio Christi? nihil minus. Nos quidem tenemus . . . . quod ecclesia Christi in errorem aliquem damnabilem incidere non potest: qualis profecto est, institutionem Christi in aliquo sacramento administrando pervertere atque violare.—Stapleton.] Return of Untruths upon Mr. Jewell, Art. 2. Untruth 49. [Falsitatis nota in Juellum retorta, Artic. ii. Falsum (sc. Stapletoni, sic Juell.) 49. Mendacium (sc. Juelli, sic Stapleton.) 94. Op., tom. iv. p. 1253. A.]

an error, or not? Bellarmine and Stapleton,[i] and you too, say it is not; because to receive under both kinds is not by Divine right. No!—No, sure; for it was not Christ's precept, but His example.[k] Why, but I had thought, Christ's institution of a sacrament had been more than His example only; and as binding for the necessaries of a sacrament, the matter and form, as a precept.[l] Therefore speak out, and deny it to be Christ's institution; or else grant with Stapleton, "It is a damnable error to go against it." If you can prove that Christ's institution is not as binding to us as a precept—which you shall never be able—take the precept with it, "Drink ye all of this;"[m] which though you shift as you can, yet you can never make it other than it is, a binding precept. But Bellarmine hath yet one better device than this, to save the council. He saith, it is a mere calumny, and that the council hath no such thing: "That the *non obstante* hath no reference to receiving under both kinds, but to the time of receiving it—after supper; in which the council saith, the custom of the Church is to be observed, *non obstante*, 'notwithstanding' Christ's example." How foul Bellarmine is in this, must appear by the words of the council, which are these: "Though Christ instituted this venerable sacrament, and gave it His disciples, after supper, under both kinds of bread and wine, yet, *non obstante*, 'notwithstanding' this, it ought not to be consecrated after supper, nor received but fasting. And likewise, that though, in the primitive Church, this sacrament was received by the

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Matt. xxvi. [27.] 1 Cor. xi. [23, 25.]

[i] Bellarmin. de Eucharist. [lib. iv.] cap. 26. [Op., tom. iii. col. 761; in which, after arguing, Non pugnare cum divinis literis, seu cum Christi mandato, communionem sub una specie, (capp. 24, 25.) he meets the objections taken from the Fathers. —And, Stapleton, ubi sup. note [h].]

[k] [Neque dicit (Concilium Constantiense,) servandum ecclesiæ morem, non obstante Christi præcepto, sed, non obstante Christi exemplo.]—Bellarmin. ibid. § 46. [col. 768. B.]

[l] And now lately in a Catechism printed at Paris, 1637, without the author's name, it is twice affirmed thus: "The institution of a sacrament is of itself a command."—Conference xiv. p. 244; and again, [Conference xiv.] p. 260. "Institution is a precept." —[A Catechism of Christian Doctrine. Printed at Paris, 1637. It has the approbation of the Doctors of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris; and the Preface, p. 5, states, "that the author's name alone, would he take it well to have it here mentioned, were enough to justify these words: who for profoundness of science, and consummateness in all parts of literature, both divine and human, is the honour of our times, and may be the envy of the happiest."]

[m] [ὁ Ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·] Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τῆς σωτηρίου ταύτης ἐντολῆς— in Liturg. S. Chrysostom. [apud Goar. Euchologion, p. 77. et, apud Op., S. Chrysostom. tom. xii. p. 791. D.]

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faithful under both kinds; yet this custom, that it should be received by laymen only under the kind of bread, is to be held for a law, which may not be refused. And to say this is an unlawful custom, of receiving under one kind, is erroneous; and they which persist in saying so, are to be punished and driven out as heretics." [n] Now, where is here any slander of the council? The words are plain, and the *non obstante* must necessarily, for aught I can yet see, be referred to both clauses in the words following, because both clauses went before it; and hath as much force against receiving under both kinds, as against receiving after supper. Yea, and the after-words of the council couple both together in this reference; for it follows, "*Et similiter*, 'and so likewise,' that though in the primitive Church," &c. And a man by the definition of this council may be an heretic, for standing to Christ's institution in the very matter of the sacrament. And the Church's law for one kind may not be refused, but Christ's institution under both kinds may; and yet this council did not err! No; take heed of it.

6.—But your opinion is more unreasonable than this: for consider any body collective, be it more or less universal, whensoever it assembles itself, did it ever give more power to the representing body of it, than binding power upon all particulars, and itself? And did it ever give this power otherwise, than with this reservation in nature, That it

[n] Licet Christus post cœnam instituerit, et suis discipulis administraverit sub utraque specie panis et vini hoc venerabile sacramentum, tamen hoc *non obstante*, [sacrorum Canonum auctoritas laudabilis, et approbata consuetudo ecclesiæ servavit et servat, quod hujusmodi sacramentum] non debet confici post cœnam, neque [a fidelibus] recipi non jejunis.—Here Bellarmine stays, and goes no farther, but the Council goes on: [nisi in casu infirmitatis, aut alterius necessitatis, a jure vel ecclesia concesso vel admisso.] Et [sicut hæc consuetudo ad evitandum aliqua pericula et scandala est rationabiliter introducta,] quod licet in primitiva ecclesia [hujusmodi] sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraque specie, tamen hæc consuetudo [ad evitandum aliqua pericula et scandala est rationabiliter introducta,] quod [a conficientibus sub utraque specie, et] a laicis tantummodo sub specie panis suscipiatur: [cum firmissime credendum sit, et nullatenus dubitandum, integrum Christi corpus et sanguinem tam sub specie panis, quam sub specie vini veraciter contineri. Unde cum hujusmodi consuetudo ab ecclesia et sanctis patribus rationabiliter introducta, et diutissime observata sit,] habenda est pro lege, quam non licet reprobare, [aut sine ecclesiæ auctoritate pro libito mutare.] Quapropter dicere, [quod hanc consuetudinem aut legem observare, sit sacrilegum, aut] illicitum, censeri debet erroneum: et pertinaciter asserentes [oppositum præmissorum,] tanquam hæretici arcendi sunt, [et graviter puniendi per diœcesanos, &c. — Concil. Constant. III. an. 1415.] Sess. xiii. [Concil. tom. xii. col. 100. B—D.]

would call again and reform, yea, and if need were, abrogate, any law or ordinance, upon just cause made evident that this representing body had failed in trust or truth? And this power, no body collective, ecclesiastical or civil, can put out of itself, or give away to a parliament or council—or call it what you will that represents it. Nay, in my Consideration, it holds strongest in the Church; for a council hath power to order, settle, and define differences arisen concerning faith. This power the council hath not by any immediate institution from Christ, but it was prudently taken up in the Church, from the apostles' example.[o] So that to hold councils to this end, is apparent apostolical tradition written; but the power which councils so held have, is from the whole Catholic Church, whose members they are; and the Church's power from God. "And this power the Church cannot farther give away" to a General Council,[p] than that the decrees of it shall bind all particulars, and itself, but not bind the whole Church, from calling again; and in the after-calls, upon just cause to order, yea, and if need be, to abrogate former acts. I say, upon just cause; for if the council be lawfully called, and proceed orderly, and conclude according to the rule, the Scripture, the whole Church cannot but approve the council, and then the definitions of it are binding. And the power of the Church hath no wrong in this, so long as no power but her own may meddle or offer to infringe any definition of hers made in her representative body, a lawful General Council. And certain it is, no power but her own may do it. Nor doth this open any gap to private spirits; for all decisions in such a council are binding; and because the whole Church can meet no other way, the council shall remain the supreme, external, living, temporary, ecclesiastical judge of all controversies; only the whole Church, and she alone, hath power, when

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Acts xv. [6—29.]

[o] In novo [vero] testamento exemplum celebrationis conciliorum ab apostolis habemus: [qui ut colligitur ex libro Actuum, et ex traditione patrum, plures synodos ad nascentis ecclesiæ informationem instituisse referuntur.]—Johan. de Turrecremata, Summ. de Ecclesia, lib. iii. cap. 2. —Et firmitas conciliorum nititur exemplo primi concilii.—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. Q[uæst.] iii. A[rtic.] 4. [Respons.] ad 3. [ubi sup. p. 264. note [z].]

[p] This is more reasonable a great deal than that of Bellarmine, de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 18. [in tit.] Pontificem non posse subjicere seipsum sententiæ coactivæ conciliorum.—[Op., tom. ii. col. 99. B.]

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Scripture or demonstration is found and peaceably tendered to her, to represent herself again in a new council, and in it to order what was amiss.

7. — Nay, your opinion is yet more unreasonable: for you do not only make the definition of a General Council, but the sentence of the pope, infallible, nay, more infallible than it. For any General Council may err with you, if the pope confirm it not.[q] So belike this infallibility rests not in the representative body, the council, nor in the whole body, the Church, but in your head of the Church, the pope of Rome. Now I may ask you, To what end such a trouble for a General Council? Or wherein are we nearer to unity, if the pope confirm it not? You answer, though not in the Conference, yet elsewhere, That the pope errs not, "especially giving sentence in a General Council." And why "especially?" Doth the deliberation of a council help any thing to the conclusion? Surely not, in your opinion; for you hold the conclusion "prophetical," the means "fallible:" and fallible deliberations cannot advance to a prophetic conclusion. And just as the council is, in Stapleton's judgment, "for the definition and the proofs;" so is the pope, in the judgment of Melch[ior] Canus,[r] and them which followed him, "prophetical in the conclusion." The council, then, is called but only, in effect, to hear the pope give his sentence in more state. Else what means this of Stapleton: "The pope, by a council joined unto him, acquires no new power, or authority, or certainty in judging, no more than a head is the wiser by joining the offices of the rest of the members to it, than it is without them"?[s] Or, this of Bellarmine:

[q] Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. capp. 17, 18. [Op., tom. ii. col. 93. The substance of these two chapters is: Non esse in Concilio summam potestatem—and, Summum Pontificem absolute esse supra concilium.]

[r] Et quidem in [decretis pontificiis duo cum primis distinguenda sunt. Unum est, tanquam intentio conclusioque decreti: alterum, quasi ratio et causa a pontifice reddita ejus rei, quam constituerit. Atque] in conclusione pontifices summi errare nequeunt, [si fidei quæstionem ex apostolico tribunali decernant.] Sin vero [pontificum] rationes [necessariæ non sunt, ne dicam aptæ, probabiles, idoneæ, in his nihil est, videlicet immorandum. — Melch.] Canus, de Locis [Theolog.] lib. vi. [de Eccles. Roman. auctoritat.] cap. 8. § 8. [p. 401. ed. Lovan. 1569.]

[s] [Ad quartum dicendum, quod Augustinus illud dixit, non quia illud simpliciter necesse putabat, sed] quia ad compescendos [illos] importunos hæreticos [illud] medium generalis concilii [evidentius et] illustrius, [ut re vera est, existimabat. Concilii enim generalis definitio, evidentior est hæresis condemnatio,] et [quæ]

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"That all the firmness and infallibility of a General Council, is only from the pope, not partly from the pope and partly from the council?" [t] So, belike, the presence is necessary, not the assistance; which opinion is the most groundless and worthless that ever offered to take possession of the Christian Church. And I am persuaded, many learned men among yourselves scorn it at the very heart; and I avow it, I have heard some learned and judicious Roman Catholics utterly condemn it. And well they may; for no man can affirm it, but he shall make himself a scorn to all the learned men of Christendom, whose judgments are not captivated by Roman power. And for my own part, I am clear of Jacobus Almain's opinion: "And a great wonder it is to me, that they which affirm the pope cannot err, do not affirm likewise that he cannot sin. And I verily believe they would be bold enough to affirm it, did not the daily works of the popes compel them to believe the contrary." [u] For very many of them have led lives quite contrary to the Gospel of Christ; nay, such lives as no Epicurean monster, storied out to the world, hath outgone them in sensuality, or other gross impiety, if their own historians be true. Take your choice of John the Thirteenth,[x] about the year 966; or of Sylvester the Second, about the year 999; or John the Eighteenth, about the year 1003; or Benedict the Ninth, about the year 1033; or Boniface the Eighth, about the year 1294; or Alexander the Sixth, about the year 1492. And yet these, and their like, must be infallible in their dictates and conclusions of faith. Do your own believe it?

vulgo hominum magis satisfacit, [quam unius Supremi Pastoris decretum. — Stapleton.] Relect. Controv. [Controv.] vi. Q[uæst.] iii. A[rtic.] 5. [ad 4. Op., tom. i. p. 827. B.]

[t] At contra: nam [imprimis Dominus soli Petro dixit: Oravi pro te, et, Pasce oves Meas, non dixit hæc Petro et concilio. Item solum Petrum vocavit petram et fundamentum, non Petrum cum concilio:] ex quo apparet totam firmitatem conciliorum legitimorum esse a pontifice; non partim a pontifice, partim a concilio.—[Bellarmin.] de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 3. § [34. Op., tom. i. col. 810 B.]

[u] Et mirum est quod adversarii non asserant eum impeccabilem: et credo assererent, nisi quotidiana summorum pontificum opera ad credendum oppositum compellerent.—[Libellus] de authoritate ecclesiæ, [seu sacrorum conciliorum eam repræsentantium, editus a magistro Jacobo] Almain, [Senonensis diœcesis Doctore Thelogo, contra Thomam de Vio Dominicanum, qui his diebus suis scriptis nisus est omnem Ecclesiæ Christi sponsæ potestatem enervare.] cap. x. ad fin. [apud Opuscula Aurea Jac. Almain. Paris. 1517. fol. lix. Et apud Gersoni Op., tom. ii. col. 1005. ed. Dupin.]

[x] Platina et Onuphrius in Vitis eorum, [Vitæ Pontificum et Annotat. ibid.]

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Surely no. For Alphonsus a Castro tells us plainly: "That he doth not believe that any man can be so gross and impudent a flatterer of the pope, as to attribute this unto him, that he can neither err nor mistake in expounding the Holy Scripture."[y] This comes home; and therefore it may well be thought it hath taken a shrewd purge. For these words are express in the edition at Paris, 1534; but they are not to be found in that at Cologne, 1539; nor in that at Antwerp, 1556; nor in that at Paris, 1571. Harding[z] says

[y] [The whole passage in the first edition of this work at Paris, 1534, and in that of Cologne, 1539, (for Laud is incorrect in speaking of its exclusion in that edition,) runs thus: Si vero concedet aliquam viam patere, qua homo ab errore revocari possit, docerique perperam sacram Scripturam intellexisse, quæro a quo docendus erit. Non ab alio homine, quia de quolibet homine causabitur illum decipi, nolatque ob id interpretationem ejus amplecti. Omnis enim homo errare potest in fide, etiam si papa sit. Nam de Liberio papa constat fuisse Arrianum, et Anastasium papam favisse Nestorianis qui historias legerit non dubitat. Quod autem alii dicunt eum qui erraverit in fide obstinate, jam non esse papam, ac per hoc affirmant papam non posse esse hæreticum, est in re seria verbis velle jocari. Ad hunc enim modum quis posset citra impudentiam asserere nullum fidelem posse in fide errare, nam cum hæreticus fuerit jam desinet esse fidelis. Non enim dubitamus, an hæreticum esse, et papam esse, coire in unum possint, sed id quærimus, an hominem qui alias in fide errare potuisset, dignitas pontificialis efficiat, a fide indeviabilem.] Non enim credo aliquem esse adeo impudentem Papæ assentatorem, ut ei tribuere hoc velit, ut nec errare, aut in interpretatione sacrarum literarum hallucinari possit. [Nam cum constet plures eorum adeo illiteratos esse ut grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit ut sacras literas interpretari possent. Si ergo in interpretatione sacrarum literarum quilibet homo errare potest, erit necessario judicium interpretationis penes totam ecclesiam, penes quam jus fuerit discernendi sacras Scripturas ab humanis. Nam hæc errare non potest cum a Spiritu sancto sit edocta. Nullus enim verius Scripturam aliquam interpretari potest quam qui mentem et spiritum scriptoris habet. Ac certum est ecclesiam Spiritum Dei habere. Sic enim Christus illi promisit.—Fr.] Alfonsi de Castro, [Zamorensi, ordinis Minorum,] adversus [omnes] hæreses, [lib. xiii. In quibus recensentur et revincuntur omnes hæreses quarum memoria extat, quæ ab apostolorum tempore ad hoc usque sæculum in ecclesia ortæ sunt. Prelo Ascensiano,] lib. i. cap. 4. [fol. ix. The alterations seem to have been made in the edition of 1545, when the author was at Trent. In the dedication prefixed to the later editions, the author professes to have altered the work so as almost to have made it a new one.]—And the Gloss confesses it plainly, in [Decret. par. ii.] C[aus.] xxiv. Q[uæst.] 1. cap. (ix.) *A recta ergo.* [ubi sup. p. 260. note [n].]

[z] [The passage referred to in the text is: "Alphonsus saith somewhat to your purpose, if the tale which you make him to tell were his own. Certainly, if he once wrote it, when he began first to write, afterward with better advice he revoked it. For in the books of the later prints these words, which you rehearse, are not found. Thus you say, (Defence, p. 715.) 'Alphonsus de Castro, one of M. Harding's own special doctors, saith: Non dubitamus, an hæreticum esse, et Papam esse, coire in unum possent, &c. Non enim credo, &c.' (Alphonsus de Hæresibus, lib. i. cap. 4.) This very saying M. Jewel bringeth in likewise against the popes, in the Defence, p. 615. under the name of Alphonsus, &c."—A] Detection of [sundry foul] errors, &c. uttered .... by M. Jewel, [in ... a Defence of the Apologie, &c. (The falsehood of the Epistle to the Queen detected,) by Thomas] Harding, [D.D. Lovan. 1568. p. 6. *v.*]—[And, "'Certainly,' saith he to me, (Defence, p. 617. l. 2.)

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indeed, Alphonsus left it out of himself, in the following editions. Well: First, Harding says this, but proves it not; so I may choose whether I will believe him or no. Secondly, Be it so, that he did,—that cannot help their cause a whit. For, say he did dislike the sharpness of the phrase, or aught else in this speech, yet he altered not his judgment of the thing; for in all these later editions he speaks as home, if not more than in the first; and says expressly, "That the pope may err, not only as a private person, but as pope." [a] And in difficult cases, he adds, that the pope ought to consult *viros doctos*, "men of learning." And this also was the opinion of the ancient Church of Christ, concerning the pope and his infallibility. For thus Liberius, and he a pope himself, writes to Athanasius: "Brother Athanasius, if you think in the presence of God and Christ as I do, I pray subscribe this confession, which is thought to be the true faith of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, that we may be the more certain that you think concerning the faith as we do. *Ut ego etiam persuasus sim inhæsitanter*, 'that I also may be persuaded without all doubting,' of those things which you shall be pleased to command me." [b] Now I

'your own doctor Alphonsus saith, De Liberio Papa, constat fuisse Arianum. Touching Pope Liberius, it is well known he was an Arian.' And where saith Alphonsus thus? Marry, saith M. Jewel, in his marginal quotation, Alphonsus contra Hæres. lib. i. cap. 4. But read that chapter who will, verily in the books of sundry prints that I have seen, he saith it not. If it were once so printed, and afterward by the author revoked, it ought not to be alleged." — Ibid. (Answer to the view of Untruths,)] p. 64.

[a] Cælestinus erravit non solum ut privata persona, sed ut papa, &c. [His words are: Omnis enim homo errare potest in fide, etiam si papa sit. Nam de Liberio papa refert Platina illum sensisse cum Arrianis, et Anastasium II. pontificem favisse Nestorianis, qui historias legerit, non dubitat. Cælestinum papam etiam errasse circa matrimonium fidelium, quorum alter labitur in hæresim, res est omnibus manifesta. Neque hic Cælestini error talis fuit, qui soli negligentiæ imputari debeat, ita ut illum errasse dicamus veluti privatam personam, et non ut papam qui in qualibet re seria definienda consulere debet viros doctos: quoniam hujusmodi Cælestini definitio habebatur in antiquis Decretalibus in cap. Laudabilem, titulo de Conversione Infidelium quem ipse vidi et legi. Si ergo nulli hominum jure tenemur in interpretatione sacrarum literarum credere, propterea quod quilibet homo solus errare potest, erit necessario judicium interpretationis penes totam ecclesiam.]—Alphons. a Castro, adv. Hæreses, lib. i. cap. 4. [Op., col. 20. E. ed. Paris. 1571. ubi sup. p. 107. note [z]. With this agrees the edition of Antwerp, 1556, the last published in the author's lifetime.]

[b] [*ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, ἀδελφὲ Ἀλεξάνδρε, τῇ οὔσῃ μόνῃ καὶ ἀληθῶς πίστει ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰ ὁμοφρονεῖς μοι, ὡς ἐπὶ κρίσει θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ γράψον μοι, εἰ οὕτω φρονεῖς καθὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἐν τῇ ἀληθινῇ πίστει·] ἵνα κἀγὼ πεποιθὼς ὦ, ἀδιακρίτως περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖς κελεύειν μοί.—Liberius in Epist. ad Athanas. apud S. Athanas. [Op.,]

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would fain know, if the pope at that time were, or did think himself, infallible, how he should possibly be more certainly persuaded of any truth belonging to the faith, by Athanasius's concurring in judgment with him. For nothing can make infallibility more certain than it is; at least, not the concurring judgment of that is fallible, as S. Athanasius was. Beside, the pope complimented exceeding low, that would submit his unerring judgment to be commanded by Athanasius, who, he well knew, could err. Again in the case of Easter, which made too great a noise in the Church of old, "Very many men called for S. Ambrose's judgment in that point, even after the definition of the Church of Alexandria and the bishop of Rome."[c] And this I presume they would not have done, had they then conceived either the pope or his Church infallible. And thus it continued down till Lyra's time; for he says expressly: "That many popes, as well as other inferiors, have not only erred, but even quite apostatized from the faith."[d] And yet now nothing but "infallibility" will serve their turns. And sometimes they have not only taken upon them to be infallible *in cathedra*, 'in their chair of decision,' but also to prophesy infallibly out of the Scripture. But prophetical Scripture, such as the Revelation is, was too dangerous for men to meddle with, which would be careful of their credit in not erring. For it fell out in the time of Innocent the Third, and Honorius the Third, as Aventine tells us: "That the then popes assured the world, that destruction was at hand to Saracens, Turks, and Mahometans; which the event showed were notorious untruths."[e] And it is remarkable

tom. i. p. 42. ed. Paris. 1608. Et ed. Paris. Latino-Græc. 1627. [Et tom. ii. p. 664. C. ed. Benedict.—This Epistle is generally considered to be spurious.]

[c] [Unde necesse fuit, quia etiam] post Ægyptiorum supputationes, et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ definitiones, episcopi quoque Romanæ ecclesiæ, per literas plerique meam adhuc expectant sententiam, quid existimem [scribere] de die paschæ.—S. Ambros. lib. x. Epist. lxxxiii. [Epistol. class. i. Epist. xxiii. Fratribus Episcopis, &c. § 8. Op., tom. ii. col. 882. D.]

[d] Ex quo patet quod ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ, vel sæcularis, quia multi principes et summi pontifices, et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostatasse a fide: [propter quod ecclesia consistit in illis personis in quibus est notitia vera et confessio fidei et veritatis.—Nicholas de] Lyra, [Postill.] in S. Matth. xvi. 18. [apud Bibl. Latin. cum Gloss. ordinar.]

[e] [Inter hæc] pontifices Romani ex [sacra] historia, [nempe libro quam Joannis Divinationem appellant, fatum exitii Saracenis, Turcis,

which happened anno 1179.[f] For then, in a council held at Rome, Pope Alexander the Third condemned Peter Lombard of heresy; and he lay under that damnation for thirty and six years, till Innocent the Third restored him, and condemned his accusers. Now Peter Lombard was then condemned for something which he had written about the human nature of our Saviour Christ. So here was a great mystery of the faith in hand; something about the Incarnation. And the pope was *in cathedra,* and that in a council of three hundred archbishops and bishops; and in this council he condemned Peter Lombard, and in him, his opinion about the incarnation; and therefore, of necessity, either Pope Alexander erred, and that *in cathedra,* as pope, in condemning him; or Pope Innocent in restoring him. The truth is, Pope Alexander had more of Alexander the Great than of S. Peter in him; and being accustomed to warlike employments, he understood not that which Peter Lombard had written about this mystery. And so he and his learned assistants condemned him unjustly. SECTION XXXIII.

8.—And whereas you profess after, "That you hold nothing against your conscience,"—I must ever wonder much how that can be true, since you hold this of the pope's infallibility, especially as being "prophetical in the conclusion." If this be true, why do you not lay all your strength together, all of your whole society, and make this one proposition evident? For all controversies about matters of faith are ended, and without any great trouble to the Christian world, if you can but make this one proposition good, "That the pope is an infallible judge." Till then, this shame will follow you infallibly and eternally, that you should make the pope, a mere man, *principium fidei,* "a A.C. p. 68.

et Machometicæ superstitioni adventasse interpretantur, classicum clangunt, ad arma ingeminant. Machometum antichristum fuisse sibi persuaserant, sicuti et patrum memoria Joannes Annius in commentariis, quos in eundem librum edidit, sentit, et nostro sæculo eam superstitionem desituram, Christum juxta Chiliastarum opinionem adventaturum, in terrisque regnaturum arbitratur.] quæ mendacissima esse exitus probavit. — [Io.] Aventini Annal. Boiorum, lib. vii. p. 529. ed. Basil. 1580.

[f] Baron. An. 1179. No. 13. [Delata fuit accusatio in eodem concilio (sc. Lateranensi) a quibusdam Alexandro Papæ adversus scriptum Petri Lombardi Episcopi Parisiensis, quod male sensisset de Christi humanitate, et in aliis fidei articulis ab ecclesia Catholica deviasset. Tunc Alexander papa has dedit literas ad Guillelmum archiepiscopum Senonensem his verbis . . . ad abrogationem pravæ doctrinæ Petri quondam Parisiensis episcopi, qua dicitur, &c.]

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principle or author of faith;" and make the mouth of him, whom you call Christ's vicar, sole judge, both of Christ's word, be it never so manifest, and of His Church, be she never so learned and careful of His truth. And, for conclusion of this point, I would fain know—since this had been so plain, so easy a way, either to prevent all divisions about the faith, or to end all controversies, did they arise—why this brief but most necessary proposition, "The Bishop of Rome cannot err in his judicial determinations concerning the faith," is not to be found, either in letter or sense, in any Scripture, in any Council, or in any Father of the Church, for the full space of a thousand years and more after Christ? For had this proposition been true, and then received in the Church, how weak were all the primitive fathers, to prescribe so many rules and cautions for avoidance of heresy, as Tertullian, and Vincentius Lirinensis, and others do; and to endure such hard conflicts as they did, and with so many various heretics; to see Christendom so rent and torn by some distempered councils, as that of Ariminum, the second of Ephesus, and others; nay, to see the "whole world almost become Arian, to the amazement of itself;" and yet all this time, not so much as call in this necessary assistance of the pope, and let the world know "that the bishop of Rome was infallible;" that so in his decision all differences might cease! For either the fathers of the Church, Greek as well as Latin, knew this proposition to be true, "That the pope cannot err judicially in matters belonging to the faith," or they knew it not. If you say they knew it not, you charge them with a base and unworthy ignorance, no ways like to overcloud such and so many learned men, in a matter so necessary and of such infinite use to Christendom. If you say they knew it, and durst not deliver this truth, how can you charge them which durst die for Christ, with such cowardice towards His Church? And if you say they knew it, and withheld it from the Church, you lay a most unjust load upon those charitable souls, which loved Christ too well to imprison any truth, but likely to make or keep peace in His Church Catholic over the world. But certainly, as no divine of worth did then dream of any such infallibility in him, so is it a mere dream, or worse, of those modern divines

who affirm it now.[g] And as S. Augustine[h] sometimes spoke of the Donatists, and their absurd limiting the whole Christian Church to Africa only; so may I truly say of the Romanists confining all Christianity to the Roman doctrine, governed by the pope's infallibility: "I verily persuade myself, that even the Jesuits themselves laugh at this; and yet unless they say this, which they cannot but blush while they say, they have nothing at all to say. But what is this to us? We envy no man. If the pope's decision be infallible, *legant,* 'let them read' it to us out of the Holy Scripture, and we will believe it."

9.—In the mean time, take this with you,—that most certain it is, That the pope hath no infallibility to attend his cathedral judgment in things belonging to the faith. For, first, Besides the silence of impartial antiquity, divers of your own confess it, yea, and prove it too by sundry instances.[i]

10.—Secondly, There is a great question among the learned, both schoolmen and controversers, "Whether the pope coming to be an heretic may be deposed?" And it is learnedly disputed by Bellarmine.[k] The opinions are different; for the Canon Law says expressly, "He may be judged and deposed by the Church in case of heresy."[l]

[g] "The wild extent of the Pope's infallibility and jurisdiction, is a mistake." These are the words of a great Roman Catholic, uttered to myself. But I will spare his name, because he is living, and I will not draw your envy upon him.

[h] Puto quod ipsi etiam rideant, cum hoc audiunt: et tamen nisi hoc dicant, quod erubescunt si dicant, non habent omnino quod dicant. Sed quid ad nos? Nemini invidemus. Hoc nobis legant de Scripturis Sanctis, et credimus.—S. Augustin. [contra Donatistas Epistol. *vulg.*] de Unitat. Ecclesiæ, cap. xvii. [Op., tom. ix. col. 368. D.]

[i] Papa non solum errore personali, sed et errore judiciali potest errare in materia fidei, [sicut et in aliis materiis.]—Almain. L[ibello] de Author. Ecclesiæ, cap. x. [fol. lix. ubi sup. p. 293. note[u].]

[k] [Bellarmin.] de Rom. Pont. lib. ii. cap. 30. [Op, tom. i. col. 699. et seqq. His conclusion is: Est ergo quinta opinio vera, papam hæreticum manifestum per se desinere esse papam et caput. . . . quare ab ecclesia posse cum judicari, et puniri. Hæc est sententia omnium veterum patrum, &c.—col. 702. C.]

[l] [Si papa suæ et fraternæ salutis negligens deprehendatur, inutilis, et remissus in operibus suis, et insuper a bono taciturnus, quod magis officit sibi et omnibus; nihilominus innumerabiles populos catervatim secum ducit, primo mancipio gehennæ, cum ipso plagis multis in æternum vapulaturus. Hujus culpas istic redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus: quia cunctos ipse judicaturus, a nemine est judicandus, ni]si [deprehendatur] a fide devius: [pro cujus perpetuo statu universitas fidelium tanto instantius orat, &c.]—[Decret. par. i.] Distinct. xl. cap. [vi. ex dictis Bonifacii,] *Si papa.*

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John de Turrecremata is of opinion, "That the pope is to be deposed by the Church, so soon as he becomes an heretic, though as yet not a manifest one, because he is already deprived by Divine right;"[m] and recites another opinion, "That the pope cannot be deposed, though he fall into secret or manifest heresy." Cajetan thinks that the "pope cannot be deposed but for a manifest heresy, and that then he is not deposed *ipso facto*, but must be deposed by the Church."[n] Bellarmine's own opinion is, "That if the pope become a manifest heretic, he presently ceases to be pope and head of the Church, and may then be judged and punished by the Church."[o] Bellarmine hath disputed this very learnedly and at large, and I will not fill this discourse with another man's labours. The use I shall make of it runs through all these opinions, and through all alike. And, truly, the very question itself supposes, that a pope may be an heretic. For if he cannot be an heretic, why do they question whether he can be deposed for being one? And if he can be one, then whether he can be deposed by the Church before he be manifest, or not till after, or neither before nor after, or which way they will, it comes all to one for my purpose. For I question not here his deposition for his heresy, but his heresy. And I hope none of these learned men, nor any other, dare deny, but that if the pope can be an heretic, he can err; for every heresy is an error, and more. For it is an error ofttimes against the errant's knowledge, but ever with the pertinacy of his will. Therefore out of all, even your own grounds, if the pope can be an heretic, he can err grossly, he can err

[m] [Prima autem conclusio ex adverso opinantium non videtur vera, in qua dicitur, quod papa occulte in heresim lapsus, non] sit jure divino papatu privatus: [quoniam cum factus hæreticus esset occultus, ceciderit a petra fidei, supra quam totius ecclesiasticæ ædificii fabrica et potestas consurgit, necessario videtur quod a potestate ecclesiastica ruerit] —Joann. de Turrecremata, [Summ.] lib. iv. par. 2. cap. 20. [ad 1.]—Et, Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. ii. cap. 30. [Op., tom. i. col. 699. ubi sup. note [k].]

[n] [Præmissa certitudine trium, scilicet quod] papa, [ex hoc quod] factus [est] hæreticus, non est ipso facto, vel jure divino, vel humano, depositus, sed deponendus . . . . . [et quod Papa, si a fide deviat, deponendus est.] —Cajetan. Tract. [i.] de auctoritat. Papæ et Concilii, cap. xx. [in init. apud Opusc. omnia Thomæ de Vit. Cajetani, tom. i. p. 21. ed. Lugd. 1662.]

[o] Papa hæreticus manifestus per se desinit esse papa et caput, &c. Et tum potest ab ecclesia judicari, et puniri.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. ii. cap. 30. &c. [ubi sup. p. 299. note [k].]

wilfully; and he that can so err, cannot be infallible in his judgment, private or public: for if he can be an heretic, he can, and doubtless will, "judge for his heresy," if the Church let him alone. And you yourselves maintain his deposition lawful, to prevent this. I verily believe Albert Pighius foresaw this blow; and therefore he is of opinion, "That the pope cannot become an heretic at all."[p] And though Bellarmine[q] favour him so far as to say his opinion is probable, yet he is so honest as to add that "the common opinion of divines is against him." Nay, though he labour hard to excuse Pope Honorius the First from the heresy of the Monothelites;[r] and says that Pope Adrian was deceived, who thought him one, yet he confesses: "That Pope Adrian the Second, with the council then held at Rome, and the eighth General Synod, did think that the pope might be judged in the cause of heresy; and that the condition of the Church were most miserable, if it should be constrained to acknowledge a wolf manifestly raging for her shepherd."[s] And here again I have a question to ask, Whether you believe the eighth General Council, or not? If you believe it, then you see the pope can err, and so he not infallible. If you believe it not, then in your judgment that General Council errs, and so that not infallible.

11.—Thirdly, It is altogether in vain, and to no use, that the pope should be infallible, and that according to your own principles. Now, "God and nature make nothing in vain;" therefore, either the pope is not infallible, or at

[p] Hierarchiæ Ecclesiasticæ [assertio,] per [Albertum] Pighium. [Campensem,] lib. iv. cap. 8. [fol. cxxix. et seqq. ed. Colon. 1538.—The subject of the whole chapter is: Non solum ad cathedram Petri, sed etiam ad ipsum et successores ejus Romanos pontifices pertinere illud Christi oratione eidem impetratum privilegium, ne quando deficere possit ejus fides ad fratrum confirmationem in fide. And the proposition is asserted, Ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ præsidentium fidem conservari singulari privilegio.]

[q] [Opinio Alberti Pighii (v. sup.) . . . probabilis est, et defendi potest facile . . . Quia tamen non est certa, et] communis opinio est in contrarium, [operæ pretium erit videre, quid sit respondendeum, si papa hæreticus esse possit.] — Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. ii. cap. 30. § 2. [Op., tom. i. col. 669. A.]

[r] [Bellarmin.] de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 11. [Op., tom. i. col. 833. C.]

[s] Tamen non possumus negare, quin Hadrianus cum Romano concilio, imo et tota Synodus VIII. generalis senserit, in causa hæresis posse Romanum pontificem judicari. Adde, quod esset miserrima conditio Ecclesiæ, si lupum manifeste grassantem, pro pastore agnoscere cogeretur. —Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. ii. cap. 30. § 5. [Op., tom. i. col. 699. D.]

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least God never made him so. That the infallibility of the pope, had he any in him, is altogether vain and useless, is manifest; for if it be of any use, it is for the settling of truth and peace in the Church, in all times of her distraction. But neither the Church, nor any member of it, can make any use of the pope's infallibility that way; therefore it is of no use or benefit at all. And this also is as manifest as the rest. For before the Church, or any particular man, can make any use of this infallibility, to settle him and his conscience, he must either know or believe that the pope is infallible; but a man can neither know nor believe it. And first, for belief. For if the Church or any Christian man can believe it, he must believe it either by Divine or by human faith. Divine faith cannot be had of it; for, as is before proved, it hath no ground in the "written word of God." Nay, to follow you closer, it was never delivered by any tradition of the Catholic Church. And for human faith, no rational man can possibly believe, having no word of God to overrule his understanding, that he which is "fallible in the means," as yourselves confess the pope is,[t] can possibly be "infallible in the conclusion." And were it so that a rational man could have human faith of this infallibility, yet that neither is, nor ever can be, sufficient to make the pope infallible; no more than my strong belief of another man's honesty, can make him an honest man if he be not so. Now, secondly, for knowledge. And that is altogether impossible too, that either the Church, or any member of the Church, should ever know that "the pope is infallible." And this I shall make evident also out of your own principles. For your Council of Florence had told us, "That three things are necessary to every Sacrament,"[u] the "matter," the "form" of the Sacrament, and the "intention of the priest," which administers it, that he intends to do as

[t] Stapleton. Relect. Controv. [Controv.] iv. Q[uæst.] ii. Notab. 4. [Op., tom. i. p. 749. ubi sup. p. 277. note [t].]

[u] [Hæc] omnia sacramenta tribus perficiuntur, [videlicet rebus tanquam materia, verbis tanquam forma, et persona ministri conferentis sacramentum cum intentione faciendi quod facit Ecclesia: quorum si aliquod desit, non perficitur sacramentum. Inter hæc sacramenta, tria sunt, baptismus, confirmatio, et ordo, quæ characterem, id est, spirituale quoddam signum a cæteris distinctivum, imprimunt in anima indelebile. Unde in eadem persona non reiterantur. Reliqua vero quatuor characterem non imprimunt, et reiterationem admittunt.]—Decretum Eugenii IV. [ad Armenos,] in Concil. Florentin. [an. 1439. apud Concil. tom. xiii. col. 535. A, B.]

the Church doth. Your Council of Trent[x] confirms it for the "intention of the priest." Upon this ground—be it rock or sand, it is all one, for you make it rock and build upon it—I shall raise this battery against the "pope's infallibility." First, The pope, if he have any infallibility at all, he hath it as he is bishop of Rome and S. Peter's successor. This is granted.[y] Secondly, The pope cannot be Bishop of Rome, but he must be "in holy orders first." And if any man be chosen that is not so, the election is void, *ipso facto, propter errorem personæ,* "for the error of the person." This is also granted.[z] Thirdly, He that is to be made pope, can never be in holy orders, but by receiving them from one that hath power to ordain. This is notoriously known; so is it also, that with you "order is a sacrament properly so called." And if so, then the pope, when he did receive the order of deacon or priesthood at the hands of the bishop, did also receive a sacrament. Upon these grounds I raise my argument thus: Neither the Church, nor any member of the Church, can know that this pope which now sits, or any other that hath been, or shall be, is infallible. For he is not infallible unless he be pope; and he is not pope unless he be in holy orders; and he cannot be so unless he have received those holy orders, and that from one that had power to ordain; and those holy orders in your doctrine are a sacrament; and a sacrament is not perfectly given, if he that administers it have not *intentionem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia,* "an intention to do that which the Church doth" by sacraments. Now, who can possibly tell, that the bishop which gave the pope orders, was, first, a man qualified to give them; and, secondly, so devoutly set upon his work, that he had, at the instant of giving them, an intention and purpose to do therein as the Church doth? Surely, none but

[x] [Si quis dixerit, in ministris, dum sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri intentionem, saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia: anathema sit.]—Concil. Tridentin. Sess. vii. [de Sacramentis,] Can. xi.

[y] Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 3. § [6.] Alterum privilegium, &c. [ubi sup. p. 209. note [t].]

[z] Constantinus ex laico papa circa ann. 767, ejectus papatu. Et Stephanus III. qui successit, habito concilio statuit, ne quis nisi per gradus ecclesiasticos ascendens pontificatum occupare auderet sub pœna anathematis.—[Nullus unquam laicorum, neque ex alio ordine præsumat, nisi per distinctos gradus ascendens Diaconus, aut Presbyter Cardinalis factus fuerit, ad sacri Pontificatus honorem promoveri.]—Decret. [par. 1.] Distinct. lxxix. cap. [iv. ex Conc. Steph. III.] *Nullus* [*unquam.*]

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that bishop himself. And his testimony of himself and his own act—such especially as, if faulty, he would be loth to confess—can neither give knowledge nor belief sufficient, that the pope, according to this canon, is in holy orders. So upon the whole matter—let the Romanists take which they will; I give them free choice—either this canon of the Council of Trent is false divinity, and there is no such intention necessary to the essence and being of a sacrament; or if it be true, it is impossible for any man to know, and for any advised man to believe, That the pope is infallible in his judicial sentences, in things belonging to the faith. And so here again a General Council, at least such an one as that of Trent is, can err, or the pope is not infallible.

12.—But this is an argument *ad hominem*, good against your party only which maintain this Council. But the plain truth is, both are errors; for neither is the Bishop of Rome infallible in his judicials about the faith, nor is this intention of either bishop or priest of absolute necessity to the essence of a sacrament, so as to make void the gracious institution of Christ, in case by any tentation the priest's thoughts should wander from his work at the instant of using the essentials of a sacrament, or have in him an actual intention to scorn the Church. And you may remember, if you please, that a Neapolitan bishop,[a] then present at Trent, disputed this case very learnedly, and made it most evident that this opinion cannot be defended, but that it must open a way for any unworthy priest to make infinite nullities in administration of the sacraments. And his arguments were of such strength, *ut cæteros theologos dederint in stuporem*,[b] "as amazed the other divines" which were present; and concluded, "That no internal intention was required in the minister of a sacrament, but that intention which did appear *opere externo*, 'in the work itself' performed by him; and that if he had unworthily any wandering thoughts—nay more, any contrary intention within him,—yet it neither did nor

[a] Minorensis episcopus fuit. [.... "Ambrosius Catharinus, who is the person the relator means by the 'Neapolitan Bishop, who,' as his Lordship says, 'disputed so learnedly' against the common opinion in the Council of Trent."—Thorold (T. C. Laud's Labyrinth,) p. 285.]

[b–b] [P. Sarpi,] Hist. [Concil.] Trident. lib. ii. pp. 276, 277. Lcidæ, an. 1622. [Ubi sup. p. 162. note y.]

could hinder the blessed effect of any sacrament." And most certain it is, if this be not true—besides all other inconveniences, which are many—no man can secure himself upon any doubt or trouble in his conscience, that he hath truly and really been made partaker of any sacrament whatsoever—no, not of baptism; and so by consequence be left in doubt whether he be a Christian or no, even after he is baptized: whereas it is most impossible that Christ should so order His sacraments, and so leave them to His Church, as that poor believers in His name, by any unworthiness of any of His priests, should not be able to know whether they have received His sacraments or not, even while they have received them. And yet, for all this, such "great lovers of truth," and such "careful pastors" over the "flock of Christ," were these Trent Fathers, that they regarded none of this, but went on in the usual track, and made their decree for the "internal intention and purpose" of the priest, and that "the sacrament was invalid without it."

13.—Nay, one argument more there is, and from your own grounds too, that makes it more than manifest that "the pope can err," not "personally" only, but "judicially" also, and so teach false doctrine to the Church; which Bellarmine tells us, "No pope hath done, or can do." [c] And a maxim it is with you, "That a General Council can err, if it be not confirmed by the pope; but if it be confirmed, then it cannot err." [d] Where, first, this is very improper language; for I hope no Council is confirmed till it be finished. And when it is finished, even before the pope's confirmation be put to it, either it hath erred, or not erred. If it have erred, the pope ought not to confirm it; and if he do, it is a void act; for no power can make falsehood truth: if it have not erred, then it was true before the pope confirmed it; so his confirmation adds nothing but his own assent: therefore his confirmation of a General Council, as you will needs call it, is at the most *signum, non causa,* "a sign," and that such as may fail, but "no cause" of the Council's not erring. But

[c] [Sit igitur prima propositio:] Summus pontifex cum totam ecclesiam docet, in his quæ ad fidem pertinent, nullo casu errare potest.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 3. § 1. [ubi sup. p. 21. note r.]

[d] Concilia Generalia a Pontifice confirmata errare non possunt.—Bellarmin. de Concil. [auctoritat.] lib. ii. cap. 2. § 1. [ubi sup. p. 180. note c.]

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then, secondly, if a General Council, confirmed, as you would have it, by the pope, have erred, and so can err, then certainly the pope can err judicially; for he never gives a more solemn sentence for truth than when he decrees any thing in a General Council: therefore if he have erred and can err there, then certainly he can err in his definitive sentence about the faith, and is not infallible. Now that he hath erred, and therefore can err, in a General Council confirmed, in which he takes upon him to teach all Christendom, is most clear and evident. For the pope teaches in and by the Council of Lateran,[e] confirmed by Innocent the Third, Christ is present in the sacrament by way of transubstantiation: and in and by the Council of Constance,[f] the administration of the blessed sacrament to the laity in one kind, notwithstanding Christ's institution of it in both kinds for all: and in and by the Council of Trent,[g] Invocation of Saints and Adoration of Images, to the great scandal of Christianity, and as great hazard of the weak. Now, that these particulars, among many, are errors in divinity, and about the faith, is manifest both by Scripture, and the judgment of the primitive Church. For Transubstantiation, first: that was never heard of in the primitive Church, nor till the Council of Lateran, nor can it be proved out of Scripture; and, taken properly, cannot stand with the grounds of Christian religion. As for Communion in One Kind, Christ's institution is clear against that; and not only the primitive Church, but the whole Church of Christ, kept it so till within less than four hundred years. For Aquinas confesses it was so in use even to his times;[h] and he was both born and dead during the

[e] [In qua (Ecclesia) idem Ipse sacerdos, et sacrificium Jesus Christus: cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub specibus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis, pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo quod accepit Ipse de nostro.]—Concil. Lateranens. [IV. an. 1215.] Can. i. [Concil. tom. xi. par. 1. col. 143. B.]

[f] Concil. Constant. [an. 1415.] Sess. xiii. [Concil. tom. xii. col. 100. A. ubi sup. p. 290. note [n].]

[g] [Docentes fideles, sanctos . . . bonum atque utile esse suppliciter invocare . . . et ad eorum orationes, opem auxiliumque confugere . . . Imagines porro . . . in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas, eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam, &c.]—Concil. Tridentin. Sess. xxv. Decretum de Invocatione [Sanctorum.]

[h] [Et quia crevit multitudo populi Christiani, in qua continentur senes et juvenes et parvuli, quorum quidam non sunt tantæ discretionis, ut cautelam debitam circa usum hujus sacra-

reign of Henry the Third of England. Nay, it stands yet as a monument in the very Missal,[i] against the present practice of the Church of Rome, that then it was usually given and received in both kinds. And for Invocation of Saints, though some of the ancient Fathers have some rhetorical flourishes about it, for the stirring up of devotion, as they thought, yet the Church then admitted not of the invocation of them, but only of the commemoration of the martyrs, as appears clearly in S. Augustine.[k] And when the Church prayed to God for any thing, she desired to be heard for the mercies and the merits of Christ, not for the merits of any saints whatsoever. For I much doubt this were to make the saints more than "mediators of intercession," which is all that you will acknowledge you allow the saints.[l] For, I

menti adhibeant: ideo] provide in quibusdam Ecclesiis observatur, ut populo sanguis [sumendus] non detur, [sed solum a sacerdote sumatur.]—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 3. Q[uæst.] lxxx. A[rtic.] 12. [in conclus.] So it was but in *some* Churches in his time. [Ex quo etiam colligi posset, quamvis in communionibus, in quibus pauci laici communicabant, fuerit usus calicis consecrati, tamen in communione totius populi, qualis fieri consuevit in Paschate, et aliis solennitatibus, non potuisse totum populum sub utraque specie communicare, quia non potuit pro tanta hominum multitudine calix aliquis ita magnus convenienter consecrari, neque ullus ex antiquissimis, qui extant, tam eximiæ magnitudinis usquam visus est. Verum quia ex calice consecrato aliquid infundebatur vino non consecrato, fortassis dicebatur laicos etiam sumere calicem sanguinis. Denique hunc usum longo tempore in Ecclesia fuisse testatur Concilium Constantiense Sess. xiii. . . Probatum est licitam esse communionem laicorum in Ecclesia sub altera tantum specie, id quod maxime etiam confirmat, quod Græci in Concilio Florentino, aut usquam alibi nunquam in Ecclesia Latina eam reprehenderunt, etiamsi ipsi utraque specie semper usi fuerint, cum tamen multa alia tanquam falsa, et minime licita contra Ecclesiam Latinam objecerint; ob id tamen] negare non possumus, etiam in Ecclesia Latina fuisse usum utriusque speciei, et usque ad tempora S. Thomæ durasse.—[Comment. ac Disput.] in Tert. [part. Summ. S. Thom. Aquin. Quæst. lxxx. Artic. 12. auctore R. P. G.] Vazquez, Disput. ccxvi. cap. 3. No. 38. [tom. iii. p. 431.]

[i] Refecti cibo potuque cœlesti, Deus noster, Te supplices exoramus, [ut in cujus hæc commemoratione percepimus, ejus muniamur et precibus. Per &c.]—In proprio Missarum de Sanctis Januar. xv. [sc. S. Pauli, primi Eremitæ,] Orat. Postcommun. And Januar. xxi. [sc. S. Agnetis, V. et M.]

[k] Nos autem martyribus nostris non templa sicut Diis, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus; nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus martyribus, sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro:] ad quod sacrificium, [sicut] homines Dei, [qui mundum in Ejus confessione vicerunt,] suo loco et ordine nominantur; non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, *invocantur*. [Deo quippe, non ipsis sacrificat, quamvis in memoria sacrificet eorum: quia Dei sacerdos est non illorum. Ipsum vero sacrificium corpus est Christi.]—S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 10. [Op., tom. vii. col. 673. G.]

[l] Ad primum ergo locum [(sc. 1 Tim. 2. Unus est mediator &c.) respondeo, tribus de causis dici Christum unum et solum mediatorem Dei et hominum. Primo &c. . . . notandum enim est posse tribus modis unum mediatorem reconciliare duos dissidentes: uno modo, &c. . . . tertio modo, orando cre-

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pray, is not "by the merits" more than "by the intercession?" Did not Christ redeem us by His merits? And if God must hear our prayers for the "merits of the saints," how much fall they short of sharers in the "mediation of redemption?"[m] You may think of this. For such prayers as these the Church of Rome makes at this day, and they stand—not without great scandal to Christ and Christianity—used, and authorized to be used in the Missal. For instance, upon the Feast of S. Nicolas you pray "that God, by the merits and prayers of S. Nicolas, would deliver you from the fire of hell."[n] And upon the Octaves of S. Peter and S. Paul, you desire God "that you may obtain the glory of eternity by their merits."[o] And on the Feast of S. Bonaventure, you pray "that God would absolve you from all your sins by the interceding merits of Bonaventure."[p] And

ditorem, ut debitum remittat . . . Postremo (hoc) modo etiam sancti dici possunt mediatores inter Deum, et eos, pro quibus orant: neque est, cur timeamus, nomen mediatoris transferre ad sanctos, sicut ad eos transferimus nomen advocati et intercessoris &c.]—Bellarmin. de Sanct. Beatitud. lib. i. cap. 20. § [12. Op., tom. ii. col. 751. C.]

[m] [Sexta objectio, (sc. sanctorum passionibus expiari possent nostra delicta,) non esset absurdum eos appellare nostros redemptores, saltem ex parte. At solus Christus est Redemptor &c. . . . Ad argumentum igitur respondemus, Si proprie et absolute nomen Redemptoris accipiatur, solum Christum esse Redemptorem . . . At si largo modo Redemptor appelletur quicunque liberat alium ab aliquo debito, non erit absurdum, si sancti viri] redemptores nostri aliquo modo, id est, secundum aliquid, [non simpliciter, et largo modo, non in rigore verborum esse dicantur.]—Bellarmin. de Indulgentiis, lib. i. cap. 4. Op., tom. vii. col. 426. C. 427. A, B. Et sanctos appellat numina Bellarminus, de Imaginib. Sanct. lib. ii. cap. 23. § 3. Now if this word *numen* signify any thing else besides God Himself, or the power of God, or the oracle of God, let Bellarmine show it, or A. C. for him. —[Thorold (T. C. Laud's Labyrinth,) p. 293, says, "in the place he (Laud) cites, there is not the least shadow, or intimation, of any such matter, his (Bellarmine's) whole discourse there being of Images and not of the Saints." This is true, and there seems to be some ground for supposing not only the reference to be wrong, which it is, but that Bellarmine does not apply the term *Numina* to the saints. The only passage in Bellarmine's Treatises which the present Editor has met with where the word occurs, is, De Imaginib. Sanct. lib. ii. cap. 8. § ult. Unde Lampridius ea simulachra ibidem appellat Numina; numina autem non vocantur imagines, nisi proponantur adorandæ pro Diis. And in the Preface prefixed to the Dissertations on this subject, Bellarmine confines the term *Numen*, and *Divinum Numen*, to God Himself.]

[n] [Deus, qui beatum Nicolaum pontificem innumeris decorasti miraculis: tribue, quæsumus,] ut ejus meritis et precibus a Gehennæ incendiis liberemur. — In proprio Missarum de Sanctis, Decemb. vi. [sc. Fest. S. Nicolai, Episcopi et M.]

[o] [Deus, cujus dextera beatum Petrum ambulantem in fluctibus ne mergeretur, erexit, et coapostolum ejus Paulum tertio naufragantium de profundo pelagi liberavit: exaudi nos propitius, et concede,] ut amborum meritis æternitatis gloriam consequamur.—Ibid. Jul. vi. [sc. in Oct. SS. Apostol. Petri et Pauli.]

[p] Ejus intercedentibus meritis ab omnibus nos absolve peccatis.—Ibid. Julii xiv. [sc. Fest. S. Bonaventuræ, Episcopi et Conf.—In the Roman Missal,

for Adoration of Images, the ancient Church knew it not.[q] And the modern Church of Rome is too like to paganism in the practice of it, and driven to scarce intelligible subtleties in her servants' writings that defend it; and this without any care had of millions of souls unable to understand her subtleties or shun her practice. Did I say, "the modern Church of Rome is grown too like paganism in this point?" And may this speech seem too hard? Well, if it do, I will give a double account of it. The one is, It is no harsher expression than they of Rome use of the Protestants, and in cases in which there is no show or resemblance. For Becanus tells us, "It is no more lawful to receive the Sacrament as the Calvinists receive it, than it is to worship idols with the ethnics."[r] And Gregory de Valentia enlarges it to more points than one, but with no more truth: "The sectaries of our times," saith he, "seem to err culpably in more things than the Gentiles."[s] This is easily said, but here is no proof. Nor shall I hold it a sufficient warrant for me to sour my language, because these men have dipped their pens in gall. The other account, therefore, which I shall give of this speech, shall come vouched both by authority and reason.

the Office of S. Bonaventure contains the following collect: Deus, qui populo tuo æternæ salutis beatum Bonaventuram ministrum tribuisti: præsta, quæsumus, ut, quem Doctorem vitæ habuimus in terris, intercessorem habere mereamur in cœlis.—The Paris Missal has an office quite different; but not with the words quoted by Laud, which may probably be found in some local Use.]

[q] In Optatus' time the Christians were much troubled upon but a false report, that an image was to be placed upon the altar. What would they have done if adoration had been commanded? &c. [Dicebatur enim illo tempore venturos Paulum et Macarium, qui interessent sacrificio, ut cum altaria solemniter aptarentur, proferrent illi imaginem, quam primo in altare ponerent, et sic sacrificium offerretur. Hoc cum acciperent aures, percussi sunt et animi, et uniuscujusque lingua in hæc verba commota est, ut omnis qui hæc audieret diceret, Qui inde gustat, de sacro gustat.] Et recte dictum erat, si talem famam similis veritas sequeretur.—S. Optat. [Milevitan. de Schism. Donatist.] lib. iii. ad fin. [cap. 12. Op., p. 67.—The image, which the Donatists had thus falsely charged the Catholics with placing on their altars, has been said to be that of the Emperor Constans.]

[r] [Hæretici .... vitandi sunt .... tertio, si timeatur scandalum. Hinc sequitur primo, non licere cum iis sumere synaxin more Calvinistico;] sicut non licet cum ethnicis idola colere. [Hæc enim communicatio in rebus divinis est illicita, quia est contra veram fidem.]—[Martin.] Becan. [Opusc. Theologic. tom. ii. p. 41.] libello de fide Hæreticis servanda, cap. viii. [3. p. 11. ed. Mogunt. 1610.]

[s] Nam ut ipse D. Thomas notat, contingit aliquando hæreticos circa plura errare quam Gentiles, ut Manichæi. Quod nos possumus vere dicere de nostri temporis sectariis, qui culpabiliter in pluribus videntur errare. —[Gregor. de] Valentia, [Comment. Theolog.] in [S. Thom. Aquin.] Secund. Secund. Disp. i. Q[uæst.] x. [de Infidelitate,] Punct. 3. [Quotuplex sit infidelitas, tom. iii. col. 452. A.]

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And first, for authority. I could set Ludovicus Vives against Becanus, if I would, who says expressly, "that the making of feasts at the oratories of the martyrs (which S. Augustine tells us, 'the best Christians practised not,')[t] are a kind of *parentalia*, funeral-feasts, too much resembling the superstition of the Gentiles."[u] Nay, Vives need not say "resembling that superstition," since Tertullian tells us plainly, "that idolatry itself is but a kind of parentation."[x] And Vives, dying in the communion of the Church of Rome, is a better testimony against you, than Becanus or Valentia, being bitter enemies to our communion, can be against us. But I will come nearer home to you, and prove it by more of your own. For Cassander, who lived and died in your communion, says it expressly, "That in this present case of the adoration of images, you came full home to the superstition of the heathen."[y] And, secondly, for reason—I have, I think, too much to give, that the modern Church of Rome is grown too like to paganism in this point. For the Council of Trent itself confesses, "that to believe there is any divinity in images, is to do as the Gentiles did by their idols."[z] And though, in some words after, the fathers of

[t] [Quæcumque igitur adhibentur religiosorum obsequia in martyrum locis, ornamenta sunt memoriarum, non sacra vel sacrificia mortuorum tanquam deorum. Quicumque etiam epulas suos eo deferunt,] quod quidem a Christianis melioribus non fit, [et in plerisque terrarum nulla talis est consuetudo; tamen quicumque id faciunt, quas cum apposuerint, orant, et auferunt ut vescantur, &c.]—S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. viii. cap. 27. [Op., tom. vii. col. 217. D.]

[u] [Hic error in Africa potissimum observabatur, ut testatur Confess. lib. vi. cap. 2. . . . . ista non fieri, nec ab eis, qui sobrie facerent, ne ulla occasio ingurgitandi se daretur ebriosis, et quod] illa quasi parentaliæ superstitioni Gentilium simillima.— Lud. Vives, ibid. [apud Augustin. de civitat. Dei, &c. accedunt commentarii eruditi Joann. Ludov. Vives, Hispal. &c. ed. Francof. ac Hamburgæ, 1661. p. 820.]

[x] Quod ergo mortuis litabatur, utique parentationi deputabatur. Quæ species proinde idololatriæ est, quoniam et idololatria parentationis est species.—Tertull. lib. de Spectaculis, cap. xii. [Op., p. 78. C.]

[y] Manifestius [enim] est, quam ut multis verbis explicari debeat, imaginum et simulachrorum cultum nimium invaluisse, et affectioni, seu potius superstitioni, populi plus satis indultum esse, ita, ut ad summam adorationem, quæ vel a paganis suis simulachris exhiberi consuevit, [et ad extremam vanitatem, quam ethnici in suis simulachris et imaginibus effingendis et exornandis admiserunt, nil a nostris reliqui factum esse videatur, &c. —Cassander, in Consult. Artic. xxi. C. [de cultu sanctorum, cap. 4.] de Imaginibus [et simulachris, Op., p. 978. ed. Paris. 1616.] Where he names divers of your own—as, namely, Durantus Mimatensis Episcopus, John Billet, Gerson, Durand, Holkot, and Biel, rejecting the opinion of Thomas, and other superstitions concerning images.—Ibid.

[z] Non quod credatur inesse aliqua in iis divinitas, [vel virtus, propter quam sint colendæ, vel quod ab eis sit aliquid petendum, vel quod fiducia in

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that Council seem very religiously careful "that all occasion of dangerous error be prevented;" [a] yet the doctrine itself is so full of danger, that it works strongly, both upon the learned and unlearned, to the scandal of religion, and the perverting of truth. For the unlearned first: How it works upon them, by whole countries together, you may see by what happened in Asturia,[1] Cantabria, Galetia,—no small parts of Spain. "For there the people," so he tells me that was an eye-witness, and that since the Council of Trent, "are so addicted to their worm-eaten and deformed images, that when the bishops commanded new and handsomer images to be set up in their rooms, the poor people cried for their old, would not look up to their new,—as if they did not represent the same thing." [b] And though he say this is by little and little amended, yet I believe there is very little amendment. And it works upon the learned, too, more than it should. For it wrought so far upon Lamas himself, who bemoaned the former passage, as that he delivers this doctrine: "That the images of Christ, the blessed Virgin, and the saints, are not to be worshipped as if there were any divinity in the images, as they are material things made by art, but only as they represent Christ and the saints; for else it were idolatry." [c] So then, belike, according to the divinity of this casuist, a

[1] [Asturiis .... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

imaginibus sit figenda,] veluti olim fiebat a gentibus, [quæ in idolis spem suam collocabant.]—Concil. Tridentin. Sess. xxv. Decretum de Invocatione [Sanctorum.]

[a] [In has autem sanctas et salutares observationes si qui abusus irrepserint, eos prorsus aboleri sancta synodus vehementer cupit, ita ut nullæ falsi dogmatis imagines] et rudibus periculosi erroris occasionem [præbentes statuantur.]—Ibid.

[b] [Quæ doctrina (Concilii scil. Trident.) omni diligentia proponenda est, et fideles præcipue rudiores instruendi, præcipue in montanis, ubi gentes non sunt adeo cultæ, ut in Asturiis, Cantabria, et Galetia, nostræ Hispaniæ, ubi major est indecentia, et fere irrisibilis deformitas,] et adeo gens affecta est truncis corrosis et deformibus imaginibus, ut me teste, quoties episcopi [illas renovant, et] decentiores [loco illarum] ponere jubent, [in suis parœciarum visitationibus,] veteres suas petant plorantes, [et novas neque aspicere velint, &c.]—Summa [Ecclesiastica, sive Instructio Confessariorum et Pœnitentium ..... authore] Hieronymo Llamas, par. 3. cap. iii. [p. 271. ed. Mogunt. 1605.]

[c] [His words are: Solum advertimus pro rudioribus, quod Redemptoris nostri et Domini, et sanctissimæ matris ejus, et sanctorum imagines sic venerari, et colere, ut credatur vel profiteatur in ipsis esse divinitatem imaginibus,] secundum quod sunt quædam materia arte effigiata, et non secundum quod repræsentant Christum Redemptorem, et sanctos, [et eorum sunt memoriæ, et quasi rudiorum libri, existimare ab statua, vel imagine, ut res quædam est, debere peti aliquid, vel ab illa sperare posse, et non actualiter, vel virtualiter referendo in Christum Redemptorem, ut prototypum, et in sanctos repræsentatos,] esset idololatria, [sculpturæ et operis manuum hominum, toties in sacra Scriptura a Deo abominata et reprehensa.]—Llamas, ibid. [pp. 270, 271.]

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man may worship images, and ask of them, and put his trust in them, "as they represent Christ and the saints:" for so there is divinity in them, though not as things, yet as representers. And what, I pray, did or could any pagan priest say more than this? For the proposition resolved is this: "The images of Christ and the saints, as they represent their exemplars, have deity or divinity in them." And now I pray, A. C., do you be judge, whether this proposition do not teach idolatry? and whether the modern Church of Rome be not grown too like to paganism in this point? For my own part, I heartily wish it were not; and that men of learning would not strain their wits to spoil the truth, and rent the peace of the Church of Christ, by such dangerous, such superstitious vanities—for better they are not, but they may be worse. Nay, these and their like have given so great a scandal among us, to some ignorant, though, I presume, well-meaning men, that they are afraid to testify their duty to God, even in His own house, by any outward gesture at all; insomuch that those very ceremonies which, by the judgment of godly and learned men, have now long continued in the practice of this Church, suffer hard measure for the Romish superstition's sake. But I will conclude this point with the saying of B. Rhenanus: "Who could endure the people," says he, "rushing into the church like swine into a stye? Doubtless, ceremonies do not hurt the people, but profit them, so there be a mean kept, and the bye be not put for the main; that is, so we place not the principal part of our piety in them."[d]

The conference grows to an end, and I must meet it again ere we part. For you say,

A. C. pp. 63, 64.]

> F. After this, we all rising, the lady asked the B. whether she might be saved in the Roman faith. He answered, She might.*

* [Here again the Chaplain taxeth the Jesuit, saying, That the B. did not answer thus in particular. But the Jesuit is sure he did; and it appeareth to be so by the Jesuit's words, who said to the lady, "Mark that!" Unto which

[d] Quis ferat populum in templum irruentem, ceu in haram sues? Certe non obsunt populo ceremoniæ, sed prosunt, si modus in eis servetur, et caveamus ne πάρεργα τῶν ἔργων loco habeantur, hoc est, ne præcipuam pietatem in illis collocemus.—[Beatus] Rhenanus, Annotat. in Tertullian. lib. de corona milit. [ad verba, Amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit, cap. iii. apud Tertull. Op., p. 336. G. ed. Paris. 1582.]

the B. replied, saying, "She may be better saved in it than you:" which reply sheweth that the B. had said, that she in particular might be saved in the Roman faith. Otherwise, if his first answer had been as the Chaplain would now make, the B. should have said, The ignorant may be saved in it, but neither you nor she. But the Jesuit is sure that this answer of the B., and reply of the Jesuit, "Mark that," was just as he related, without any such addition as now the Chaplain doth relate; and that if such a caveat were added, it was after the end of the conference, and not in the Jesuit's presence. Out of this last passage the Chaplain observeth that the Catholics take advantage, and make use of the argument drawn from Protestants granting that one living and dying a Roman Catholic may be saved; accounting it secure so to live and die, even by confession of adversaries. The force of which argument he endeavoureth to weaken by saying, that although Protestants grant it to be possible, yet they say withal that it is not secure, but hard, &c. But he must remember, that when Protestants grant, that in the Roman faith and Church there is ground sufficient, and consequently possibility of salvation, this is a free confession of the adversaries against themselves, and therefore is of force against them, and is to be thought extorted from them by the force of truth itself. But when Protestants do say that salvation is more securely and easily had in Protestant faith and Church than in the Roman, this only is their partial private opinion in their own behalf, which is of no weight; especially when Roman Catholics, far more in number, and far more spread in place, and of much longer continuance in time, and for virtue and learning at least equal, or rather much exceeding Protestants, do confidently and unanimously, and with authority and reason, prove that, according to the ordinary course of God's providence, out of the Catholic Roman Church there is no possibility of salvation: and therefore who will not think it safer to adhere to the Catholic Roman faith and Church, in which all, both Catholics and best learned Protestants, do promise possibility of salvation without doubt, than to the Protestant Church, since all Roman Catholics do threaten damnation to all who obstinately adhere unto it, and die in it? The which threat doth not proceed out of malice, or want of charity, but is grounded in charity; as are the like threats of Christ our Saviour, and holy fathers, who, knowing that there is but one true faith and one true Church, out of which there is no salvation, do, out of their charitable care of our souls' good, so commend to us the belief of that faith, and the cleaving to that Church, as they pronounce, *He that shall not believe shall be condemned,* (Mark xvi. 16.); and, *He that will not hear the Church,* and have it for his mother, *is to be accounted as a heathen and publican,* (Matth. xviii. 17.) and cannot have God to be his Father; accounting it more charity to forewarn us by these threats of our peril, that we may fear and avoid it, than to put us in a false security, and so to let us run into danger for want of foresight of it. Those examples which the Chaplain gives, of the Donatists giving true baptism in the opinion of all, and Protestants holding a kind of real presence not denied by any, are nothing like our case. For in these cases there are annexed other reasons of certainly known peril of damnable schism and heresy, which we should incur by consenting to the Donatists' denial of true baptism to be among Catholics, and to the Protestants' denial or doubting of the true substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist. But in our case there is confessedly no such peril of any damnable heresy, schism, or any other sin, in resolving to live and die in the Catholic Roman Church; and in case some Protestants should say, that there is peril of damnation in living and dying Roman Catholics, the authority of them that say there is peril being so few, in comparison of those who say there is none, and so passionate and partially-affected men, who are in this their saying contradicted by their own more learned brethren, ought not to be respected more than a scarecrow. But the authority of those who allow salvation to such as do live and die Roman Catholics, being so many, so ancient, so virtuous, so learned, and some no way partially affected, but opposite to the Roman Church, ought to be accounted of exceeding great weight, and may worthily persuade any wise man that it is most secure to live and die a Roman Catholic; and consequently that, in so important a matter, this most secure course of living and dying in the Roman Church ought in all reason to be chosen; and that so precious a jewel as the soul is, ought not to be left to the hazard of losing heaven, and falling into hell, by relying upon one's own

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opinion, or the opinion of those few new Protestant doctors, who acknowledge that their whole congregation may err; and much more, therefore, may they think that each member thereof may be deceived, in following his own or any other man's opinion.—A. C. marg. note to p. 64.]

§ 34. **B.** What! Not one answer perfectly related![e] My answer to this was general, for the ignorant, that could not discern the errors of that Church, so they held the foundation, and conformed themselves to a religious life. But why do you not speak out what I added in this particular?—"That it must needs go harder with the lady, even in point of salvation, because she has been brought to understand very much, for one of her condition, in these controverted causes of religion. And a person that comes to know much, had need carefully bethink himself that he oppose not known truth against the Church that made him a Christian." For salvation may be in the Church of Rome, and yet they not find it that make surest of it. Here A. C. is as confident as the Jesuit himself, "That I said expressly, 'that the lady might be saved in the Roman faith.'" Truly, it is too long since now for me to speak any more than I have already, upon my memory; but this I am sure of, that whatsoever I said of her, were it never so particular, yet was it under the conditions before expressed.

[A. C. p. 64.]

F. I bade her mark that.

§ 35. **B.** I.—This answer, I am sure, troubles not you; but it seems you would fain have it lay a load of envy upon me, that you profess you bade the lady so carefully "mark that." Well, you bade her "mark that." For what? For some great matter? or for some new? Not for some new, sure. For the Protestants have ever been ready, for truth, and in charity, to grant as much as might be. And, therefore, from the beginning, "many learned men"[f] granted this.

[e] Cave ne dum vis alium notare culpæ, ipse noteris calumniæ. — S. Hier. lib. iii. advers. Pelagianos. [The present Editor has not been able to verify this quotation.]

[f] [Et Lutherus, jam hæreticus existens, sic scribit in libro contra Anabaptistas, qui in odium papæ rejiciunt baptismum parvulorum:] Nos, [inquit,] fatemur, sub papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani, immo omne bonum Christianum, atque etiam illinc ad nos devenisse. [Quippe fatemur, in papatu veram esse Scripturam sacram, verum baptismum, verum sacramentum altaris, veras claves ad remissionem peccatorum, verum prædicandi officium, verum Catechismum, ut sunt, oratio Dominica, decem præcepta, articuli Fidei. Dico insuper, sub papatu veram Christianitatem, immo verum nucleum Christianitatis.]—Lu-

So that you needed not have put such a serious "Mark that!" upon my speech, as if none before had, or none but I would speak it. And if your "Mark that!" were

ther. contra Anabaptistas, citante Bellarmino, de Notis Ecclesiæ, lib. iv. cap. 16. § penult. [Op., tom. ii. col. 217. C.]—And, ["Because some men perhaps will think, that we yield more unto our adversaries now than formerly we did, in that we acknowledge the Latin or Western Churches subject to Romish tyranny before God raised up Luther, to have been the true Churches of God, in which a saving profession of the truth in Christ was found, and wherein Luther himself received his Christianity, ordination and power of ministry, I will first show that all our best and most renowned divines did ever acknowledge as much as I have written."]—Field, [Of the Church,] Appendix, part iii. ch. 2. [p. 880. ed. Oxford, 1628: and he proceeds, after citing the passages from Luther, Philip du Plessis-Mornay, Calvin, which Laud quotes, to show that the same view was maintained by Bucer, Melanchthon and Beza.]—And, ["For this particular they have not well heeded that charitable profession of zealous Luther, *Nos fatemur*, &c. No man, I trust, will fear that fervent spirit's too much excess of indulgence: under the papacy may be as much good as itself is evil; neither do we censure that Church for what it hath not, but for what it hath. Fundamental truth is like Maronian wine, which if it be mixed with twenty times as much water, holds its strength," &c.]—Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, The Old Religion: [a Treatise wherein is laid down the true state of the difference between the Reformed and Roman Church, &c.] ch. 1. [pp. 6, 7. ed. London, 1686.]—And, ["And this is our judgment touching] many [other, both before and after the time of St. Bernard, that] holding Christ the foundation aright, and groaning under the [heavy] burthen of [human traditions, satisfaction, and other] popish trash, [they] by a general repentance [from their errors and lapses, knowne and unknowne] and [by an] assured faith in their Saviour, did find favour with the Lord."—Dr. Geo. Abbot, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Answer to Hill; ad Ration. 1. § 30. [i. e. The Reasons which Dr. Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papistry, &c. unmasked, &c. p. 61. ed. Oxford, 1604.]—And, "For mine own part I dare not [hereupon] deny the possibility of their salvation, which have been the chiefest instrument of ours," &c.—Hooker, in his Discourse of Justification, [Sermon ii.] § 17. [Works, vol. iii. p. 626. ed. Keble.]—And, "In former times a man might hold the general doctrine of those Churches, wherein our fathers lived, and be saved, [though the assertions of some men were damnable] .... And yet since the Council of Trent some are found in it in such degree of orthodoxy, as we may well hope of their salvation."—Field, [Of the Church,] book iii. ch. 47. [p. 175.]—And, "The Latin or Western Church, subject to the Romish tyranny, was a true Church, in which a saving profession of the truth of Christ was found."—Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, the Old Religion, *in fin.* in his Advertisement to the Reader, p. 202. — And, [Hinc igitur Dei misericordia factum esse colligimus, ut] non pauci Christum fundamentum [illud, ac quo loquitur Apostolus,] retinerent, [ab Antichristo licet concussum ac pro virili subversum fuisset.]—Tractat. de Ecclesia, [quo præcipuæ quæ hoc nostro tempore agitatæ fuerunt quæstiones excutiuntur.—Phil.] Mornæo [Pless. auctore,] cap. ix. in fin. [p. 442. ed. Le Preux, 1619.]—Inter sordes [autem] istas, ista quæ summo cum periculo expectetur salus, non ipsorum additamentis, sed iis quæ nobiscum habent communia fundamentis est attribuenda.—Joann. Prideaux, Lection. ix. in fin. [Viginti-duæ Lectiones de totidem religionis capitibus se prout publice habebantur Oxoniæ in Vesperiis, &c. ed. Oxon. 1648. p. 143.]—[Nam] Papa aliquam adhuc religionis formam relinquit: spem vitæ æternæ non tollit: [docet timendum esse Deum: aliquod statuit boni et mali discrimen: Christum verum Deum atque hominem agnoscit, aliquid auctoritatis tribuit Verbo Dei.]—Calvin. Instructio adv. Libertinos, cap. iv. [Op., tom. vii. p. 377. col. 1. ed. Amstelod. 1667.]

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not for some new matter, was it for some great? Yes, sure, it was. For what greater than salvation? But then, I pray, mark this too, That "might be saved" grants but a possibility,[g] no sure or safe way to salvation. The possibility, I think, cannot be denied—the ignorants especially, because they hold the foundation, and cannot survey the building. And the foundation can deceive no man that rests upon it. But a "secure" way they cannot go, that hold with such corruptions, when they know them. Now, whether it be wisdom, in such a point as salvation is, to forsake a Church, in the which the "ground of salvation is firm," to follow a Church "in which it is but possible one may be saved,"—but very probable he may do worse, if he look not well to the foundation—judge ye. I am sure S. Augustine thought it was not, and "judged it a great sin, in point of salvation, for a man to prefer *incerta certis*, 'uncertainties and naked possibilities before an evident and certain course.'"[h] And Bellarmine is of opinion, and that in the point of justification, "That in regard of the uncertainty of our own righteousness, and of the danger of vain-glory, *tutissimum est*, 'it is safest,' to repose our whole trust in the mercy and goodness of God."[i] And, surely, if there be one safer way than another, as he confesses there is, he is no wise man, that in a matter of so great moment will not betake himself to the safest way. And, therefore,

[g] Here A. C. gets another snatch, and tells us, "That to grant a possibility of salvation in the Roman Church, is the free confession of an adversary, and therefore is of force against us, and extorted by truth: but to say that salvation is more securely and easily to be had in the Protestant faith, that is but their partial opinion in their own behalf, and of no force, especially with Roman Catholics." I easily believe this latter part, That this, as A. C. and the rest use the matter with their proselytes, shall be of little or no force with Roman Catholics. But it will behove them that it be of force. For let any indifferent man weigh the necessary requisites to salvation, and he shall find this no partial opinion, but very plain and real verity, That the Protestant, living according to his belief, is upon the safer way to heaven. And as for my confession, let them enforce it as far as they can against me, so they observe my limitations; which if they do, A. C. and his fellows will, of all the rest, have but little comfort in such a limited possibility.

[h] [Quanquam etiam si dubium haberet, non illic recte accipi quod in Catholica recte accipi certum haberet,] graviter peccaret, in rebus ad salutem animæ pertinentibus, vel eo solo quod certis incerta præponeret.—S. Augustin. de Baptism. cont. Donatist. lib. i. cap. 3. [Op., tom. ix. col. 82. D.]

[i] Sit tertia propositio: Propter incertitudinem propriæ justitiæ, et periculum inanis gloriæ, tutissimum est, fiduciam totam in sola Dei misericordia et benignitate reponere.—Bellarmin. de Justif. lib. v. cap. 7. § [20. Op., tom. iv. col. 1095. A.]

even you yourselves, in the point of "condignity of merit," though you write it and preach it boisterously to the people, yet you are content to die—renouncing the condignity of all your own merits, and trust to Christ's. Now, surely, if you will not venture to die as you live, live and believe in time as you mean to die.

11.—And one thing more, because you bid "mark this," let me remember to tell you for the benefit of others. Upon this very point—"That we acknowledge an honest ignorant Papist may be saved,"—you, and your like, work upon the advantage of our charity, and your own want of it, to abuse the weak. For thus, I am told, you work upon them:—"You see the Protestants, at least many of them, confess there may be salvation in our Church: We absolutely deny there is salvation in theirs: Therefore it is safer to come to ours, than to stay in theirs;—to be where almost all grant salvation, than where the greater part of the world deny it." This argument is very prevailing with men that cannot weigh it, and with women especially, that are put in fear by violent, though causeless, denying heaven unto them.[k] And some of your party, since this, have set out a book, called "Charity Mistaken." But beside the "Answer"[1] fully given

[k] And this piece of cunning to affright the weak was in use in Justin Martyr's time. Quosdam scimus &c. ad iracundiam suam Evangelium pertrahentes &c. quibus si potestas ea obtigisset ut nonnullos gehennæ traderent, orbem quoque universum consumpsissent.—[Pseudo-] S. Justin. Martyr. Epist. ad Zenam et Serenum, [apud Op., S. Just. Martyr. p. 409. B. ἤδη δέ τινας ἴσμεν, κατὰ τὸ σαρκικὸν ἐν προκοπῇ γινομένους, ἕλκοντας πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὀργὴν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ βουλομένους ἐφαρμόζειν τῷ δόγματι τῆς καταφορᾶς αὐτῶν τὰ λόγια τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· οἷς εἰ ἀποβεβήκει τὸ δύνασθαι ἐν γεέννῃ παραδιδόναι τινὰς, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἂν ὅλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατηνάλωτο.] And here it is: *ad iracundiam suam Ecclesiam pertrahentes*, &c.

[1] ["Charity Mistaken; with the want thereof Catholicks are unjustly charged, for affirming, as they do with grief, that Protestancy unrepented destroies Salvation. — Printed with Licence, anno 1630." This work was written by "a certain Jesuit known sometimes by the name of Edward Knott, and sometimes by that of Nicholas Smith, and at other times by Matthew Wilson, which was his true name." (Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses, sub voc. Christopher Potter.) The "Answer fully given to it" was "Want of Charity justly charged on all such Romanists, as dare (without truth or modesty) affirme that Protestancie destroyeth salvation," Oxon. 1633, by Dr. Christopher Potter, Provost of Queen's College. "Which book being perused by Dr. Laud, Archb. of Canterbury, he (see Canterburie's Doome, pp. 251, 252) caused some matters therein to be omitted in the next impression, London, 1634. But before it was quite printed Knott put out a book, 'Mercy and Truth; or, Charity maintained by Catholiques,'" &c. 1634. It was in answer to Knott that Chillingworth wrote "The Religion of Protestants." Cf. Laud's History of his Chancellorship of Oxford, Wharton's Remains, vol. ii. p. 142.]

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A. C. p. 65. Matt. xviii. 17.

to it, this alone is sufficient to confute it: First, that in this, our "charity," whatever yours be, is not "mistaken," unless the charity of the Church herself were mistaken in the case of the Donatists, as shall after appear.[m] Secondly, even "mistaken charity," if such it were, is far better than none at all. And if the "mistaken" be ours, the "none" is yours. Yea, but A. C. tells us, "That this denial of salvation is grounded upon charity, as were the like threats of Christ and the holy Fathers. For there is but one true faith, and one true Church; and out of that there is no salvation. And 'he that will not hear the Church, let him be as a heathen and a publican.'" "Therefore," he says, "it is more charity to forewarn us of the danger by these threats, than to let us run into it through a false security." It is true that there is but one true faith, and but one true Church; but that one, both faith and Church, is the Catholic Christian, not the particular Roman.[n] And this Catholic Christian Church he that will not both hear and obey—yea, and the particular Church in which he lives too, so far as it in necessaries agrees with the Universal—is in as bad condition as a heathen and a publican, and perhaps in some respects worse. And were we in this case, we should thank A. C. for giving us warning of our danger. But it is not so. For he thunders out all these threats, and denial of salvation, because we join not with the Roman Church in all things; as if her corruptions were part of the Catholic faith of Christ. So the whole passage is a mere begging of the question, and then threatening upon it, without all ground of reason or charity. In the mean time let A. C. look to himself, that in his false security he run not into the danger and loss of his own salvation, while he would seem to take such care of ours. But though this argument prevails with the weak, yet it is much stronger in the cunning, than the true force of it. For all arguments are very moving, that lay their ground upon the adversaries' confession;[o] especially if it be confessed

[m] Sect. xxxv. No. 3. [Vide infra, p. 319.]

[n] And this is proved by the Creed, in which we profess our belief of the Catholic, not of the Roman Church.

[o] "This is a free confession of the adversaries' argument against themselves, and therefore is of force."—A. C. p. 64. But every confession, of adversaries or others, is to be taken with its qualities and conditions: if you leave out or change these, you wrong the confession, and then it is of no force. And so doth A. C here. And though

and avouched to be true. But if you would speak truly, and say, "Many Protestants, indeed, confess there is salvation possible to be attained in the Roman Church; but yet[1] they say, withal, that the errors of that Church are so many (and some so great as weaken the foundation)[p] that it is very hard to go that way to heaven, especially to them that have had the truth manifested," the heart of this argument were utterly broken. Besides, the force of this argument lies upon two things: one directly expressed, the other but as upon the bye.

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[1] [yet . . . *caret* Edit. 1686.]

III.—That which is expressed is, We and our adversaries consent, that there is salvation to some in the Roman Church. What! would you have us as malicious—at least, as rash—as yourselves are to us, and deny you so much as possibility of salvation? If we should, we might make you in some things strain for a proof; "but we have not so learned Christ," as either to return evil for evil in this heady course, or to deny salvation to some ignorant, silly souls, whose humble peaceable obedience makes them safe among any part of men that profess the foundation, Christ; and therefore seek not to help our cause by denying this comfort to silly Christians, as you most fiercely do, where you can come to work upon them. And this was an old trick of the Donatists. For in the point of baptism, Whether

Bellarmine makes "the confession of the adversary" a note of the true Church, [in these words: Decimatertia nota est confessio adversariorum,] de notis Ecclesiæ, lib. iv. cap. 16. [Op., tom. ii. col. 216. D.] Yet in the very beginning, where he lays his ground, § 1, he lays it in a plain fallacy *a secundum quid ad simpliciter*. [The words which follow the above are: Tanta enim est vis veritatis, ut etiam adversarios cogat interdum sibi testimonium dare. . . . Jam nusquam inveniuntur Catholici laudasse, aut approbasse doctrinam, aut vitam ullorum ethnicorum, aut hæreticorum. Scimus enim, unam tantum esse veram fidem, et sine ea nullam esse veram justitiam. Itaque nos constanter asserimus, errare omnes, qui doctrinam nostram non sequuntur. At non ea de nobis loquuntur Pagani, Judæi, Turcæ, Hæretici.—Ibid.]

[p] For they are no mean differences that are between us, by Bellarmine's own confession. Agendum est [enim non de stillicidiis et fundis,] non de rebus levibus, [quæ parum refert utrum sic an aliter se haberent, non de metaphysicis subtilitatibus] . . . sed [de Deo, de Christo, de Ecclesia, de sacramentis, de Justificatione, de auxilio gratiæ, de arbitrii libertate, deque aliis permultis] gravissimis [ac difficillimis] quæstionibus quæ ad ipsa fidei pertinent fundamenta, &c.—Bellarm. in præfat. Operibus præfixa, § 3. And therefore the errors in them, and the corruptions of them, cannot be of small consequence, by your own confession. Yes, by your own indeed. For you, A. C., say full as much, if not more than Bellarmine. Thus: "We Catholics hold all points, in which Protestants differ from us in doctrine of faith, to be fundamental, and necessary to be believed, or at least not denied."—A. C. Relation of the first Conference, p. 28.

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that sacrament was true in the Catholic Church, or in the part of Donatus, they exhorted all to be baptized among them. Why? Because both parts granted, that baptism was true among the Donatists; which that peevish sect most unjustly denied the sound part, as S. Augustine[q] delivers it. I would ask now, Had not the orthodox true baptism among them, because the Donatists denied it injuriously? or should the orthodox, against truth, have denied baptism among the Donatists, either to cry quittance with them, or that their argument might not be the stronger because both parts granted? But, "mark this," how far you run from all common principles of Christian peace, as well as Christian truth, while you deny salvation most unjustly to us, from which you are farther off yourselves. Besides, if this were, or could be made, a concluding argument, I pray, Why do not you believe with us in the point of the Eucharist? For all sides agree in the faith of the Church of England, That in the most Blessed Sacrament, the worthy receiver is, by his faith,[r] made spiritually partaker

[q] Esse vero Baptismum apud Donatistas, et illi asserunt, et nos concedimus.—[S. Augustin.] de Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. i. cap. 3. [Op., tom. ix. col. 81. F.]

[r] Corpus Christi [datur, accipitur, et] manducatur in cœna, tantum cœlesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo corpus Christi accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, fides est.—Eccl. Anglican. Art. XXVIII.—["These words, as every man may see plainly, make nothing for adoration of the sacrament, but for spiritual reverence to be given to Christ, of them that come to receive the sacrament; by which we are assured, if we come worthily, that we are made partakers of the very body and blood of Christ,] after a spiritual manner, by faith on our behalf, and by the working of the Holy Ghost, on the behalf of Christ."—Fulke, [on the Rhemish Testament, &c.] on 1 Cor. xi. [Annot. 18.] p. 526. [ed. London, 1633.]—Christus se cum bonis suis omnibus in [sacra] cœna offert, et nos fide Eum recipimus, &c.—Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. xvii. § 5. [Op., tom. v. p. 365. col. 2.]—And, ["Take therefore that wherein all agree .... It is on all sides plainly confessed, first, that this sacrament is a true and a real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth Himself, even His whole entire person as a mystical Head, unto every soul that receiveth Him; and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a mystical member of Him ... Secondly, that to whom the person of Christ is thus communicated, to him He giveth, by the same sacrament, His Holy Spirit to sanctify them .... Thirdly, that what merit, force, and virtue soever there is in His sacrificed body and blood, we freely, fully, and wholly have it by this sacrament. Fourthly, that the effect thereof in us, is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies from sin to righteousness ... Christ assisting this heavenly banquet with His personal and true presence, doth, by His own divine power, add to the natural substance thereof supernatural efficacy, which addition to the nature of those consecrated elements, changeth them and maketh them that unto us that which otherwise they could not be; that to us they are thereby made such instruments as mystically yet truly, invisibly yet really work our communion or fellowship with the person of Jesus Christ,

of the "true and real Body and Blood of Christ, truly and really,"[s] and of all the benefits of His passion. Your Roman Catholics add a manner of this His presence, "Transubstantiation," which many deny; and the Lutherans, a manner of this presence, "Consubstantiation," which more deny. If this argument be good, then, even for this consent, it is safer communicating with the Church of England than with the Roman or Lutheran; because all agree in this truth, not in any other opinion. Nay, Suarez himself, and he a very learned adversary, (What say you to this, A. C.? doth truth force this from him?) confesses plainly, "That to believe transubstantiation, is not simply necessary to salvation."[t]

as well in that He is man as God, our participation also in the fruit, grace, and efficacy of His body and blood, whereupon there seemeth a kind of transubstantiation in us," &c.]—Hooker, [Eccl. Polit.] Book v. ch. lxvii. p. 176. [§ 7, 11. Works, vol. ii. pp. 452, 456.] And say not you the same with us? Spiritualis manducatio, quæ per animam sit, ad Christi carnem in sacramento [existentem] pertingit.—Cajetan. Opusc. [tom. i.] de Eucharist. Tract. ii. cap. 5. [p. 144.] — Ad primum [ergo dicendum..... quod Augustinus dicens, (in Ps. xcviii.) Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis: non intendit excludere veritatem corporis Christi: sed quod non erat manducandum in hac specie, in qua ab eis videbatur. Per hoc autem quod subdit, Sacramentum quod vobis commendavit spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos; non intendit quod corpus Christi sit in hoc sacramento solum secundum mysticam significationem, sed] spiritualiter [dici,] id est, invisibiliter, et per virtutem Spiritus Sancti. — S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 3. Q[uæst.] lxxv.. A[rtic.] 1. ad 1.—[Unde, Salmero hic bene ait: A typo vero probat eos, qui manent in Judaicis ritibus, non posse Christum manducare: nam] spiritualiter manducandus est per fidem et charitatem, [ut utilis sit esus ad salutem.]—Tena, in Hebr. xiii. Difficultate viii. [p. 710. col. 2. Comment. et Dissert. in Epistol. D. Pauli ad Hebræos, auctore D. Ludovic. Tena, Accitano, &c. ed. Londin. 1661.]

[s] I would have no man troubled at the words, "truly and really;" for that blessed sacrament, received as it ought to be, doth "truly and really" exhibit and apply the body and the blood of Christ to the receiver. So Bishop White: ["Secondly, the Eucharist is a divine instrument and seal authentical, really applying the body and blood of Christ to every worthy receiver for the remission of sins, and the impetrating of spiritual and worldly blessings,"] in his Defence against T. W. P. ed. London, 1617. p. 138. [The Orthodox Faith and Way to the Church, &c., by Dr. Francis White, elder brother to Dr. John White, in answer to a Treatise, White Dyed Black, written against Dr. John White, &c., p. 157. 2nd edition, London, 1624.]—And, [Nam si Man spiritualis erat cibus, sequitur non figuras mutas ostentari nobis in sacramentis: sed rem figuratam simul] *vere* dari: [neque enim fallax est Deus qui figmentis inanibus nos lactet. Signum quidem est signum, substantiamque suam retinet..... veritatem et figuram quas Deus conjunxit, separare non est nostrum.] —Calvin. in 1 Cor. x. 3. [Op., tom. vi. p. 169. col. 1.] And again, Neque enim mortis tantum ac resurrectionis suæ beneficium nobis offert Christus, sed corpus ipsum in quo passus est, et resurrexit. Concludo, *realiter*, (ut vulgo loquuntur) hoc est, *vere* nobis in cœna dari Christi corpus, ut sit animis nostris in cibum salutarem.—[Id.] in 1 Cor. xi. 24. [Op., tom. vi. p. 182. col. 2.]

[t] [Quis enim dicat, Concilium Tridentinum docuisse, aut ad suam doctrinam tradendam supposuisse, quamcunque substantiarum commu-

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And yet he knew well the Church had determined it. And Bellarmine,[u] after an intricate, tedious, and almost inexplicable discourse about an "adductive conversion," a thing which neither divinity nor philosophy ever heard of till then, is at last forced to come to this: "Whatsoever is concerning the manner and forms of speech, *illud tenendum est*, 'this is to be held,' That the conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and the[1] Blood of Christ is substantial, but after a secret and ineffable manner, and not like in all things to any natural conversion whatsoever."[x] Now, if he had left out

[1] [the .... *caret* Edit. 1686.]

tationem esse veram conversionem substantialem? aut fieri non posse a Deo, nisi per ejusmodi conversionem?] hoc [enim] totum pendet ex principiis metaphysicis et philosophicis, et ad fidei doctrinam non est [simpliciter] necessarium.—Suarez. in Tert. part. S.Thom. [Aquin. Summ. Quæst. lxxv. Artic. 8.] Disput. 50. § 2. [inter Op., Franc. Suarez, tom. xviii. p. 515. col. 1. ed. Venet. 1747.]

[u] Ex his colligimus [conversionem panis in corpus Domini non esse productivam, nec conservativam, sed adductivam. Nam corpus Domini præexistit ante conversionem, sed non sub speciebus panis: conversio igitur non facit, ut corpus Christi simpliciter esse incipiat, sed ut incipiat esse sub speciebus panis. Porro adductivam vocamus istam conversionem, non quia corpus Christi per hanc adductionem deserat suum locum in cœlo, vel quia per motum localem huc de cœlo adducatur, sed solum quia per eam fit ut corpus Christi, quod antea solum erat in cœlo, jam etiam sit sub speciebus panis, et non solum sub illis sit per simplicem præsentiam, sive coexistentiam, sed etiam per unionem quamdam, qualis erat inter substantiam panis, et accidentia panis, excepta tamen inhærentia.]—Bellarmin. de [Sacrament.] Eucharist. lib. iii. cap. 18. [Op., tom. iii. col. 618. B.]

[x] [Eodem libro, (sc. de Eucharist. lib.) iii. cap. 18. dixi, Conversionem panis in corpus Christi, non esse productivam, sed adductivam. Quod dictum video a nonnullis perperam esse acceptum, qui inde colligunt, hanc non esse vere conversionem, sive transsubstantiationem, sed translocationem. At, pace ipsorum, aperte falluntur, sicut enim conversio, et transsubstantiatio ad panem pertinent, non ad corpus Christi, sic etiam translocatio, si cui conveniret, pani conveniret, non corpori Christi: at pani nullo modo convenit, cum non mutet locum, sed transeat in corpus Christi: sed neque corpus Christi per conversionem adductivam translocari dici potest, cum neque deserat locum suum in cœlo, neque incipiat esse sub speciebus, ut in loco, sed ut substantia sub accidentibus, remota tamen inhærentia. Itaque adductivam conversionem appellavimus, ut significaremus corpus Christi per consecrationem Eucharistiæ non produci de novo, sed præexistere, et per conversionem panis in ipsum, incipere esse sub speciebus panis. At, inquiunt, aliqui patres dicunt corpus Christi fieri, vel etiam creari per verba consecrationis, ut patet ex Ambrosio, lib. iv. de sacramentis, cap. 4. et Hieronymo in Epist. i. ad Heliodorum. Respondeo: Nullus patrum dicit corpus Christi fieri, vel creari absolute per verba consecrationis, sed fieri ex pane, vel per consecrationem, id est, fieri, ut sub speciebus panis non sit amplius panis, sed corpus Christi: neque desunt alii patres, qui quo ad modum loquendi, videntur probare adductionem, ut patet ex Chrysostomo, lib. iii. de Sacerdotio: et Gregorio, lib. iv. Dialogorum, cap. 57. et sanctus Bonaventura in IV. Sent. Dist. x. par. ii. Art. i. Quæst. 1. expresse dicit, In transsubstantiatione fieri, ut quod erat alicubi, sine sui mutatione sit alibi; et Quæst. 2. dicit, Per transsubstantiationem corpus Christi non fieri, quia factum est in conceptione.] Sed quicquid sit de modis loquendi, illud tenendum est, conversionem panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi, esse substantialem, sed arcanam, et ineffabilem, et nullis naturalibus con-

"conversion," and affirmed only Christ's "real presence" there, after a mysterious, and indeed an ineffable, manner, no man could have spoken better. And therefore, if you will force the argument always to make that the safest way of salvation which differing parties agree on, why do you not yield to the force of the same argument in the belief of the sacrament, one of the most immediate means of salvation, where not only the most, but all, agree; and your own greatest clerks cannot tell what to say to the contrary?

SECTION XXXV.

IV.—I speak here for the force of the argument, which certainly in itself is nothing, though by A. C. made of great account. For he says, It is a confession of adversaries extorted by truth. Just as Petilian the Donatist[y] bragged in the case of baptism. But in truth, it is nothing; for the syllogism which it frames, is this: "In point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way, which the differing parties agree on. But Papists and Protestants, which are the differing parties, agree in this, That there is salvation possible to be found in the Roman Church. Therefore, it is safest for a man to be and continue in the Roman Church."[1] To the minor[2] proposition, then, I observe, this only:[3] That though many learned Protestants grant this, all do not. And then that proposition is not universally true,[4] nor able to sustain the conclusion. For they do not in this all agree; nay, I doubt not but there are some Protestants, which can, and do, as stiffly and as churlishly deny them salvation, as they do us. And A. C. should do well to consider, whether they do it not upon as good reason at least. But for the major[5] proposition; namely, "That in point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the adversary confesses, or the differing parties agree on." I say, that is no metaphysical principle, but a bare contingent proposition; and, being indefinitely taken, may

A. C. p. 64.

[1] [The text is that of the Editt. of 1673, and 1686. In the first Edition of 1639, the first two clauses of this statement are incorrectly transposed.]

[2] [major . . . Edit. 1639.]

[3] [observe, first . . . . Edit. 1639.]

[4] [universal, nor . . . Edit. 1639.]

[5] [Next, for the minor . . . Edit. 1639.]

versionibus per omnia similem, [et quam solus Deus facere potest, qui solus in totam entis naturam, ut sanctus Thomas loquitur, (Summ.) par. 3. Quæst. lxxv. Art. 4. absolutam potestatem habet.] — Bellarmin. in Recognit. hujus loci, [Opp. præfix. tom. i.] — And, Vide [infra,] Sect. xxxviii. No. 3.

[y] Sed quia ita magnum firmamentum vanitatis vestræ in hac sententia esse arbitramini, *ut ad hoc tibi terminandam putares epistolam,* quo quasi recentius in animis legentium remaneret, breviter respondeo, &c.— S. Augustin. contra Lit. Petil. lib. ii. cap. 108. [Op., tom. ix. col. 296. A.] And here A. C. ad hoc sibi putavit terminandam collationem: sed frustra ut apparebit, No. 6. [vide infra, p. 335.]

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be true or false, as the matter is to which it is applied, but, being taken universally, is false, and not[1] able to lead in the conclusion. Now that this proposition, "In point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the differing parties agree on, or which the adversary confesses," hath no strength in itself, but is sometimes true and sometimes false, as the matter is about which it is conversant, is most evident. First, By reason: because consent of disagreeing parties, is neither rule, nor proof of truth. For Herod and Pilate, disagreeing parties enough, yet agreed against truth Itself. But truth rather is, or should be, the rule to frame, if not to force, agreement. And secondly, By the two instances before given.[2] For in the instance between the orthodox Church then, and the Donatists, this proposition is most false; for it was a point of faith, and so of salvation, that they were upon—namely, the right use and administration of the sacrament of Baptism. And yet had it been safest to take up that way which the differing parts agreed on, or which the adverse part confessed, men must needs have gone with the Donatists against the Church. And this must fall out as oft as any heretic will cunningly take that way against the Church which the Donatists did, if this principle shall go for current. But in the second instance, concerning the Eucharist, a matter of faith, and so of salvation too, the same proposition is most true. And the reason is, because here the matter is true—namely, "The true and real participation of the Body and Blood of Christ in that Blessed Sacrament." But in the former the matter was false—namely, That rebaptization was necessary after baptism formally given by the Church. So this proposition—"In point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the differing parties agree in,[2] or which the adversary confesses," —is, you see, both true and false, as men have cunning to apply it, and as the matter is about which it is conversant; and is, therefore, no proposition able or fit to settle a conclusion in any sober man's mind, till the matter contained under it be well scanned and examined. And yet, as much use as you would make of this proposition to amaze the weak, yourselves dare not stand to it—no, not where the

[1] [and may be true or false, as the matter is to which it is applied, and so of no necessary truth in itself, nor able .... Edit. 1639.]

[2] [on .... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[2] Sect. xxxv. No. 3. [vide supra, p. 319.]

matter is undeniably true, as shall appear in divers particulars beside this of the Eucharist. SECTION XXXV.

V.—But before I add any other particular instances, I must tell you what A. C. says to the two former. For he tells us, "These two are nothing like the present case." Nothing? That is strange indeed. Why, in the first of those cases concerning the Donatists, your proposition is false; and so far from being "safest," that it was no way safe for a man to take that way of belief, and so of salvation, which both parts agreed on. And is this nothing? Nay, is not this full and home to the present case? For the present case is this, and no more: "That it is safest taking that way of belief which the differing parties agree on, or which the adversary confesses." And in the second of those cases, concerning the Eucharist, your proposition indeed is true, not by the truth which it hath seen[1] in itself, metaphysically and in abstract, but only in regard of the matter to which it is applied; yet there you desert your own proposition, where it is true. And is this nothing? Nay, is not this also full and home to the present case, since it appears your proposition is such as yourselves dare not bide by, either when it is true or when it is false? For in the case of baptism administered by the Donatist, the proposition is false, and you dare not bide by it, for truth's sake. And in the case of the Eucharist, the proposition is true, and yet you dare not bide by it, for the Church of Rome's sake. So that Church, with you, cannot err, and yet will not suffer you to maintain truth; which not to do is some degree of error, and that no small one.

A. C. p. 65.

[1] [seen ... added in Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

VI.—Well, A. C. goes on, and gives his reasons why these two instances are nothing like the present case. "For in these cases," saith he, "there are annexed other reasons of certainly known peril of damnable schism and heresy, which we should incur by consenting to the Donatists' denial of true baptism among Catholics: and to the Protestants' denial, or doubting of, the true substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist. But in this case of resolving to live and die in the Catholic Roman Church, there is confessedly no such peril of any damnable heresy, or schism, or any other sin." Here I have many particulars to observe upon A. C.,

A. C. p. 65.

Conference with Fisher. and you shall have them as briefly as I can set them down.

(1.) And, first, I take A. C. at his word, that in the case of the Donatist, should it be followed, there would be known peril of damnable schism and heresy, by denying true baptism to be in the orthodox Church. For by this you may see what a sound proposition this is—"That where two parties are dissenting, it is safest believing that in which both parties agree, or which the adversary confesses,"—for here, you may see by the case of the Donatist, is confessed, it may lead a man, that will universally lean to it, into "known" and "damnable schism and heresy." An excellent guide, I promise you, this, is it not?

(2.) Nor, secondly, are these, though A. C. calls them so,
A. C. p. 65. "annexed reasons;" for he calls them so but to blanch the matter, as if they fell upon the proposition *ab extra*, "accidentally, and from without;" whereas they are not annexed, or pinned on, but flow naturally out of the proposition itself. For the proposition would seem to be metaphysical, and is appliable indifferently to any common belief of dissenting parties, be the point in difference what it will. Therefore, if there be anything heretical, schismatical, or any way evil, in the point, this proposition, being neither universally nor necessarily true, must needs cast him that relies upon it, upon all these rocks of heresy, schism, or whatever else follows the matter of the proposition.

(3.) Thirdly, A. C. doth extremely ill to join these cases
A. C. p. 66. of the Donatists for baptism, and the Protestant for the Eucharist, together, as he doth. For this proposition, in the first, concerning the Donatists, leads a man, as is confessed by himself, into "known and damnable schism and heresy:" but by A. C.'s good leave, the latter, concerning the Protestants and the Eucharist, nothing so. For I hope A. C. dare not say, that to believe the true substantial[a] presence

[a] Cæterum his absurditatibus sublatis, quicquid ad exprimendam veram *substantialemque* corporis ac sanguinis Domini communicationem, quæ sub sacris Cœnæ symbolis fidelibus exhibetur, facere potest, libenter recipio: [atque ita ut non imaginatione duntaxat aut mentis intelligentia percipere, sed ut re ipsa frui in alimentum vitæ æternæ intelligantur.]—Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. 17. § 19. [Op., tom. viii. p. 370.]—[Dico igitur,] in Cœnæ mysterio, per symbola panis et vini Christus vere nobis exhiberi, [adeoque corpus et sanguinem Ejus, in quibus omnem obedientiam pro com-

of Christ is either "known or damnable schism or heresy." Now, as many and as learned Protestants [b] believe and maintain this, as do believe possibility of salvation, as before is limited, in the Roman Church: therefore they in that not guilty of either "known or damnable schism, or heresy," though the Donatists were of both. SECTION XXXV.

Fourthly, whereas he imposes upon the Protestants the "denial or doubting of the true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist," he is a great deal more bold than true in that also. For, understand them right, and they certainly neither deny nor doubt it; for, as for the Lutherans, as they are commonly called, their very opinion of consubstantiation makes it known to the world, that they neither deny nor doubt of His true and real presence there. And they are Protestants. And for the Calvinists, if they might be rightly understood, they also maintain a most true and real presence, though they cannot permit their judgment to be transubstantiated. And they are Protestants too. And this is so known a truth that Bellarmine confesses it; for he saith, "Protestants do often grant, that the true and real body of Christ is in the Eucharist;" but he adds, "That they never say, so far as he hath read, that it is there truly and really, unless they speak of the supper which shall be in heaven." [c] Well: first, if they grant that the true and real Body of Christ is in that Blessed Sacrament, as Bellarmine confesses they do, and it is most true, then A. C. is false, who charges all the Protestants with denial or doubtfulness in this point. And, secondly, Bellarmine himself also shows here his ignorance, or his malice;—ignorance, if (1.) A. C. p. 66. A. C. p. 65.

paranda nobis justitia adimplevit: quo scilicet primum in unum corpus cum Ipso coalescamus; deinde] participes substantiæ Ejus facti, [in bonorum omnium communicatione virtutem quoque sentiamus.]—Ibid. § 11. [Op., tom. viii. p. 367.]

[b] Sect. xxxv. No. 3. [ubi sup. p. 319.]

[c] Quinto dicit, [(sc. Concilium Tridentum,) *Realiter*, quod opponitur figmento Calvinistico, qui vult adesse, ut fide apprehenditur. Quod etiam disertis verbis Zuinglius docet, in Confess. ad Carolum, quam citat Beza in libr. de Cœna Dom. contra Westphalum, cap. 9. Ait enim Zuinglius, se credere in Cœna Domini verum Christi corpus adesse, hactenus quidem, ut fidei contemplationi sit veluti præsens, quod corporaliter est in cœlis. Itaque] Sacramentarii sæpe dicunt, *reale* corpus Christi in cœna adesse, sed *realiter* adesse nunquam dicunt, quod legerim: nisi forte loquantur de cœna, quæ fit in cœlo.—Bellarmin. de [Sacrament.] Eucharist. lib. i. cap. ii. § [6. Op., tom. iii. col. 395. B.] And that he means to brand Protestants under the name of *Sacramentarii*, is plain. For he says the Council of Trent opposed this word *realiter*, figmento Calvinistico, to the Calvinistical figment.—Ibid.

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he knew it not; malice, if he would not know it. For the Calvinists, at least they which follow Calvin himself, do not only believe that the true and real Body of Christ is received in the Eucharist, but that it is there, and that we partake of it, *vere et realiter*, which are Calvin's[d] own words; and yet Bellarmine boldly affirms, that, to his reading, "no one Protestant did ever affirm it." And I, for my part, cannot believe but Bellarmine had read Calvin, and very carefully, he doth so frequently and so mainly oppose him. Nor can that place by any art be shifted, or by any violence wrested from Calvin's true meaning of the "Presence of Christ in and at the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist," to any "supper in heaven" whatsoever. But most manifest it is, that *quod legerim*, "for aught I have read," will not serve Bellarmine to excuse him. For he himself, but in the very chapter going before,[e] quotes four places out of Calvin, in which he says expressly, That we receive in the sacrament the Body and the Blood of Christ, *vere*, "truly." So Calvin says it four times, and Bellarmine quotes the places; and yet he says in the very next chapter, That never any Protestant said so, to his reading. And for the Church of England, nothing is more plain, than that it believes and teaches the true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist;[f] unless A. C. can make a Body no Body, and Blood no Blood—as perhaps he can by transubstantiation,—as well as bread no bread, and wine no wine. And the Church of England is Protestant too. So Protestants of all sorts maintain a true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist; and then,

[d] Calvin. in 1 Cor. x. 3. *vere*, &c. et in 1 Cor. xi. 24. *realiter*. Vide supra, No. 3. [p. 321. note [s].]

[e] Secundo docet [(sc. Calvinus,) symbola et corpus Christi, licet loco inter se plurimum distent, tamen conjuncta esse, non solum ratione signi, quia unum est signum alterius, sed etiam, quia cum signo Deus nobis vere exhibet ipsum verum Christi corpus et sanguinem, quo animæ nostræ vere alantur in vitam æternam.] — Bellarmin. de [Sacrament.] Eucharist. lib. i. cap. 1. [Op., tom. iii. col. 391. C.]

[f] "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper (of the Lord,) only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten, is faith." — Eccl. Ang. Art. XXVIII. So here is the manner of transubstantiation denied, but the body of Christ twice affirmed. And in the Prayer before Consecration, thus: "Grant us, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His Blood, &c." —And again, in the second Prayer or Thanksgiving after Consecration, thus: "We give Thee thanks, for that Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ," &c.

where is any known or damnable heresy here? As for the learned of those zealous men that died in this cause in Queen Mary's days, they denied not the real presence simply taken, but as their opposites forced transubstantiation upon them, as if that and the real presence had been all one. Whereas, all the ancient Christians ever believed the one, and none but modern and superstitious Christians believe the other—if they do believe it; for I, for my part, doubt they do not. And as for the unlearned, in those times and all times, their zeal (they holding the foundation) may eat out their ignorances, and leave them safe. Now, that the learned Protestants in Queen Mary's days did not deny—nay, did maintain—the real presence, will manifestly appear. For when the commissioners obtruded to J[ohn] Frith, the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament; and that without all figure or similitude, J[ohn] Frith acknowledges: "[In that it is received it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily] as the outward man received the sacrament with his [teeth and] mouth, so verily doth the inward man [through faith] receive Christ's Body [and fruit of His passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eateth.]" [g] And he adds, "That neither side ought to make it a necessary article of [the] faith, but leave it indifferent." [h] Nay, Archbishop Cranmer comes more plainly and more home to it than Frith: "For if you understand," saith he, "by this word 'really,' *reipsa*,[i] that is, in very deed and effectually; so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of His passion, is in deed and truly present [to all His true and holy members.] But if you understand by this word 'really,' *corporaliter*,[k] 'corporally,' in His natural and organical Body,

[g] John Foxe, in Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, &c. vol. ii. p. 943. ed. London, 1597. [and vol. ii. p. 253. col. 2. ed. London, 1684.]

[h] Foxe's Acts and Monuments. [ibid. vol. ii. p. 254.]

[i] Cranmer apud Foxe, ibid. p. 1301. [Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. pp. 38, 39.]

[k] [Cranmer's words are: "... corporally: so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body and organical, so the first proposition doth vary not only from the usual speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and Christian profession." — The "first proposition" to which he alludes was: "In the sacrament of the altar is the natural Body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also His Blood present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest."]— I say. *corporaliter*, corporally; for so Bellarmine hath it expressly: Sed tota [difficultas est, an corporaliter, realiter, proprie, sumatur sanguis et caro: an solum significative et spiritualiter.] Quod autem corporaliter et

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under the forms of bread and wine, it is contrary to the holy word of God." And so likewise Bishop Ridley; nay, Bishop Ridley adds yet farther, and speaks so fully to this point, as I think no man can add to his expression; and it is well if some Protestants except not against it. "Both you and I," saith he, "agree herein: That in the sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead; only we differ *in modo*, 'in the way and manner of being:' we confess all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I [being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded,] confess Christ's natural Body to be in the sacrament [indeed] by spirit and grace, &c. You make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, [a lively, and a moving] Body, under the shape and form of bread and wine."[1] So far, and more,

proprie, (sumatur sanguis et caro,) probari potest omnibus argumentis, [quibus supra probavimus proprie esse intelligenda illa verba institutionis: Hoc est corpus, &c.]—Bellarmin. de Sacrament. Eucharist. lib. i. cap. 12. § 6. [Op., tom. iii. col. 448. A.] And I must be bold to tell you more then, That this is the doctrine of the Church of Rome. For I must tell you too, that Bellarmine here contradicts himself. For he that tells us here, that it can be proved by many arguments, that we receive the flesh and the blood of Christ in the eucharist *corporaliter*, said as expressly before, (had he remembered it,) that thongh Christ be in this Blessed Sacrament vere et realiter, yet saith he: Tertia regula: [adverbia, quæ dicunt modum existendi corporalem, non dicuntur de Christo in Eucharistia, licet dicantur de Ipso, ut in cœlo residet: alia vero nihil prohibet dici. Ratio est, quia . . . non habet Christus in Eucharistia modum existendi corporum, sed potius spirituum, cum sit totus in qualibet parte. Itaque dicemus, Christum esse in Eucharistia vere, realiter, substantialiter, ut Concilium (Tridentinum) recte loquitur, sed] non dicemus *corporaliter*, i.e. eo modo, quo suapte natura existunt corpora, [nec sensibiliter, mobiliter, &c.]—Bellarmin. de Sacrament. Eucharist. lib. i. cap. 2. § 12. [Op., tom. iii. col. 396. D.] So, Bellarmine here is in a notorious contradiction; or else it will follow plainly out of him, That Christ in the sacrament is existent one way and received another, which is a gross absurdity. And that *corporaliter* was the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and meant by transubstantiation, is farther plain in the book called, The Institution of a Christian Man, set forth by the bishops in convocation in Henry the Eighth's time. An. 1534. Cap. "Of the sacrament of the altar." The words are: "Under the form and figure of bread and wine, the very body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, &c., exhibited and received," &c. And Aquinas expresses it thus: Quia tamen substantia corporis Christi realiter non dividitur a sua quantitate dimensiva, et ab aliis accidentibus, inde est, quod ex vi realis concomitantiæ est in hoc sacramento tota quantitas dimensiva corporis Christi, et omnia accidentia ejus.—Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 3. Q[uæst.] lxxvi. A[rtic.] 4. in conclus.

[1] Apud Foxe, ibid. p. 1598. [Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 420. col. 2.]

Bishop Ridley. And Archbishop Cranmer[m] confesses that he was indeed of another opinion, and inclining to that of Zuinglius, till Bishop Ridley convinced his judgment, and settled him in this point. And for Calvin,[n] he comes no whit short of these, against the calumny of the Romanists on that behalf. Now, after all this, with what face can A. C. say, as he doth, That Protestants deny or doubt of the "true and real presence of Christ in the sacrament," I cannot well tell, or am unwilling to utter.

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(5.) Fifthly, whereas it is added by A. C. "That in this present case there is no peril of any damnable heresy, schism, or any other sin, in resolving to live and die in the Roman Church;" that is not so neither: for he that lives in the Roman Church with such a resolution, is presumed to believe as that Church believes; and he that doth so, I will not say is as guilty, but guilty he is, more or less, of the schism which that Church first caused by her corruptions, and now continues by them and her power together; and of all her damnable opinions too, in point of misbelief—though perhaps A. C. will not have them called heresies, unless they have been condemned in some General Council; and of all other sins also, which the doctrine and misbelief of that Church leads him into. And mark it, I pray. For it is one thing to live in a schismatical Church, and not communicate with it in the schism, or in any false worship that attends it. For so Elias lived among the ten tribes, and was not schismatical; and after him Elisæus. But then neither of them either countenanced the schism, or worshipped the calves in Dan or in Bethel. And so also,

A. C. p. 66.

1 Kings xvii. 2 Kings iii.

[m] ["I grant that then (when I helped to burn Lambert the sacramentary,) I believed otherwise than I do now, and so I did, until my Lord of London, Doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion."—Cranmer,] apud Foxe, ibid. p. 1703. [Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 550. col. 2. ed. London, 1684.]

[n] [Ergo] tantum de modo quæstio est: [quia Christum ipsi in pane locant, nobis autem non ducimus fas esse Eum e cœlo detrahere. . . . Tantum] facessat calumnia [illa,] auferri Christum a sua cœna, [nisi sub panis integumento lateat.]—Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. cap. 17. § 31. [Op., tom. viii. p. 375.]—[Itaque] Veritatem Dei, in qua acquiescere tuto licet, [hic] sine controversia amplector. Pronunciat Ille carnem suam esse animæ meæ cibum, sanguinem esse potum. Talibus alimentis animam Illi meam pascendam offero. In sacra [sua] cœna jubet me sub symbolis panis ac vini corpus ac sanguinem suum sumere, manducare ac bibere: nihil dubito, quin et Ipse vere porrigat, et ego recipiam.—Calvin. ibid. § 32.

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beside these prophets, did those thousands live in a schismatical Church, yet "never bowed their knee to Baal." But it is quite another thing to live in a schismatical Church, and communicate with it in the schism, and in all the superstitions and corruptions which that Church teaches —nay, to live and die in them. For certainly here no man can so live in a schismatical Church; but if he be of capacity enough and understand it, he must needs be a formal schismatic, or an involved one if he understand it not. And in this case, the Church of Rome is either far worse or more cruel than the Church of Israel, even under Ahab and Jezebel, was. The synagogue, indeed, was corrupted a long time, and in a great degree; but I do not find that this doctrine, "You must sacrifice in the high places," or this, "You may not go and worship at the one altar in Jerusalem," was either taught by the priests, or maintained by the prophets, or enjoined the people by the Sanhedrim. Nay, can you show me when any Jew, living there devoutly according to the law, was ever punished for omitting the one of these, or doing the other? But the Church of Rome hath solemnly decreed her errors; and, erring, hath yet decreed withal, "That she cannot err;" and imposed upon learned men disputed and improbable opinions—transubstantiation, purgatory, and forbearance of the cup in the blessed Eucharist, even against the express command of our Saviour; and that for articles of faith. And to keep off disobedience, whatever the corruption be, she hath bound up her decrees upon pain of excommunication, and all that follows upon it. Nay, this is not enough, unless the faggot be kindled to light them the way. This, then, may be enough for us to leave Rome, though the old prophet forsook not Israel. And therefore in this present case there is peril, great peril, of damnable both schism and heresy and other sin, by living and dying in the Roman faith, tainted with so many superstitions, as at this day it is, and their tyranny to boot. So that here I may answer A. C. just as S. Augustine[o] answered Petilian the Donatist, in the fore-

1 Kings xix. 18.

1 Kings xiii. 11.

[o] Petilianus dixit: Venite [ergo] ad ecclesiam populi, et aufugite traditores, (ita Orthodoxos tum appellavit) si cum iisdem perire non vultis. Nam ut facile cognoscatis, quod [cum] ipsi sint rei, de fide nostra optime

named case of baptism. For when Petilian pleaded the concession of his adversaries, "That baptism, as the Donatists administered it, was good and lawful; and thence inferred," just as the Jesuit doth against me, "that it was better for men to join with his congregation than with the Church;" S. Augustine answers: "We do indeed approve among heretics baptism, but so, not as it is the baptism of heretics, but as it is the baptism of Christ; just as we approve the baptism of adulterers, idolaters, witches, and yet not as it is theirs, but as it is Christ's baptism. For none of these, for all their baptism, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And the Apostle reckons heretics among them." And again afterwards: "It is not therefore yours," saith S. Augustine, "which we fear to destroy, but Christ's; which, even among the sacrilegious, is of and in itself holy."[p] Now you shall see how full this comes home to our Petilianist A. C., for he is one of the contracters of the Church of Christ to Rome, as the Donatists confined it to Africa. And he cries out, "That a possibility of salvation is a free confession of the adversaries, and is of force against them, and to be thought extorted from them by force of truth itself." I answer: I do indeed, for my part, leaving other men free to their own judgment, acknowledge a possibility of salvation in the Roman Church. But so as that, which I grant to Romanists, is not as they are Romanists, but as they are Christians; that is, as they believe the Creed, and hold the foundation Christ Himself, not as they associate themselves wittingly and knowingly to the gross superstitions of the Romish Church. Nor do I fear to destroy *quod ipsorum est*, "that which is theirs;" but yet I dare not proceed so roughly as, with theirs, or for theirs, to deny or weaken the foundation, which is Christ's,

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Gal. v. 19, 20, 21.

A C. pp.64, 65.

judicent: ego illorum infectos baptizo; illi meos, quod absit, recipiunt baptizatos; quæ omnino non facerent, si in baptismo nostro culpas aliquas agnovissent. Videte ergo, quod damus, quam sit sanctum, quod destruere metuit sacrilegus inimicus. S. August. respondit. . . . Sic approbamus in hæreticis baptismum, non hæreticorum, sed Christi, sicut in fornicatoribus . . . . idololatris, venefiicis. . . . approbamus baptismum, non eorum, sed Christi. Omnes enim isti, inter quos et hæretici [positi] sunt, sicut dicit Apostolus: Regnum Dei non possidebunt, &c.—S. Augustin. cont. Lit. Petiliani, lib. ii. cap. 108. [Op., tom. ix. col. 295. F.]

[p] Non ergo vestrum est quod destruere metuimus, sed Christi: quod et in sacrilegis per se sanctum est.—S. Augustin. ibid. [col. 296. E.]

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even among them; and which is and remains holy, even in the midst of their superstitions. And I am willing to hope there are many among them, which keep within that Church, and yet wish the superstitions abolished which they know, and which pray to God to forgive their errors in what they know not; and which hold the foundation firm, and live accordingly, and which would have all things amended that are amiss, were it in their power. And to such I dare not deny a "possibility of salvation," for that which is Christ's in them, though they hazard themselves extremely by keeping so close to that, which is superstition, and, in the case of images, comes too near idolatry. Nor can A. C. shift this off by adding, "living and dying in the Roman Church." For this "living and dying in the Roman Church," as is before expressed, cannot take away the possibility of salvation from them which believe and repent of whatsoever is error or sin in them, be it sin known to them or be it not. But then perhaps A. C. will reply, that if this be so, I must then maintain, that a Donatist also, living and dying in schism, might be saved. To which I answer two ways. First, That a plain honest Donatist, having, as is confessed, true baptism, and holding the foundation—as, for aught I know, the Donatists did[q]—and repenting of whatever was sin

A. C. p. 66.

[q] For though Prateolus will make Donatus, and from him the Donatists, to be guilty of an impious heresy (I doubt he means Arianism, though he name it not,) in making the Son of God less than the Father, and the Holy Ghost less than the Son; [Asserebat autem impius ille minorem Patre Filium, et minorem Filio Sp. Sanctum, rebaptizans ea de causa Catholicos, qui ab Ecclesia ad ejus sectam deficiebant, dicens eos prius non suscepisse verum baptisma.—Elench. Alphabet. omnium Hæresium &c. per Gabrielem Prateolum Marcossium,] lib. iv. Hæres. 14. [p. 147. ed. Colon. 1569.] yet these things are most manifest out of S. Augustine concerning them, who lived with them both in time and place, and understood them and their tenets far better than Prateolus could. And first, S. Augustine tells us concerning them: [Ut ergo breviter insinuem dilectioni tuæ, inter Arianorum et Donatistarum quid intersit errorem,] Ariani, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, diversas substantias esse dicunt: Donatistæ autem [non hoc dicunt, sed] unam Trinitatis substantiam confitentur. So they are no Arians. Secondly: [Et] si aliqui ipsorum minorem Filium esse dixerunt quam Pater est; ejusdem tamen substantiæ non negarunt. But this is but *si aliqui*, "if any": so it was doubtful, this too, though Prateolus delivers it positively. Thirdly: Plurimi vero in eis hoc se dicunt, omnino credere de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto, quod Catholica credit Ecclesia. Nec ipsa cum illis vertitur quæstio; sed de sola communione infeliciter litigant, &c. *De sola*, "only about the union with the Church." Therefore they erred not in fundamental points of faith. And, lastly, all that can farther be said against them, is, that some of them, to win the Goths to them, when they were powerful, said: [Aliquando autem, sicut audivimus, nonnulli ex ipsis volentes sibi Gotthos conciliare, quando eos vident aliquid

in him, and would have repented of the schism had it been known to him, might be saved. Secondly, That in this particular the Romanist and the Donatist differ much; and that therefore it is not of necessary consequence, that if a Romanist now, upon the conditions before expressed, may be saved, therefore a Donatist heretofore might. For, in regard of the schism, the Donatist was in one respect worse, and in greater danger of damnation, than the Romanist now is; and in another respect better, and in less danger. The Donatist was in greater danger of damnation, if you consider the schism itself then; for they brake from the orthodox Church without any cause given them. And here it doth not follow, If the Romanist have "a possibility of salvation," therefore a Donatist hath. But if you consider the cause of the schism now, then the Donatist was in less danger of damnation than the Romanist is; because the Church of Rome gave the first and the greatest cause of the schism, as is proved before.[r] And therefore here it doth not follow, that if a Donatist have possibility of salvation, therefore a Romanist hath; for a lesser offender may have that possibility of safety, which a greater hath not.

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And last of all: whereas A. C. adds, that "confessedly there is no such peril;" that is a most loud untruth, and an (6.) A. C. p. 66.

posse, dicunt] hoc se credere quod et illi credunt. Now the Goths, for the most, were Arians. But then, saith S. Augustine, they were but *nonnulli*, "some of them." And of this some it was no more certain, than *sicut audivimus*, "as we have heard;" S. Augustine knew it not. And then if it were true of some, yet majorum suorum auctoritate convincuntur; quia nec Donatus ipse sic credidisse asseritur, de cujus parte se esse gloriantur.—S. Augustin. Epist. l. [aliter, de Correctione Donatistarum lib. seu Epist. clxxxv. ad Bonifacium, Op., tom. ii. col. 643. D.] Where Prateolus is again deceived; for he says expressly, that Donatus affirmed the Son to be less than the Father: Impius ille asserebat, &c. But then indeed—and which perchance deceived Prateolus—beside Donatus the founder of this heresy, there was another Donatus, who succeeded Majorinus at Carthage, and he was guilty of the heresy which Prateolus mentions: [Cui Majorino Donatus alius in eadem divisione successit, qui eloquentia sua sic confirmavit hanc hæresim, ut multi existiment propter ipsum potius eos Donatistas vocari.] Exstant scripta ejus, ubi apparet [eum etiam non catholicam de Trinitate habuisse sententiam, sed quamvis ejusdem substantiæ, minorem tamen Patre Filium, et minorem Filio putasse Sp. Sanctum,] as S. Augustine confesses, lib. de Hæresibus, [ad Quodvultdeum,] Hæres. lxix. [Op., tom. viii. col. 21. F.] But then S. Augustine adds there also: [Verum in hunc, quem de Trinitate habuit, ejus errorem Donatistarum multitudo intenta non fuit;] nec facile in eis quisquam, [qui hoc illum sensisse noverit, invenitur,] that scarce any of the Donatists did so much as know, that this Donatus held that opinion, much less did they believe it themselves.—S. Aug. Ibid.

[r] Sect. xxi. No. 4. &c. [vide supra, p. 152.]

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ingenuous man would never have said it. For in the same place,[s] where I grant a possibility of salvation in the Roman Church, I presently add, that it is no secure way, in regard of Roman corruptions. And A. C. cannot plead for himself that he either knew not this, or that he overlooked it; for himself disputes against it as strongly as he can. What modesty or truth call you this? For he that confesses a "possibility of salvation," doth not thereby confess "no peril of damnation" in the same way. Yea, but if some "Protestants should say there is peril of damnation to live and die in the Roman faith, their saying is nothing in comparison of the number or worth of those that say there is none." So

A. C. p. 66. A. C. again: "And beside, they which say it are contradicted by their own more learned brethren." Here A. C. speaks very confusedly. But whether he speak of Protestants or Romanists, or mixes both, the matter is not great. For as for the number and worth of men, they are no necessary concluders for truth. Not number; for who would be judged by the many? The time was when the Arians were too many for the orthodox.[t] Not worth simply; for that once misled,

[s] Sect. xxxv. No. 1, 2. [vide supra, pp. 314—317.]

[t] Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arrianum se esse miratus est.—S. Hier. advers. Luciferian. post medium, tom. ii. [Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi, Op., tom. iv. col. 300. ed. Benedict.]—[Item, quando] Arrianorum venenum, non jam portiunculam quandam, sed pene orbem totum contaminaverat, adeo ut prope cunctis Latini Sermonis Episcopis, partim vi. partim fraude deceptis, caligo quædam mentibus offunderetur, &c.—Vin. Lir. cont. Hæres. cap. vi. [in init. p. 9.]—Ecclesia non parietibus consistit, sed in dogmatum veritate. Ecclesia ibi est, ubi fides vera est. Cæterum ante annos quindecim, aut viginti, parietes omnes hic ecclesiarum hæretici (de Arrianis et aliis hæreticis loquitur) possidebant . . . Ecclesia autem [vera] illic erat, ubi vera fides erat.—[Pseudo-] S. Hieronym. [Breviar. in Psalter.] in Ps. cxxxiii. [Op., tom. ii. in Appendic. col. 472.]—*Constantius.* Tantane orbis terræ pars, Liberi, in te residet, ut tu solus homini impio (de Athanasio loquitur) subsidio venire, et pacem orbis ac mundi totius dirimere audeas? *Liberius.* Esto quod ego solus sim, non tamen propterea causa fidei fit inferior, nam olim tres solum erant reperti, qui regis mandato resisterent, &c. [ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπε Λιβερίῳ· πόσον εἶ μέρος τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὅτι σὺ μόνος συναίρῃ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνοσίῳ, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου λύεις; Λιβέριος. οὐ διὰ τὸ εἶναί με μόνον, ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἐλαττοῦται λόγος, καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν, τρεῖς μόνοι εὑρίσκονται ἀντιστάντες προστάξει·] — Theodoret. Ecclesiast. Histor. lib. ii. cap. 16. Dialogo inter Constant. Imp. et Liberium papam. [Apud Eccles. Hist. Scriptor. ed. Reading. tom. iii. p. 94.] So that pope did not think multitude any great note of the true Church.—Ubi sunt, &c. qui Ecclesiam multitudine definiunt, et parvum gregem aspernantur, &c. [ποῦ ποτε εἰσὶν, οἳ τὴν πενίαν ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντες, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον κομπάζοντες; οἱ πλήθει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁρίζοντες, καὶ τὸ βραχὺ διαπτύοντες πολιμνιον;]—S. Greg. Nazianzen. Orat. [xxxiii. olim] xxv. in init. [Op., tom. i. p. 603. A.] Nay, the Arians were grown to that boldness, that they objected to the Catholics of that time *paucitatem*, the thinness of their number.

is of all other the greatest misleader.[u] And yet God forbid, that to worth weaker men should not yield in difficult and perplexed questions, yet so, as that when "matters fundamental in the faith" come in question, they finally rest upon a higher and clearer certainty than can be found in either number or weight of men. Besides, if you mean your own party, you have not yet proved your party more worthy for life or[1] learning than the Protestants. Prove that first, and then it will be time to tell you how worthy many of your popes have been for either life or learning. As for the rest, you may blush to say it. For all Protestants unanimously agree in this, "That there is great peril of damnation for any man to live and die in the Roman persuasion." And you are not able to produce any one Protestant that ever said the contrary. And therefore that is a most notorious slander, where you say, that they which affirm this peril of damnation are contradicted by their own more learned brethren. A. C. p. 66.

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[1] [life of learning... *male*, Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

VII.—And thus having cleared the way against the exceptions of A. C. to the two former instances, I will now proceed, as I promised,[x] to make this farther appear, that A. C. and his fellows dare not stand to that ground which is here laid down—namely, "That in point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the adversary confesses to be true, or whereon the differing parties agree;" and that if they do stand to it, they must be forced to maintain the Church of England, in many things, against the Church of Rome.

And, first, I instance in the article of our Saviour Christ's (1.)

[καὶ τοῦτο δ' ἦν θρύλλημα τῶν ἐναντίων,
μηδ' ἂν πυλῶσι τὸν λεὼν ἐξαρκέσαι,
τὸν πρὶν μερισθέντ', ἠνίκ' ἦμεν ἐνδεεῖς.]
—S. Greg. Nazianz. Carm. de vita sua, [Carm. xi. l. 1495.] p. 24. ed. Paris. 1611. [Op., tom. ii. p. 752, ed. Benedict.]—Quum ejecti tamen essent de civitatibus, jactabant in desertis suis synagogis illud: Multi vocati, pauci electi. [καὶ γράμμασι τοὺς οἰκείους παρεμυθοῦντο, παραινοῦντες μὴ ἄχθεσθαι ἐφ' οἷς πολλοὶ καταλιπόντες αὐτοὺς, τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ προσέθεντο· πολλοὺς γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κλητοὺς, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.]—Socrat. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. v. cap. 10. [Apud Eccles. Hist. Scriptor. ed. Reading. tom. ii. p. 276. The occasion to which the quotation alludes was when, the Novatians agreeing with the orthodox, these bodies alone were allowed by Theodosius to occupy the churches in the city: all the heretics and sectarians being banished from the city, were obliged to hold their assemblies in the country, and by way of consoling their adherents upon the general desertion to which they were subjected, the heterodox bishops and clergy wrote as above.]

[u] Error Origenis et Tertulliani magna fuit in Dei Ecclesia populi tentatio.—Vincent. Lirinens. cont. Hæres. capp. 23, 24. [in tit. pp. 49—55.]

[x] Sect. xxxv. No. 4. [vide supra, p. 323.]

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descent into hell. I hope the Church of Rome believes this Article, and withal that hell is the place of the damned: so doth the Church of England. In this, then, these dissenting Churches agree. Therefore, according to the former rule,—yea, and here in truth, too,—it is safest for a man to believe this Article of the Creed, as both agree: that is, that Christ descended in soul into the place of the damned. But this the Romanists will not endure at any hand. For the School agree in it, that the soul of Christ, in the time of his death, went really no farther than *in limbum patrum*;[y] which is not the place of the damned, but a region or quarter in the upper part of hell, as they call it, built up there by the Romanist, without licence of either Scripture or the primitive Church. And a man would wonder how those builders "with untempered mortar" found light enough in that dark place to build as they have done.

Ezek. xiii. 10.

(2.) Secondly, I will instance in the institution of the sacrament in both kinds. That Christ instituted it so, is confessed by both Churches; that the ancient Churches received it so, is agreed by both Churches: therefore, according to the former rule, and here in truth too, it is safest for a man to receive this sacrament in both kinds. And yet here this ground of A. C. must not stand for good—no, not at Rome; but to receive in one kind is enough for the laity. And the poor Bohemians must have a dispensation that it may be lawful for them to receive the sacrament as Christ commanded them. And this must not be granted to them neither, "unless they will acknowledge,"—most opposite to truth,—"that they are not bound by Divine law to receive it in both kinds."[z] And here their building "with untempered mortar" appears most manifestly. For they have no show to maintain this but the fiction of Thomas of Aquin, "That he which receives the body of Christ receives also His blood *per concomitantiam*," "by concomitancy," because the blood goes always with the body; of which term, Thomas was the

[y] Sequuntur enim [sc. Scholastici] S.Thom.[Aquin.Summ.]par.3.Q[uæst.] lii. A[rtic]. 2. in conclus. Verba ejus sunt: Anima Christi per suam essentiam descendit solum ad locum inferni, in quo justi detinebantur, &c. [ubi sup. p. 53. notes [s] and [y].]

[z] Basileense Concilium concessit Bohemis utriusque speciei usum: modo faterentur id sibi concedi ab Ecclesia, non autem ad hoc teneri divino jure. —Bellarmin. de Sacrament. in genere, lib. i. cap. 2. § 2. [Op., tom. iii. col.12. B.]

first author I can yet find.[a] First, then, If this be true, I hope Christ knew it: and then why did He so unusefully institute it in both kinds? Next, If this be true, "concomitancy" accompanies the priest as well as the people: and then why may not he receive it in one kind also? Thirdly, This is apparently not true; for the Eucharist is a sacrament *sanguinis effusi*, "of blood shed," and poured out; and blood poured out, and so severed from the body, goes not along with the body *per concomitantiam*. And yet Christ must rather err, or proceed I know not how, in the institution of the sacrament in both kinds, rather than the "holy unerring Church of Rome" may do amiss in the determination for it, and the administration of it in one kind. Nor will the distinction, "That Christ instituted this as a sacrifice, to which both kinds were necessary," serve the turn; for suppose that true, yet He instituted it as a sacrament also, or else that sacrament had no institution from Christ; which I presume A. C. dares not affirm. And that institution which this[1] sacrament had from Christ, was in both kinds.

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[1] [the . . Editt. 1673, and 1686]

And since here is mention happened of sacrifice, my third instance shall be in the sacrifice which is offered up to God in that great and high mystery of our redemption by the death of Christ; for, as Christ offered up Himself once for all, a full and all-sufficient sacrifice for the sin of the whole world,[b] so did He institute and command a memory of this sacrifice in a sacrament, even till His coming again.[c] For, (3.)

[a] S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ. par. 3. Q[uæst.] lxxvi. A[rtic]. 2. in conclus. et alibi passim. [ubi sup. p. 330. note [k].]

[b] "Christ by His own blood entered once into the holy place, and obtained eternal redemption for us."—Heb. ix. 12. And this was done by way of sacrifice. "By the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once made."—Heb. x. 10.—"Christ gave Himself for us, to be an offering, and a sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour unto God."—Eph. v. 2. Out of which place the School infers, Passionem Christi verum sacrificium fuisse.—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 3. Q[uæst.] xlviii. A[rtic.] 3. in conclus. [His words are: Respondeo dicendum, quod sacrificium proprie dicitur aliquid factum in honorem proprie Deo debitum ad Eum placandum. Et inde est quod Augustin. dicit in lib. x. de Civit. Dei: Verum sacrificium est omne opus quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhæreamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus. Christus autem, ut ibidem subditur, seipsum obtulit in passione pro nobis, et hoc ipsum opus quod voluntarie passionem sustinuit, Deo maxime acceptum fuit, utpote ex charitate maxima proveniens. Unde manifestum est, quod passio Christi fuerit verum sacrificium.]—"Christ did suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, and made there, by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."—Eccles. Ang. in Canone Consecrationis Euchar.

[c] "And Christ did institute, and in

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at and in the Eucharist, we offer up to God three sacrifices: One by the priest only; that is the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death, represented in bread broken and wine poured out.[d] Another by the priest and the people jointly; and that is, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of

His holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that His precious death, until His coming again."—Eccles. Ang. ibid.

[d] Hoc sacramentum [habet triplicem significationem. Unam quidem respectu præteriti: in quantum scilicet] est commemorativum Dominicæ passionis, quæ fuit verum sacrificium; [ut supra dictum est, Quæst. xlviii. Artic. 3. (ubi sup. note [a]) et secundum hoc] nominatur sacrificium.]—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 3. Q[uæst.] lxxiii. A[rtic]. 4. in conclus.—"[And] Christ, being offered up once for all in His own proper person, is yet said to be offered up [not only every year at Easter, but also every day] in the celebration of the sacrament, because His oblation, once for ever made, is thereby represented."—Lambert, [A Treatise of the Sacrament to the King,] in Foxe's Martyrology, vol. ii. ed. London, 1597, p. 1033. [Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 365. col. i. ed. London, 1684.]—Et postea, ["Not that the sacrament is His natural body or blood indeed, but that] it is a memorial or representation thereof."—Ibid.—"[And] the Master of the Sentences, [of whom all the school authors take their occasion to write,] judged truly in this point, saying, [lib. IV. Dist. xii.] 'That which is offered and consecrated of the priest is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a memory, and representation of the true sacrifice and holy oblation, made in the altar of the cross.'"—Archbishop Cranmer in his [Defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, &c.] Book v. [chap. 13. Works, vol. ii. p. 458. ed. Jenkyns.]—And again: "This shortly is the mind of Lombardus, That the thing which is done at God's board is a sacrifice, and so is that also which was made upon the cross, but not after one manner of understanding. For this was the thing in deed, and that is the [anniversary or] commemoration of the thing."—[Archbishop Cranmer, Answer to Gardyner, the Sacrifice of Christ, book v. Works, ut sup. vol. iii. p. 540.] — So likewise Bishop Jewell acknowledgeth *incruentum et rationabile sacrificium*, spoken of by Eusebius de Demonstrat. Evangel. lib. i. [cap. 10.] Jewell's Reply against Harding, Art. xvii. Divis. 9. [Works, vol. iii. p. 358. ed. Jelf. His words are: "Touching the sacrifice of the Lord's Table, Eusebius writeth thus: μνήμην ἡμῖν παρέδωκε ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηνεκῶς προσφέρειν· 'He gave us a remembrance instead of a sacrifice to offer up continually unto God.' And this he calleth, *incruentum et rationabile sacrificium*; 'the unbloody and reasonable sacrifice.'"]—Again: ["In like manner] the ministration of the holy communion is sometimes of the ancient fathers called an 'unbloody sacrifice;' not in respect of any corporal or fleshly presence, that is imagined to be there without blood-shedding, but for that it representeth, and reporteth unto our minds, that one and everlasting sacrifice that Christ made in His body upon the cross."—This Bishop Jewell disliketh not in his Answer to Harding, Art. xvii. Divis. 14. [Works, vol. iii. p. 375.]—Patres [autem] cœnam Dominicam, [seu ut jam vocant missam,] duplici de causa vocarunt *sacrificium incruentum*: tum quod sit imago et solennis repræsentatio illius sacrificii ἱλαστικοῦ, quod Christus cum sanguinis effusione obtulit in cruce: tum quod sit etiam *Eucharisticum sacrificium*, hoc est, sacrificium laudis et gratiarum actionis, cum pro beneficiis omnibus, tum pro redemptione inprimis per Christi mortem peracta.—[Hieronym.] Zanchius in II. præcept. Decalog. [lib. i. de cultu Dei externo, cap. 6. de Sacrificiis Christianorum, Op.,] tom. iv. col. 460. [ed. Crispini, 1617.]—And Dr. Fulke also acknowledges a sacrifice in the Eucharist, in S. Matth. xxvi. 26. [His words are: "The other term (sacrifice) we do not utterly deny, but in a sort. For in such sort as the

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Christ.[e] The third, by every particular man for himself only; and that is, the sacrifice of every man's body and soul, to serve Him in both all the rest of his life, for this blessing thus bestowed on him.[f] Now, thus far these dissenting Churches agree, that in the Eucharist there is a sacrifice of duty, and a sacrifice of praise, and a sacrifice of commemoration of Christ. Therefore, according to the former rule, (and here in truth too,) it is safest for a man to believe the commemorative, the praising, and the performing sacrifice, and to offer them duly to God, and leave the Church of Rome in this particular to her superstitions, that I may say no more. And would the Church of Rome stand to A. C.'s rule, and believe dissenting parties where they agree, were it but in this, and that before, of the Real Presence, it would work far toward the peace of Christendom. But the truth is, they pretend the peace of Christendom, but care no more for it than as it may uphold, at least, if not increase, their own greatness.

My fourth instance shall be in the sacrament of baptism, and the things required as necessary to make it effectual to the receiver. They, in the common received doctrine of the Church of Rome, are three—the matter, the form, and the intention of the priest to do that which the Church doth, and intends he should do. Now all other divines, as well ancient as modern, and both the dissenting Churches also, agree in the two former; but many deny that the intention (4.)

ancient fathers did call this action a sacrifice, . . . in this sort, I say, we do not utterly deny the term of sacrifice." —Fulke on the Rhemish Testament, &c. p. 96. ed. London, 1633.]—Non [igitur] dissimulaverunt Christiani, in cœna Domini, sive ut ipsi loquebantur, in sacrificio altaris, peculiari quodam modo præsentem se venerari Deum Christianorum; sed quæ esset forma ejus sacrificii, quod per symbola panis et vini peragitur, hoc veteres præ se non ferebant, [verum occultabant.]—Isaac. Casauboni, Exercit. xvi. ad Annales [Ecclesiasticos] Baronii, § xliii. p. 560. [p. 402. ed. Francof. 1615.]

[e] In the Liturgy of the Church of England we pray to God immediately after the reception of the sacrament, "That He would be pleased to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," &c.—And: ["By Him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually,"]—Heb. xiii. 15.—[. . . "my doctrine, as well of] the sacrifice propitiatory which was made by Christ Himself only, as of the sacrifice commemorative and gratulatory made by the priests and people."—Archbishop Cranmer, in his Answer to Gardyner, book v. p. 377. [Works, vol. iii. p. 540.]

[f] "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you give up your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God."—Rom. xii. 1.—"We offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice unto Thee."—So the Church of England in the Prayer after

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of the priest is necessary. Will A. C. hold his rule: "That it is safest to believe, in a controverted point of faith, that which the dissenting parties agree on, or which the adverse part confesses?" If he will not, then why should he press that, as a rule to direct others, which he will not be guided by himself? And if he will, then he must go professedly against the Council of Trent,[g] which hath determined it as *de fide*, "as a point of faith," that the intention of the priest is necessary to make the baptism true and valid. Though, in the history of that Council,[h] it is most apparent the bishops and other divines there could not tell what to answer to the Bishop of Minors [Minori], a Neapolitan, who declared his judgment openly against it, in the face of that Council.

(5.) My fifth instance is: We say, and can easily prove, there are divers errors, and some gross ones, in the Roman Missal. But I myself have heard some Jesuits confess, that in the Liturgy of the Church of England there is no positive error. And being pressed, Why then they refused to come to our Churches and serve God with us? they answered, They could not do it; because, though our Liturgy had in it nothing ill, yet it wanted a great deal of that which was good, and was in their Service. Now here let A. C. consider again: here is a plain "concession of the adverse part:" and both agree, there is nothing in our service but that which is holy and good. What will the Jesuit, or A. C. say to this? If he forsake his ground, then it is not safest in point of divine worship to join in faith as the dissenting parties agree, or to stand to the adversaries' own confession. If he be so hardy as to maintain it, then the English Liturgy is better and safer to worship God by than the Roman Mass—which yet, I presume, A. C. will not confess.

VIII.—In all these instances—the matter so falling out of itself, for the argument enforces it not—"the thing is true, but not therefore true because the dissenting parties agree in it," or because the adverse part confesses it. Yet, lest

the receiving of the Blessed Sacrament.

[g] Concil. Tridentin. Sess. vii. Can. 11. [de Sacramentis in genere. Si quis dixerit, in ministris dum Sacramenta conficiunt, et conferunt, non requiri intentionem, saltem faciendi quod facit ecclesia: anathema sit.]

[h] [P. Sarpi.] Histor. Concil. Trident. lib. ii. p. 277. ed. Lat. Leidæ, 1622. [ubi sup. p. 162. note [y], and p. 304. note [b].]

the Jesuit, or A.C. for him, farther to deceive the weak, should infer that this rule in so many instances is true, and false in none, but that one concerning baptism among the Donatists—and therefore the argument is true *ut plerumque*, "as for the most," and that therefore "it is the safest way to believe that which dissenting parties agree on;"—I will lay down some other particulars, of as great consequence as any can be in or about Christian religion. And if in them A. C. or any Jesuit dare say, that it is safest to believe as the dissenting parties agree, or as the adverse party confesses, I dare say he shall be an heretic in the highest degree, if not an infidel.

SECTION XXXV. (1.)

And first: Where the question was betwixt the orthodox and the Arian, whether the Son of God were consubstantial with the Father. The orthodox said He was ὁμοούσιος, "of the same substance." The Arian came within a letter of the truth, and said He was ὁμοιούσιος, "of like substance." Now he that says, He is of the same substance, confesses He is of like substance—and more, that is, identity of substance; for identity contains in it all degrees of likeness, and more. But he that acknowledges and believes that He is of like nature, and no more, denies the identity. Therefore, if this rule be true, "That it is safest to believe that in which the dissenting parties agree," or, "which the adverse part confesses," which A. C. makes such great vaunt of, then it is safest for a Christian to believe that Christ is of like nature with God the Father, and be free from belief that He is consubstantial with Him; which yet is concluded by the Council of Nice as "necessary to salvation," and the contrary condemned for "damnable heresy."[i] A.C. pp. 64, 65.

(2.)

Secondly: In the question about the resurrection, between the orthodox and divers gross heretics[k] of old, and the Anabaptists and Libertines of late. For all or most of these dissenting parties agree, that there ought to be a resurrec-

[i] Concil. Nicæn. Fides, vel Symbolum in fine Concil. [τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας· ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἢ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, ἢ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.—Concil. tom. ii. col. 28. C.]

[k] Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Valentinus, Cerdon, Apelles, &c.—Tertull. de præscript. advers. Hæret. capp. xlvi. xlviii. xlix. li. &c. [pp. 219—225. ed. Rigalt.]

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tion from sin to a state of grace; and that this resurrection only is meant in divers passages of Holy Scripture, together with the life of the soul, which they are content to say is immortal. But they[1] utterly deny any "resurrection of the body" after death; so with them that article of the Creed is gone. Now then, if any man will guide his faith by this rule of A. C.—the "consent of dissenting parties," or "the confession of the adverse part,"—he must deny the resurrection of the body from the grave to glory, and believe none but that of the soul from sin to grace, which the "adversaries confess," and in which the "dissenting parties agree."

(3.) Thirdly: In the great dispute of all others, about the "unity of the Godhead," all dissenting parties, Jew, Turk, and Christian — among Christians, orthodox and Anti-Trinitarian of old; and in these later times, orthodox and Socinian, that horrid and mighty monster of all heresies—agree in this, That there is but one God. And I hope it is as necessary to believe one God our Father, as one Church our mother. Now, will A. C. say here, "It is safest believing as the dissenting parties agree," or "as the adverse parties confess,"—namely, That there is but one God; and so deny the Trinity, and therewith the Son of God the Saviour of the world?

(4.) Fourthly: In a point as fundamental in the faith as this—namely, Whether Christ be true and very God—for which very point most of the martyrs[m] in the primitive Church laid down their lives—the dissenting parties here were the

Heb. xi. 37.

[1] Libertini rident spem omnem, quam de resurrectione habemus, idque jam nobis evenisse dicunt, quod adhuc expectamus. [Si quæratur, quomodo id intelligant; nempe, inquiunt,] ut homo sciat animam suam spiritum immortalem esse perpetuo viventem in cœlis: [ac Christum morte sua opinationem abolevisse, eaque ratione nobis restituisse vitam, quæ in eo est, ut nos minime mori cognoscamus.] — Calvin. Instructione advers. Libertinos, cap. xxii. in init. [Op., tom. vii. p. 395. col. 1.]—Sunt etiam hodie Libertini qui eam irrident, et resurrectionem, quæ tractatur in Scripturis, tantum ad animas (*al.* animos) referunt. — Pet. Martyr, Loc. Commun. Class. iii. cap. xv. [de Resurrectione,] § 4. [p. 486. col. 2. D. ed. Genev. 1624.]

[m] Cyrillus Alexandrinus male audivit, quod Ammonium martyrem appellavit, quem constitit temeritatis pœnas dedisse, et non necessitate negandi Christi in tormentis esse mortuum. [ἀλλ' οἱ σωφρονοῦντες, καίπερ Χριστιανοὶ ὄντες, οὐκ ἀπεδέχοντο τὴν περὶ τούτου Κυρίλλου σπουδήν· ἠπίσταντο γὰρ, προπετείας δίκην δεδωκέναι τὸν Ἀμμώνιον, οὐ μὴν ἀνάγκῃ ἀρνήσεως Χριστοῦ, ἐναποθανεῖν ταῖς βασάνοις·]—Socrat. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. cap. 14. [apud Eccles. Hist. Scriptor. ed. Reading. tom. ii. p. 360.]

orthodox believers, who affirm He is both God and man, for so our Creed teaches us; and all those heretics which affirm Christ to be man, but deny him to be God—as the Arians,[n] and Carpocratians,[o] and Cerinthus,[p] and Hebion,[q] with others; and at this day the Socinians.[r] These dissenting parties agree fully and clearly, That Christ is man. Well then; dare A. C. stick to his rule here, and say it is safest for a Christian in this great point of faith to govern his belief by "the consent of these dissenting parties," or "the confession and acknowledgment of the adverse party," and so settle his belief, that Christ is a mere man and not God? I hope he dares not. So then, this rule, "To resolve a man's faith into that in which the dissenting parties agree, or which the adverse part confesses," is as often false as true; and false in as great, if not greater matters, than those in which it is true. And where it is true, A. C. and his fellows dare not govern themselves by it; the Church of Rome condemning those things which that rule proves. And yet, while they talk of certainty—nay, of infallibility, less will not serve their turns—they are driven to make use of such poor shifts as these, which have no certainty at all of truth in them, but infer falsehood and truth alike. And yet for this also, men will be so weak, or so wilful, as to be seduced by them.

IX.—I told you before,[s] that the force of the preceding argument lies upon two things—the one expressed, and that is past; the other upon the bye, which comes now to

[n] [Dictum est hoc et de Arrio, qui conabatur docere Filium Dei ex nullis substantiis factum esse, non ex Deo natum.] — S. Optatus, [Milevit. de Schism. Donatist.] contra Parmenian. lib. iv. [cap. 5. Op., p. 73.]

[o] [Carpocrates . . . dicit . . . Christum non ex virgine Maria natum, sed ex semine Joseph, hominem tantummodo genitum, sane præ cæteris justitiæ cultu, vitæ integritate meliorem.]—Tertullian. lib. de præscript. Hæreticor. cap. xlviii. [Op., p. 221. C.]

[p] [Post hunc Cerinthus hæreticus erupit, similia docens . . . Christum ex semine Joseph natum proponit, hominem illum tantummodo sine divinitate contendens, &c.] — Tertullian. ibid. [p. 221. D.]

[q] [Poterit hæc opinio Hebioni convenire, qui nudum hominem, et tantum ex semine David, id est, non et Dei Filium, constituit Jesum.]—Tertullian. lib. de Carne Christi, cap. xiv. [p. 319. C.]

[r] [. . . secus esset, si Jesus Christus excelsiore quadam, et supra humanam conditionem posita, natura præditus fuisset . . . Ut enim, si ad ejus respicias essentiam atque naturam, non nisi hominem eum fuisse constanter affirmamus]—Volkelius, de Religione Christiana, lib. iii. cap. 1. [p. 38. Joann. Volkelii Misnici, de vera Relig. lib. quinque, Racoviæ, 1630.]

[s] Sect. xxxv. No. 2. *in fine.* [vide supra, p. 319.]

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be handled. And that is your continual poor outcry against us, "That we cannot be saved because we are out of the Church." Sure, if I thought I were out, I would get in as fast as I could. For we confess as well as you, That out of the catholic Church of Christ there is no salvation.[t] But what do you mean, by "out of the Church?" Sure, out of the Roman Church.[u] Why, but the Roman Church and the Church of England are but two distinct members of that Catholic Church which is spread over the face of the earth. Therefore Rome is not the house where the Church dwells; but Rome itself, as well as other particular churches, dwells in this great universal house—unless you will shut up the Church in Rome, as the Donatists[1] did in Africa. I come a little lower. Rome and other national Churches are in this universal catholic house as so many daughters,[x] to whom, under Christ, the care of the household is committed by God the Father, and the Catholic Church the mother of all Christians. Rome, as an elder sister, but not the eldest neither,[y] had a great care committed unto her, in and from

[1] [Donatist . . . Edit. 1686.]

[t] [Proinde Ecclesia Catholica sola corpus est Christi, cujus Ille caput est Salvator corporis Sui.] Extra hoc corpus neminem vivificat Spiritus Sanctus: [quia, sicut ipse dicit Apostolus, (Rom. v. 5.) Caritas Dei diffusa est, &c.]—S. Augustin. [Lib. de Correctione Donatist. seu Epist. clxxxv. ad Bonifacium, aliter] Epist. l. [§ 50. Op., tom. ii. col. 663. B.]—[. . . "one Holy Catholic Church, in which only the light of heavenly truth is to be sought, where only grace, mercy, remission of sins, and hope of eternal happiness are found."]—Field, Of the Church, book i. ch. 11. [p. 18. ed. Oxford, 1628.]—Una [vero] est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus [omnino] salvatur.—Concil. Lateranens. [IV. an. 1215.] Can. i. [Concil. tom. xi. col. 143. B.] And yet even there, there is no mention of the Roman Church.

[u] And so doth A. C. too: "Out of the Catholic Roman Church there is no possibility of salvation."—A. C. p. 65.

[x] And "daughter Sion" was God's own phrase of old of the Church: "[And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard," &c.] Isaiah i. 8.—[εἶδες τοῦ προφήτου, (sc. hæc verba Isaiæ) ἀγαπητὲ, τὴν ἔκλαμψιν, ἣν πρὸ πόσων γενεῶν τὸν καιρὸν προεθέσπισεν·] οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῦτον τὸν λόγον προϋπέφηνεν, οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς Σιὼν τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας· [Σιὼν γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσαχθεῖσαν νύμφην πάντες οἱ προφῆται ἐδήλωσαν·—Pseudo-] S. Hippolyt. lib. de Consummatione Mundi, [cap. iii. Op., tom. i. in Appendice, p. 6. ed. Fabricii, Hamburgi, 1716.]—Et, Omnis Ecclesia *Virgo* appellata est. —S. Augustin. in S. Johan. cap. iii. Tractat. xiii. [§ 12. Op., tom. iii. par. 2. col. 396. G.]

[y] For Christ was to be preached to all nations, but that preaching was to begin at Jerusalem, S. Luke xxiv. 47, according to the prophecy, Mic. iv. 2. "And the Disciples were first called Christians at Antioch," Acts xi. 26. And therefore there was a Church there before ever S. Peter came thence to settle one at Rome. Nor is it an opinion destitute either of authority or probability, That the faith of Christ was preached, and the sacraments administered, here in England, before any settlement of a Church in Rome. For S. Gildas, the ancientest monu-

the prime times of the Church, and to her bishop in her; but at this time (to let pass many brawls that have formerly been in the house) England and some other sisters of hers are fallen out in the family. What then? Will the Father and the Mother, God and the Church, cast one child out,

ment we have, and whom the Romanists themselves reverence, says expressly, That the religion of Christ was received in Britannie, tempore (ut scimus) summo Tiberii Cæsaris, &c. "in the later time of Tiberius Cæsar."—Gildas de Excid. Britan. [cap. vi.]: whereas S. Peter kept in Jewry long after Tiberius's death. Therefore the first conversion of this island to the faith, was not by S. Peter; nor from Rome, which was not then a Church. Against this Rich. Broughton, in his Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Century I. chap. viii. § 4. [p. 38. ed. Douay, 1633,] says expressly: ["Therefore, for better satisfaction of his readers, I will cite at large the words of that holy ancient British writer, as our English Protestants have published him to the world, and some manuscripts also have. These they are: Interea glaciali frigore rigenti insulæ, et velut longiore terrarum semper (*al.* secessu) soli visibili non proximæ, verus ille non de firmamento solum temporali, sed de summa etiam cœlorum arce tempora cuncta excedente, universo orbi præfulgidum sui coruscum ostendens tempore, ut scimus, summo Tiberii Cæsaris, quo absque ullo impedimento, ejus promulgabatur religio, comminata, senatu nolente, a principe morte dilatoribus militum ejusdem, radios suos indulget, id est, sua præcepta, Christus. Hitherto the very words of S. Gildas as he is published by] Protestants: who freely acknowledge, that clause 'of the time of Tiberius' to be wanting in other copies of that holy writer, as, namely, in that which was put forth by Polydore Virgil and others." Whereas, first, these words are expressed in a most fair and ancient manuscript of Gildas, to be seen in Sir Robert Cotton's study, if any doubt it. Secondly, these words are as express in the printed edition of Gildas by Polyd. Virg. which edition was printed at London, an. 1525, [fol. vii. *v.*] and was never reprinted since. Thirdly, these words are as express in the edition of Gildas, by Jo. Joscelin, printed at London also, an. 1568, [fol. ix. *v.*] And this falsehood of Broughton is so much the more foul, because he boasts (Præfat. to his reader, *in fine*,) That he hath seen and diligently perused the most and best monuments and antiquities extant, &c. For if he did not see and peruse these, he is vainly false to say it; if he did see them, he is most maliciously false to belie them. And, lastly, whereas he says: The Protestants themselves confess so much, I must believe he is as false in this as in the former, till he name the Protestants to me which do confess it. And when he doth, he shall gain but this from me, That those Protestants which confessed it, were mistaken. For the thing is mistaken. [Of "the most fair and ancient manuscript of Gildas, to be seen in Sir Robert Cotton's study," no trace at present seems to exist. All the MSS. in the Cottonian library catalogued as those of Gildas, are of the work of Nennius. Mr. Stevenson, the recent Editor of Gildas in the "Historical Society's" series, can trace only the existence of a single MS., containing the Epistola de excidio Britanniæ, viz. that at Cambridge, which was used by Gale in his edition of Gildas, apud Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores, tom. iii. Oxon. 1691. The clause occurs in this MS., and of course in Gale's edition (p. 3). Both Polydore Virgil, in the dedication of his edition to Cuthbert Tonstal, and Joscelin, in his preface addressed to Matthew Parker, give accounts of the different MSS. of the Epistola de Excidio, &c., which they respectively used; but it is doubtful if they now exist. Laud's allusion to the existence of this Cotton MS. is unique: and Mr. Stevenson does not seem to have been aware of it.—Laud's statement, that the first edition of Gildas, that by Polydore Virgil, "was never reprinted since," is incorrect. It is reprinted in the work Opus Historiarum nostro Sæculo convenientissimum, Basileæ, 1549. The clause in question occurs at p. 498.]

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because another is angry with it? Or when did Christ give that power to an elder sister, that she, and her steward the bishop there, should thrust out what child she pleased? —especially when she herself is justly accused to have given the offence that is taken in the house? Or will not both Father and Mother be sharper to her for this unjust and unnatural usage of her younger sisters, but their dear children? Nay, is it not the next way to make them turn her out of doors, that is so unnatural to the rest? It is well for all Christian men and churches, that the Father and Mother of them are not so cursed as some would have them. And salvation need not be feared of any dutiful child, nor outing from the Church, because this elder sister's faults are discovered in the house, and she grown froward for it against them that complained. But as children cry when they are waked out of sleep, so do you, and wrangle with all that come near you. And Stapleton confesses, "That ye were in a dead sleep, and overmuch rest, when the Protestants stole upon you."[z] Now if you can prove that Rome is properly the Catholic Church itself,[a] as you commonly call it, speak out and prove it. In the mean time you may mark this too, if you will, and it seems you do; for here you forget not what the Bishop said to you.

[z] [Sed, benedictus sit Deus in sæcula, licet speciosæ et splendidæ illusiones incautos multorum oculos primo aspectu fascinarent, dum otium et somnus corda eorum aggravabant, hodie tamen novis vestris hæresibus expurgefacti, et ad pleniorem considerationem . . . excitati, sapere incipiunt, &c.—Stapleton.] Falsitatis nota in Juellum retorta, &c. Artic. iv. Mendacium 105. [sc. Hardingi, sic Juellus.] [Falsum 355 sc. Juelli, sic Stapleton. Op., tom. iv. p. 1375. A.]

[a] For I am sure there is a Roman Church, that is but a particular.—Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 4. [ubi sup. p. 4. note [e].] And then you must either show me another Roman Church, which is the catholic; or you must show how one and the same Roman Church is in different respects or relations a particular, and yet the catholic. Which is not yet done. And I do not say, a particular, and yet *a* catholic; but a particular, and yet *the* catholic Church: for so you speak. For that which Card. Peron hath, That the Roman Church is the Catholic causally, because it infuses universality into all the whole body of the Catholic Church, can, I think, satisfy no man that reads it—that a particular should infuse universality into an universal. [His words are: Et pourtant l'Eglise Romaine, qui comme centre et principe de la communion ecclésiastique, influë l'unité qui est la forme de l'universalité, à l'Eglise Catholique, et par conséquent cause en elle l'universalité, peut être appelée Catholique causalement, encore qu'en son estre elle soit particulière]—[Card.] Perron, Reply, &c. [English transl.] book iv. ch. 9. [p. 410. ed. Douay. Réplique à la Réponse du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, liv. i. chap. 62. p. 565. ed. Paris, 1620.]

SECTION XXXVI.

[A.C.p.64.]

F. "The lady which doubted," said the Bishop to me,[1] "may be better saved in it than you."

[1] ["She," said the **B.** "may," &c. . . . A. C.]

§ 36.

B. I said so indeed. "Mark that too." Where yet, by the way, these words, "than you," do not suppose person only. For I will "judge no man, that hath another Master to stand or fall to." But they suppose calling and sufficiency in the person: "than you," that is, "than any man of your calling and knowledge," of whom more is required. And then no question of the truth of this speech, "That that person may better be saved," that is easier, "than you;" than any man that knows so much of truth, and opposes against it—as you and others of your calling do. How far you know truth, other men may judge by your proofs and causes of knowledge; but how far you oppose truth known to you, that is within, and no man can know but God and yourselves. Howsoever, where the foundation is but held, "there, for ordinary men, it is not the vivacity of understanding, but the simplicity of believing, that makes them safe."[b] For S. Augustine speaks there, of men in the Church; and no man[c] can be said simply to be out of the visible Church,

Rom. xiv. 4.

[b] Ceteram [quippe] turbam non intelligendi vivacitas, sed credendi simplicitas, tutissimam facit. — S. Augustin. contra [epistolam quam vocant] Fundament. cap. iv. [Op., tom. viii. col. 153. B.]—[τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ λαοῦ τάχα ἂν καὶ συγγινώσκοιμεν τοῦτο πάσχουσιν,] οὗς σώζει πολλάκις τὸ ἀβασάνιστον· "Omission of inquiry many times saves the people."—S. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xxi. [de laudibus magni Athanasii, § 24. Op., tom. i. p. 401. C.]

[c] "Heretics . . . in respect of the profession of sundry divine verities, which still they retain in common with right believers, [in respect of the power of order, and degree of ministry, which receiving in the Church they carry out with them, and sacraments, which by virtue thereof they do administer, they] still pertain to the Church." —Field, Of the Church, Book i. chap. 14. [p. 20.] — [Tertio notabimus,] posse aliquem ecclesiæ membrum esse secundum quid, qui tamen simpliciter non est; [ut Æthiops dici potest albus propter dentes. Sic propter characterem baptismalem quadamtenus ad militantem ecclesiam pertinet, sicut transfuga ad ducis sui exercitum . . . . Sic enim] hæreticus, recedens a fide, non dimittitur ut paganus, sed propter baptismi characterem punitur ut transfuga, et excommunicationis gladio spiritualiter occiditur; [reconciliatus vero non ut infidelis baptizatur, sed ut Christianus, per impositionem manuum, in corpus ecclesiæ redintegratur.] — Stapleton. Controv. i. de Ecclesia in se, Quæst. ii. Artic. 3. Notabile 3. [Op., tom. i. p. 529. B.] —"The Apostle pronounces some gone out (1 John ii. 19.) from the fellowship of sound [and sincere] believers, when as yet the Christian religion they had not utterly cast off. In like sense and meaning throughout all ages heretics have justly been hated as branches cut off from the true Vine, yet only so far forth cut off, as the heresies have extended. For both heresy and many other crimes which wholly sever from God, do sever from the Church of God, but in part only."—Hooker, Eccles. Polit. Book v. ch. lxviii. [§ 6. Works, vol. ii. pp. 472, 473.]

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that is baptized and holds the foundation. And as it is the "simplicity of believing that makes them safe," yea safest; so is it sometimes a "quickness of understanding," that, loving itself and some bye respects too well, makes men take up an unsafe way about the faith. So that there is no question, but many were saved in corrupted times of the Church, when their "leaders, unless they repented before death, were lost."[d] And S. Augustine's rule will be true, That in all corruptions of the Church, "there will ever be a difference between an heretic, and a plain well-meaning man that is misled and believes an heretic."[e] Yet here let me add this for fuller expression: This must be understood of such leaders and heretics as refuse[f] to "hear the Church's" instruction, or to use all the means they can to come to the knowledge of the truth. For else, if they do this, err they may, but heretics they are not; as is most manifest in S. Cyprian's[g] case of rebaptization. For here, though he were a main leader in that error, yet all the whole Church grant him safe, and his followers[h] in danger of damnation. But if any man be a leader, and a teaching heretic, and will add schism[i] to heresy, and be obstinate in both, he without

Matt. xviii. 17.

[d] Ipsis magistris pereuntibus: nisi forte ante mortem resipuerint.—Luth. de Serv. Arbit. [The present editor has not been able to recover this reference.] —[Planum est etiam,] plus peccare hæresiarchas, [qui de fide catholica recedentes, novas hæreses fingunt,] quam illos, qui a principio aliquam hæresim sunt secuti.—Supplement. [in tert. part.] Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Q[uæst.] xcix. A[rtic.] 4. in conclus.

[e] Si mihi, [Honorate,] unum atque idem videretur esse, hæreticus, et credens hæreticis homo, &c. — S. Augustin. lib. de Utilitat. Credend. cap. i. [Op., tom. viii. col. 45. A.]

[f] [Sunt enim hæretici, quod fatendum est,] qui [singulis, vel non multo amplius, dogmatibus] oppugnant regulam veritatis.—S. Augustin. lib. de Hæresibus, [ad Quodvultdeum,] versus finem, [in perorat. Op., tom. viii. col. 27. D.]

[g] Cyprianus Beatus, et Martyr.—S. Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. i. cap. xviii. [Op., tom. ix. p. 93. F. His words are: Exstant beati martyris Cypriani in ejus literis magna documenta, ut ad illum jam veniam, de cujus sibi auctoritate isti carnaliter blandiuntur, cum ejus caritate spiritaliter perimantur.]

[h] Donatistæ vero, qui de Cypriani auctoritate sibi carnaliter blandiuntur.—S. Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatist. lib. i. cap. xviii. [ubi sup. note g.]—Nimium miseri, et, nisi se corrigant, a semetipsis omnino damnati, qui hoc in tanto viro eligunt imitari, &c.—Ibid. cap. xix. [col. 95. A.]

[i] [Sed post causam (circa accusatum Cæcilium) cum eo dictam atque finitam,] falsitatis rei deprehensi Donatistæ, pertinaci dissensione firmata, in hæresim schisma verterunt.—S. Augustin. de Hæresib. Hæres. lxix. [Op., tom. viii. col. 21. D.]—[Videns autem diabolus templa dæmonum deseri, et in nomen liberantis Mediatoris currere genus humanum, hæreticos movit,] qui sub vocabulo Christiano doctrinæ resisterent Christianæ. —S. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 51. in prin. [Op., tom. vii. col. 533. B.]

repentance must needs be lost; while many that succeed him in the error only, without the obstinacy, may be saved. For, they which are misled and swayed with the current of the[1] time, hold the same errors with their misleaders, yet not supinely, but with all sober diligence to find out the truth; not pertinaciously, but with all readiness to submit to truth, so soon as it shall be found; not uncharitably, but retaining an internal communion with the whole visible Church of Christ in the fundamental points of faith, and performance of the acts of charity; not factiously, but with an earnest desire and a sincere endeavour, as their place and calling gives them means, for a perfect union and communion of all Christians in truth as well as peace. I say, these, however misled, are neither heretics nor schismatics in the sight of God, and are therefore in a state of salvation. And were not this true divinity, it would go very hard with many poor Christian souls, that have been and are misled on all sides, in these and other distracted times of the Church of Christ; whereas, thus habituated in themselves, they are, by God's mercy, safe in the midst of those waves, in which their misleaders perish. I pray you "mark this;" and so, by God's grace, will I: for our[k] reckoning will be heavier, if we thus mislead on either side, than theirs that follow us. But, I see, I must look to myself; for you are secure. For,

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[1] [of time ... Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

F. "D. White,"* said I, "hath secured me, that none of our errors be damnable, so long as we hold them not against our conscience. And I hold none against my conscience." [A.C.p.66.]

* [Here the Chaplain taxeth the Jesuit for falsely relating D. White's answer, and saith he hath spoken with D. White, who avows this and no other answer. "He was asked in the Conference, Whether Papists' errors were fundamental? To this he gave answer by a distinction of persons which held and professed the errors; namely, that the errors were fundamental, *reductivè*, 'by a reducement,' if they who embraced them did pertinaciously adhere unto them, having sufficient means to be better informed. Nay, further, that they were

[k] Qui etsi ipsi postmodum ad ecclesiam redeunt, restituere tamen eos, et secum revocare non possunt, qui ab eis seducti, et foris morte præventi extra ecclesiam sine communicatione et pace perierunt; quorum animæ in die judicii de ipsorum manibus expetentur, qui perditionis auctores et duces extiterunt. — S. Cyprian. [Epist. lxxii. ad Stephanum papam de Concilio, olim] lib. ii. Epist. i. [Op., p. 129. ed. Benedict.]

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materially, in the kind and nature of them, 'leaven, dross, hay, and stubble;' yet he thought withal, that such as were misled by education, or long custom, or over-valuing the sovereignty of the Roman Church, and did in simplicity of heart embrace them, might by their general repentance, and faith in the merits of Christ, attended with charity and other virtues, find mercy at God's hands. But that he should say, *signanter et expresse*, that none of yours or your fellows' errors were damnable, so long as you hold them not against your conscience,--that he utterly disavows," &c. To this the Jesuit answereth; first, That he did not, in this his Relation, say that D. White did, *signanter* and expressly, say these precise words, "None of your's or your fellows' errors are damnable." Secondly, he saith, that D. White did not *signanter* and expressly make this precise answer which now he maketh, nor scarce any part of it; as appeareth by the Relation of the first Conference, made by the Jesuit in fresh memory, and conferred with D. White himself, who did not at that time contradict it in this point.

Thirdly, the reason which moved the Jesuit to say, that D. White had secured him, as is said in this Relation, was for that D. White in the said first Conference granted, that there must be one or other Church, continually visible, which had in all ages taught the unchanged faith of Christ in all points fundamental; and, being urged to assign such a Church, D. White expressly granted that he could not assign and shew any Church different from the Roman, which held in all ages all points fundamental. Whence the Jesuit gathered his opinion to be, that the Roman Church held and taught in all ages unchanged faith in all fundamental points, and did not in any age err in any point fundamental. Whereupon the Jesuit asked, Whether errors in points not fundamental were damnable? D. White answered, they were not, so long as one did not hold them against his conscience; which answer he repeated again to W. B. asking the same question. Out of all which the Jesuit did collect, that D. White's opinion was, that the Roman Church held all points fundamental, and only erred in points not fundamental; which he accounted not damnable, so long as one did not hold them against his conscience; and thereupon the Jesuit might well say, that D. White had given security to him, who holdeth no faith different from the Roman, nor contrary to his own conscience.

As for D. White's saying he could discern but small love of truth, and few signs of grace in the Jesuit, I will let it pass as the censure of an adversary, looking upon the Jesuit with eyes of dislike; which is not to be regarded further than to return upon him, not a like censure, but, a charitable wish that he may have no less love of truth, nor fewer signs of grace, than the Jesuit is thought to have, by those who know him better than D. White doth.—A. C. marg. note to p. 66, &c.]

§ 37. W. I.—It seems, then, you have two securities: D. White's assertion, and your conscience. What assurance D. White gave you, I cannot tell of myself; nor, as things stand, may I rest upon your Relation. It may be you use him no better than you do me. And sure it is so. For I have since spoken with D. White, the late Reverend B. of Ely, and he avows this, and no other answer. "He was asked in the conference between you, 'Whether popish errors were fundamental?' To this he gave an answer, by distinction of the persons which held and professed the errors—namely, that the errors were fundamental *reductive*, 'by a reducement,' if they which embraced them did pertinaciously adhere to them, having sufficient means to be better informed: nay,

farther, that they were materially, and in the very kind and nature of them, 'leaven, dross, hay, and stubble.' Yet he thought withal, that such as were misled by education, or long custom, or over-valuing the sovereignty of the Roman Church, and did in simplicity of heart embrace them, might by their general repentance, and faith in the merit of Christ, attended with charity and other virtues, find mercy at God's hands. But that he should say *signanter*, and expressly, That none either of yours or your fellows' errors were damnable, so long as you hold them not against conscience, that he utterly disavows. You delivered nothing to extort such a confession from him. And for yourself, he could observe but small love of truth, few signs of grace in you," as he told me: "yet he will not presume to judge you, or your salvation; 'it is the Word of Christ that must judge you at the latter day.'" For your conscience, you are the happier in your error, that you hold nothing against it; especially if you speak not against it while you say so. But this no man can know but yourself, "For no man knows the thoughts of a man, but the spirit of a man that is within him:" to which I leave you.

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1 Cor. iii. 12.

John xii. 48.

1 Cor. ii. 11.

II.—To this A. C. replies. And first he grants, "that D. White did not, *signanter* and expressly, say these precise words." So then here is his plain confession: "Not these precise words." Secondly, he saith that "neither did D. White *signanter* and expressly make the answer above mentioned." But to this I can make no answer, since I was not present at the first or second Conference. "Thirdly, he saith that the reason which moved the Jesuit, to say D. White had secured him, was because the said Doctor had granted, in his first Conference with the Jesuit, these things following: First, That there must be one or other Church continually visible." Though D. White, late Bishop of Ely, was more able to answer for himself, yet since he is now dead, and is thus drawn into this discourse, I shall, as well as I can, do him the right which his learning and pains for the Church deserved. And to this first, I grant as well as he, "That there must be some one Church or other continually visible;" or that the militant Church of Christ must always be visible in some particulars, or particular at

A. C. p. 67.

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least, express it as you please. For if this be not so, then there may be a time in which there shall not anywhere be a visible profession of the name of Christ; which is contrary to the whole scope and promise of the Gospel.

A. C. p. 67. III.—Well, what then? Why, then A. C. adds, "That D. White confessed that this visible Church had in all ages taught that unchanged faith of Christ in all points fundamental." D. White had reason to say that the visible Church taught so; but that this or that particular visible Church did so teach, sure D. White affirmed not; unless in case the whole visible Church of Christ were reduced to one particular only.

A. C. p. 67. IV.—But suppose this: what then? Why, then A. C. tells us, that "D. White being urged to assign such a Church, expressly granted he could assign none different from the Roman, which held in all ages all points fundamental." Now here I would fain know, what A. C. means by "a Church different from the Roman." For if he mean different in place, it is easy to affirm the Greek Church, which, as hath before been proved,[1] hath ever held and taught the foundation in the midst of all her pressures. And if he mean different in doctrinal things, and those about the faith, he cannot assign the Church of Rome for holding them in all ages. But if he mean different in the foundation itself, the Creed, then his urging to assign a Church is void, be it Rome or any other. For if any other Church shall thus differ from Rome, or Rome from itself, as to deny this foundation, it doth not, it cannot remain a differing Church, *sed transit in non ecclesiam*, "but passes away into no-Church," upon the denial of the Creed.

V.—Now, what A.C. means, he expresses not, nor can I tell; but I may peradventure guess near it, by that which out of

A. C. p. 67. these premises he would infer. For hence, he tells us, "he gathered that D. White's opinion was, that the Roman Church held and taught in all ages unchanged faith in all fundamental points, and did not in any age err in any point fundamental." This is very well; for A. C. confesses, he did but "gather" that this was Doctor White's opinion. And what if he gathered that which grew not there, nor

[1] Sect. ix. [vide supra, p. 27, &c.]

thence? For suppose all the premises true, yet no cart-rope can draw this conclusion out of them: and then all A. C.'s labour is lost. For grant some one Church or other must still be visible; and grant that this visible Church held all fundamentals of the faith in all ages; and grant again that D. White could not assign any Church differing from the Roman that did this: yet this will not follow, That therefore the Roman did it. And that because there is more in the conclusion than in the premises. For A. C.'s conclusion is, "That in D. White's opinion the Roman Church held and taught in all ages unchanged faith in all fundamental points." And so far, perhaps, the conclusion may stand, taking "fundamental points" in their literal sense, as they are expressed in Creeds and approved Councils. But then he adds, "and did not in any age err in any point fundamental." Now this can never follow out of the premises before laid down. For, say some one Church or other may still be visible; and that visible Church hold all fundamental points in all ages; and no man be able to name another Church different from the Church of Rome that hath done this: yet it follows not therefore, That the Church of Rome did not err in any age in any point fundamental. For a Church may hold the fundamental point literally, and, as long as it stays there, be without control; and yet err grossly, dangerously, nay, damnably, in the exposition of it. And this is the Church of Rome's case. For most true it is, it hath in all ages maintained the faith unchanged in the expression of the Articles themselves; but it hath in the exposition both of Creeds and Councils quite changed, and lost the sense and the meaning of some of them. So the faith is in many things changed, both for life and belief, and yet seems the same. Now that which deceives the world is, That because the bark is the same, men think this old decayed tree is as sound as it was at first, and not weather-beaten in any age. But when they make me believe that painting is true beauty, I will believe, too, that Rome is not only sound but beautiful.

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A. C. p. 67.

VI.—But A. C. goes on and tells us, "That hereupon the Jesuit asked, Whether errors in points not fundamental were

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damnable? And that D. White answered, they were not, unless they were held against conscience." It is true, that error in points not fundamental is the more damnable, the more it is held against conscience; but it is true too, that error in points not fundamental may be damnable to some men, though they hold it not against their conscience. As, namely, when they hold an error in some dangerous points, which grate upon the foundation, and yet will neither seek the means to know the truth, nor accept and believe truth when it is known; especially being men able to judge, which I fear is the case of too many at this day in the Roman Church. Out of all which, A. C. tells us, "the Jesuit collected, that D. White's opinion was, That the Roman Church held all points fundamental, and only erred in points not fundamental; which he accounted not damnable, so long as he did not hold them against his conscience: and that thereupon he, said D. White, had secured him, since he held no faith different from the Roman, nor contrary to his conscience." Here, again, we have but A. C.'s and the Jesuit's collection: but if the Jesuit or A. C. will collect amiss, who can help it?

A. C. p. 68.

VII.—I have spoken before in this very paragraph to all the passages of A. C. as supposing them true; and set down what is to be answered to them, in case they prove so. But now it is most apparent by D. White's answer, set down before at large,[m] that he never said "that the Church of Rome erred only in points not fundamental," as A. C. would have it; but that he said the contrary—namely, "that some errors of that Church were fundamental *reductive*, 'by a reducement,' if they which embraced them did pertinaciously adhere to them, having sufficient means of information." And again expressly, that he did not say, "that none were damnable, so long as they were not held against conscience." Now where is A. C.'s collection? For if a Jesuit, or any other, may collect propositions, which are not granted him, nay, contrary to those which are granted him, he may infer what he please. And he is much to blame that will not infer a strong conclusion for himself,

[m] Sect. xxxvii. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 352.]

that may frame his own premises, say his adversary what he will. And just so doth A. C. bring in his conclusion, to secure himself of salvation, "because he holds no faith but the Roman, nor that contrary to his conscience:" presupposing it granted, that the Church of Rome errs only in not fundamentals, and such errors not damnable, which is absolutely and clearly denied by D. White. To this A. C. says nothing, but that D. White "did not give this answer at the Conference." I was not present at the Conference between them, so to that I can say nothing as a witness. But I think all that knew D. White will believe his affirmation as soon as the Jesuit's, to say no more. And whereas A. C. refers to the Relation of the Conference between D. White and M. Fisher; most true it is, there D. White is charged to have made that answer twice.[n] But all this rests upon the credit of A. C. only: for he is said to have made that Relation too, as well as this.[o] And against his credit I must engage D. White's, who hath avowed another answer, as before is set down.[p]

A. C. p. 67.

A. C. p. 67.

VIII.—And since A. C. relates to that Conference, which it seems he makes some good account of, I shall here, once for all, take occasion to assure the reader, that most of the points of moment in that Conference with D. White are repeated again and again, and urged in this Conference, or the Relation of A. C., and are here answered by me. For instance: (1.) In the Relation of the first Conference, the Jesuit takes on him to prove the unwritten word of God out of 2 Thess. ii. (page 15.) And so he doth in the Relation of this Conference with me, (p. 50.) (2.) In the first, he stands upon it, "That the Protestants upon their principles cannot hold, that all fundamental points of faith are contained in the Creed," (p. 19.) And so he doth in this, (p. 46.) (3.) In the first, he would fain, through Master Rogers' sides, wound the Church of England, as if she were unsettled in the article

[n] A. C. in his Relation of that Conference, p. 26. ["ℳ. ℬ. marvelling at D. White's answer, asked him again the same question, saying: 'May one be saved that holdeth error in points of faith, not fundamental, supposing he hold not against his conscience?' D. White said: 'Yes.'"—A. C.'s Relation of the First Conference, preserving the original paging, by which the references in the present pp. 357, 358, and elsewhere, may be compared, is reprinted at the beginning of the present volume.]

[o] For so it is said in the Title-page by A. C. [ubi supra, p. 1. note [a].]

[p] Sect. xxxvii. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 352.]

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of Christ's Descent into Hell, (p. 21.) And he endeavours the same in this, (p. 46.) (4.) In the first, he is very earnest to prove, "That the schism was made by the Protestants," (p. 23.) And he is as earnest for it in this, (p. 55.) (5.) In the first, he lays it for a ground, "That corruption of manners is no just cause of separation from faith or Church," (p. 24.) And the same ground he lays in this, (p. 55.) (6.) In the first he will have it, "That the Holy Ghost gives continual and infallible assistance to the Church," (p. 24.) And just so will he have it in this, (p. 53.) (7.) In the first, he makes much ado about the "erring of the Greek Church," (p. 28.) And as much makes he in this, (p. 44.) (8.) In the first, he makes a great noise about the place in S. Augustine, "*Ferendus est disputator errans*," &c. (pp. 18 and 24.) And so doth he here also, (p. 45.) (9.) In the first, he would make his proselytes believe, that he and his cause have mighty advantage by that sentence of S. Bernard, "It is intolerable pride;" and that of S. Augustine, "It is insolent madness to oppose the doctrine or practice of the Catholic Church," (p. 25.) And twice he is at the same art in this, (pp. 56 and 73.) (10.) In the first, he tells us, That Calvin confesses, "that in the Reformation there was a departure from the whole world,"[q] (p. 25.) And though I conceive Calvin spake this but of the Roman world, and of no voluntary but a forced departure, and wrote this to Melanchthon to work unity among the Reformers, not any way to blast the Reformation; yet we must hear of it again in this, (p. 56.) (11.) But over and above the rest, one place with his own gloss upon it pleases him extremely; it is out of S. Athanasius's Creed: "That whosoever doth not hold it entire—that is," saith he, "in all points; and inviolate—that is," saith he, "in the true, unchanged, and uncorrupted sense proposed unto us by the pastors of his Catholic Church," "without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." This he hath almost verbatim in the first, (p. 20;) and in the epistle of the publisher of that Relation to the reader, under the name of W. I. [p. 2]; and then again the very same in this, if not with some more disadvantage to himself, (p. 70.)

[q] [Plusquam enim absurdum est,] postquam discessionem a toto mundo facere coacti sumus, [inter ipsa principia alios ab aliis dissilire.]—Calvin. Epist. 141. [ad Melanchthonem, p. 273. ed. Hanoviæ, 1597.]

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And perhaps, had I leisure to search after them, more points than these. Now the reasons which moved me to set down these particulars thus distinctly, are two. The one, that [A.C.p.68.] whereas the Jesuit[r] affirms, that in a second Conference all the speech was about particular matters, and little or nothing about the main and great general point of a continual, infallible, visible Church, in which that lady required satisfaction; and that therefore this third Conference was held: it may hereby appear that the most material, both points and proofs, are upon the matter the very same in all the three Conferences,—though little be related of the second Conference by A. C., as appears in the preface of the publisher, W. I., to the reader. So this tends to nothing but ostentation and show. The other is, that whereas these men boast so much of their cause, and their ability to defend it, it cannot but appear by this, and their handling of other points in divinity, that they labour, indeed, but no otherwise than like a horse in a mill; round about in the same circle; no farther at night than at noon; the same thing over and over again; from *Tu es Petrus,* to *Pasce oves*—from "Thou art Peter," to "Do thou feed My sheep," and back again the same way.

℣. The Lady asked, Whether she might be saved in the Protestant faith? "Upon my soul," * said the

* [The Chaplain noteth that the ℣. was confident, and had reason of his confidence. "For," saith he, "to believe the Scripture and Creed in the sense of the ancient Primitive Church; to receive the first four General Councils so much magnified by antiquity; to believe all points of doctrine generally received, as fundamental in the Church of Christ—is a faith in which to live and die, cannot but give salvation." "And I would fain see," saith the Chaplain, "any one point maintained by the Church of England, that can be proved to depart from the foundation." To which I answer, first, That if to say thus be a sufficient cause of confidence, I marvel why the Chaplain maketh such difficulty to be confident of the salvation of Roman Catholics, who believe all this in a far better manner than Protestants do; neither can they be proved to depart from the foundation so much as Protestants do, who, denying infallible authority to all the pastors of the Catholic Church assembled in a General Council, do in effect deny infallibility to the whole Catholic Church, which is bound to hear and believe what is prescribed by her pastors in a General Council, and ordinarily doth so believe and practise. Secondly, I ask how Protestants, who admit no certain and infallible means and rule of faith beside only Scripture, can be infallibly sure that they believe the same entire Scripture and Creed, and the four first General Councils, &c. in the same uncorrupted sense which the Primitive Church believed? What text of

[r] In the beginning of the Conference [with Laud] set out by A. C. [ut i supra, p. 2.]

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B. "you may." "Upon my soul,"* said I, "there is but one saving faith, and that is the Roman."

Scripture doth tell, that Protestants who now live, do believe all this; or that all this is expressed in those particular Bibles, or in the writings of the Fathers or Councils, which are now in the Protestants' hands; or that Protestants do rightly understand the sense of all which is expressed in their books according to that which was understood by the Primitive Church and the Fathers which were present at the four first General Councils? or that all, and only, those points which Protestants do account to be fundamental and necessary to be expressly known by all, were so accounted by the Primitive Church? I suppose, neither the **B.** nor the Chaplain can produce any text of Scripture sufficient to assure one of all this: and therefore he had need to seek some other infallible rule and means, by which he may know these things infallibly, or else he hath no reason to be so confident, as to adventure his soul, that one may be saved living and dying in the Protestant faith.—A. C. marg. note to p. 68.]

* [Here I note, that the Jesuit was as confident for his part as the **B.** for his; but with this difference, that the **B.** had not sufficient reason of his confidence, as I have declared: but the Jesuit had so much reason, both out of express Scriptures and Fathers, and the infallible authority of the Church, that the **B.** himself then did not, nor his Chaplain now doth not, tax the Jesuit of any rashness: but the Chaplain expressly granteth, that there is but one saving faith; and the **B.** did, as was related, grant that the Lady might be saved in the Roman faith, which is as much as the Jesuit did take upon his soul. Only the Chaplain saith, without any proof, that we have many dangerous errors; but he neither tells us which they be, nor why he thinketh them dangerous, but leaveth us to look to our own souls; and so we do, and have no cause to doubt; because we do not hold any new device of our own or any other man, or any thing contrary, but all most conformable, to Scriptures interpreted by unanime consent of Fathers, and definitions of Councils.

Which being so, the **B.** and his Chaplain had need to look to their souls; for if there be but one saving faith, as the Chaplain granteth, (and he hath reason, because S. Paul saith, Ephes. iv. (5.) *Una fides*, "One faith:" and S. Leo, Serm. de Nativit. *Nisi una est fides, non est*, "Unless it be one, it is not faith:") and this "one faith" was once the Roman—which also yet is, as the **B.** granteth, a saving faith, or else he ought not to have granted that one may be saved living and dying in it,—I see not how they can have their souls saved without they entirely embrace this faith, being the Catholic faith, which, as S. Athanasius (in Symbol.) affirmeth, "unless one hold entire," (that is, every point of it,) "and inviolate," (that is, believing all in right sense, and for the true formal reason of divine revelation sufficiently applied to our understanding by the infallible authority of the Catholic Church, proposing to us by her pastors this revelation,) "without doubt he shall perish for ever." In which sort, if the **B.** and his Chaplain did believe any one article, they, finding the same formal reason in all, and applied sufficiently by the same means to all, would easily believe all. But so long as they do not believe all in this sort, but will, as all heretics do, make choice of what they will and what they will not believe, without relying upon the infallible authority of the Catholic Church, they cannot have that one soul-saving faith, which all good Catholic Christians have, in any one article of faith. For although they believe the same truth which other good Catholics do in some articles, yet not believing them for the same formal reason of divine revelation sufficiently applied by infallible Church-authority, but either for some other formal reason, or at least not for this reason sufficiently applied, they cannot be said to have one and the same infallible divine faith which other good Catholic Christians have, who do believe those articles, not for any other formal reason beside the divine revelation applied sufficiently, and made known to them, not by their own fancy, or the fallible authority of human deductions, but by the infallible authority of the Church of God, that is, of men infallibly assisted by the Spirit of God, as all lawfully called, continued, and confirmed General Councils are assisted.

Whence I gather, that although every thing defined to be a divine truth

in General Councils, is not absolutely necessary to be expressly known and actually believed, as some other truths are, by all sorts: yet no man may, after knowledge that they are thus defined, doubt deliberately, and much less obstinately deny, the truth of any thing so defined. For every such doubt and denial is a breach from that one saving faith which other good Christians have, in regard it taketh away infallible credit from the Church; and so the divine revelation being not by it sufficiently applied, it cannot, according to the ordinary course of God's providence, breed infallible belief in us. For, as S. Paul, Rom. x. (14, 15.) saith, "How shall they believe unless they hear, how shall they hear without a preacher, how shall they preach," to wit, infallibly, "unless they be sent," to wit, from God, and infallibly assisted by His Spirit? And if a whole General Council, defining what is divine truth, be not believed to be sent and assisted by God's Spirit, and consequently of infallible credit, what man in the world can be said to be of infallible credit? Or if such a Council, lawfully called, continued, and confirmed, may err in defining any one divine truth, how can we be infallibly certain of any other truth defined by it? For if it may err in one, why not in another and another, and so in all? or how can we, according to the ordinary course, be infallibly assured that it erreth in one and not in another, when it equally, by one and the same authority, defineth both to be divine truths? For if we leave this to be examined by any private man, this examination, not being infallible, had need to be examined by another; and this by another, without end, or ever coming to infallible certainty, necessarily required in that one faith which is necessary to salvation, and to that peace and unity which ought to be in the Church. It is not, therefore, as the Chaplain would persuade, the fault of Councils' definitions, but the pride of such as will prefer and not submit their private judgments, that lost and continueth the loss of peace and unity of the Church, and the want of certainty in that one aforesaid soul-saving faith; the which, how far it doth extend, is indeed, as the Chaplain, p. 73, confesseth, no work for his pen, but is to be learned of that one Holy, Catholic, Apostolic always Visible, and Infallible, Roman Church, of which the Lady, once doubting, resteth now fully satisfied, that in it she may learn all truth necessary to salvation, and that out of it there is no ordinary means sufficient to teach her the right way of salvation. And therefore the Jesuit might well say, as he did in the Relation, that the Lady was, by this and a former Conference, satisfied of the truth of Roman religion.—A. C. marg. note to p. 69.]

SECTION XXXVIII.

I.—℣. So, it seems, I was confident for the faith professed in the Church of England, else I would not have taken the salvation of another upon my soul. And sure I had reason of this my confidence; for to believe the Scripture and the Creeds, to believe these in the sense of the ancient primitive Church, to receive the four great General Councils so much magnified by antiquity, to believe all points of doctrine, generally received as fundamental in the Church of Christ, is a faith in which to live and die cannot but give salvation. And therefore I went upon a sure ground in the adventure of my soul upon that faith. Besides, in all the points of doctrine that are controverted between us, I would fain see any one point maintained by the Church of England that can be proved to depart from the foundation. You have many dangerous errors about the very foundation, in that which you call the Roman faith: but there I leave you to

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look to your own soul and theirs whom you seduce. Yet this is true, too, that there is "but one saving faith." But then every thing which you call *de fide*, "of the faith," because some Council or other hath defined it, is not such a breach from that "one saving faith," as that he which expressly believes it not—nay, as that he which believes the contrary—is excluded from salvation, so his disobedience therewhile offer no violence to the peace of the Church, nor the charity which ought to be among Christians.[s] And Bellarmine is forced to grant this: "There are many things *de fide*, which are not absolutely necessary to salvation." [t] Therefore there is a latitude in the faith, especially in reference to different men's salvation.[u] To set bounds to this, and strictly to define it for particular men—Just thus far you must believe in every particular, or incur damnation—is no work for my pen.[x] These two things I am sure of: one, That your peremptory establishing of so many things that are remote deductions from the foundation, to be believed as matters of faith necessary to salvation, hath, with other errors, lost the peace and unity of the Church, for which you will one day answer. And the other, That you of Rome are gone farther from the foundation of this "one saving faith," than can ever be proved we of the Church of England have done.

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II.—But here A. C. bestirs himself, finding that he is come upon the point which is indeed most considerable. And, first, he answers, "That it is not sufficient to beget a confidence in this case, to say we believe the Scriptures and the Creeds in the same sense which the ancient primi-

[s] Sect. xxxii. No. 5. [vide sup. p. 250.]

[t] Quinto, si esset [vera Calvini sententia, maxima pars dogmatum fidei in dubium revocari posset: nam] multa sunt de fide, quæ non sunt absolute necessaria ad salutem.—Bellarmin. de Eccles. Militant. lib. iii. cap. 14. § 13. [Op., tom. ii. col. 150. A.]

[u] [Vides jam quam fatue dixit Witcleff sapienter debere relinqui tanquam impertinens quod Scriptura non exprimit. Quot vidisti jam et audisti quæ sunt de mera fide vel circa fidem quorum contemptores, sicut et contemptores legum divinarum coercendi sunt. Respondeamus ergo et dicamus latitudinem Christianæ credentiæ sic esse dispositam, ut primam fidem tribuamus scripturis canonicis. Secundam sub ista definitionibus et consuetudinibus ecclesiæ catholicæ, juxta illum articulum in Symbolo, Credo unam sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et apostolicam. Post istas habent Christiani credere, non quidem sub pœna perfidiæ, sed proterviæ vel crassæ contumaciæ, studiosis viris et amatoribus veritatis.] — Thom. Waldens. Doctrinal. Fidei, [tom. i.] lib. ii. Artic. ii. cap. 23. [fol. 107. col. 3.]

[x] Sect. xxxviii. No. 8. [vide infra, p. 369.]

tive Church believed them," &c.[y] Most true, if we only say, and do not believe. And let them which believe not, while they say they do, look to it on all sides; for on all sides I doubt not but such there are. But if we do say it, you are bound in charity to believe us, unless you can prove the contrary; for I know no other proof to men of any point of faith, but confession of it and subscription to it: and for these particulars we have made the one and done the other. So it is no bare saying, but you have all the proof that can be had, or that ever any Church required: for how far that belief, or any other, sinks into a man's heart, is for none to judge but God. SECTION XXXVIII.

III.—Next, A. C. answers, "That if to say this be a sufficient cause of confidence, he marvels why I make such difficulty to be confident of the salvation of Roman Catholics, who believe all this in a far better manner than Protestants do." Truly, to say this, is not a sufficient cause; but to say and believe it, is. And to take off A. C.'s wonder why I make difficulty—great difficulty—of the salvation of Roman Catholics, "who," he says, "believe all this, and in a far better manner than Protestants do," I must be bold to tell him, that Romanists are so far from believing this in a better manner than we do, that, under favour, they believe not part of this at all. And this is most manifest: for the Romanists dare not believe but as the Roman Church believes; and the Roman Church at this day doth not believe the Scripture and the Creeds in the sense in the which the ancient primi- A. C. p. 68.

[y] Pope Pelagius the Second thought it was sufficient; for when the Bishops of Istria deserted his communion *in causa trium Capitulorum*, he first gives them an account of his faith, that he embraced that faith which the Apostles had delivered and the four Synods explicated: [Nos enim illam fidem prædictam tenemus, et cum omni puritate conscientiæ usque ad sanguinis effusionem defendimus, quæ sub apostolis tradita &c. . . . Unam eandemque fidem, quæ ab apostolis tradita, et sanctis patribus et prædictis quatuor synodis explanata atque confirmata dignoscitur, sincerissime teneri atque defendi modis omnibus comprobatur.] And then he adds: Ubi ergo de fidei firmitate nulla vobis poterit quæstio, vel suspicio generari, [in unitate fidei, atque in sinu sanctæ matris catholicæ atque apostolicæ ecclesiæ permanete.]—Concil. tom. iv. p. 473. ed. Paris. [Concil. tom. v. col. 941. D. col. 942. A.] So, then, that Pope thought there could be no question made, or suspicion had, of any man's faith that professed that faith which the Apostles delivered, as it is explicated by those great Councils. And yet now with A. C. it is not sufficient. Or else he holds the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in such "respect of persons," (contrary to the Apostle's rule, S. James ii. 12,) as that profession of it which was sufficient for Pope Pelagius, shall not be sufficient for the poor Protestants.

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tive Church received them. For the primitive Church never interpreted Christ's descent into hell to be no lower than *limbus patrum;* nor did it acknowledge a purgatory in a side-part of hell; nor did it ever interpret away half the sacrament from Christ's own institution, which to break, Stapleton confesses expressly is a "damnable error;" [z] nor make the intention of the priest of the essence of baptism; nor believe worship due to images; nor dream of a Transubstantiation, which the learned of the Roman party dare not understand properly, for a change of one substance into another, for then they must grant that Christ's real and true body is made of the bread, and the bread changed into it, which is properly transubstantiation; nor yet can they express it in a credible way, as appears by Bellarmine's struggle about it,[a] which yet in the end cannot be, or be called, tran-

[z] Stapleton. vol. iv. p. 1253. Return of Untruths upon Bishop Jewell. Art. 2. Untruth xlix. fol. 44. [ubi sup. p. 288. note [h].]

[a] [Ecclesiæ igitur sententia est, rationem proximam et propriam, cur sit in Eucharistia verum Domini corpus, non esse assumptionem panis ad personam Verbi, neque ubiquitatem, neque simplicem, et quasi localem, unionem panis cum corpore, neque mutationem partialem panis in corpus, sed] totalem conversionem substantiæ panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Domini.—Bellarmin. de [Sacrament.] Euchar. lib. iii. cap. 18. § 1. [Op., tom. iii. col. 615. D.]—[Quæstio ulterius restat propria Theologorum Scholasticorum, an scilicet, et qua ratione id sufficiat, ut asseramus vere et proprie hic esse] *substantialem conversionem* seu *transubstantiationem*, sicut Ecclesia appellat.—Gregor. de Valent. Disp. [General.] vi. [de Sacrament. Eucharist.] Q[uæst.] iii. [de Præsentia Christi in Eucharist.] Punct. 3. [Qualis sit illa conversio panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Dom. § 1. Op.,] tom. iv. [col. 1038. A. ed. Paris. 1609.]—Now you shall see what stuff Bellarmine makes of this. Conversio panis in corpus Domini, nec est *productiva*, nec *conservativa*, sed *adductiva*. Nam corpus Domini præexistit ante conversionem, sed non sub speciebus panis. Conversio igitur non facit, ut corpus Christi simpliciter esse incipiat, sed ut incipiat esse sub speciebus panis, &c.—Bellarmin. de Euchar. lib. iii. cap. 18. § 11. [ubi sup. p. 322. note [n]]. So, upon the whole matter, there shall be a total conversion of the bread into the body of Christ. And yet there shall be no conversion at all, but a bringing of the body of Christ, before preexistent, to be now under the species of bread, where before it was not. Now this is merely translocation, it is not transubstantiation. And I would have Bellarmine, or any Jesuit for him, show where *conversio adductiva* is read in any good author. But when Bellarmine comes to the Recognition of his works upon this place, he tells us, "that some excepted against him, as if this were translocation, rather than transubstantiation." So in this charge upon him I am not alone; and fain would he shift off this, but it will not be. But while he is at it, he runs into two pretty errors, beside the main one. The first is, "That the body of Christ in the sacrament begins to be *non ut in loco, sed ut substantia sub accidentibus.*" Now, let Bellarmine, or A. C. for him, give me any one instance, that a bodily substance under accidents is, or can be, anywhere, and not *ut in loco*, "as in some place;" and he says somewhat. The second is, "That some fathers and others seem," he says, but I see it not, "to approve of his manner of speech of conversion by adduction." And he tells us for this, that Bonaventure says expressly, "In transubstantiatione fit, ut quod erat *alicubi*, sine sui mutatione fit *alibi*."

substantiation, and is that which at this day is a scandal to both Jew and Gentile, and the Church of God.[b] SECTION XXXVIII.

IV.—For all this, A. C. goes on, and tells us "that they," of Rome, "cannot be proved to depart from the foundation, so much as Protestants do." So, then, we have at last a confession here, that they may be proved to depart from the foundation, though not so much or so far as the Protestants do. I do not mean to answer this, and prove that the Romanists do depart as far, or farther from the foundation than the Protestants; for then A. C. would take me at the same lift, and say I granted a departure too. Briefly, therefore, I have named here more instances than one, in some of which they have erred in the foundation, or very near it. But for the Church of England, let A. C. instance, if he can, in any one point in which she hath departed from the foundation. Well, that A. C. will do; for he says, "The A. C. p. 69. A. C. p. 69.

Now, first, here is nothing that can be drawn with cart-ropes to prove conversion by adduction; for if there be conversion, there must be change: and this is *sine mutatione sui.* And, secondly, I would fain know how a body that is *alicubi* shall be *alibi,* without change of itself; and yet that this shall be rather transubstantiation than translocation. Besides, it is a phrase of very sour consequence,—should a man squeeze it,—which Bellarmine uses there, even in his Recognition, *Panis transit in corpus Christi.* [ubi supra, p. 322. note [x]].

[b] A scandal, and a grievous one. For this gross opinion was but confirmed in the Council of Lateran: it had got some footing in the Church the two blind ages before. For Berengarius was made recant in such terms as the Romanists are put to their shifts to excuse. Quartum argumentum [habetur . . . ubi ex confessione Berengarii, quæ habetur (Corp. Jur. Canon. de Consecr. Dist.) 2. argumentum Petrus Martyr sumit. Nam in ea confessione &c.]—Bellarmin. de [Sacrament.] Eucharist. lib. iii. cap. 18. § 11. [Op., tom. iii. col. 642. D. et seqq.] For he says expressly: [Ego Berengarius . . . anathematizo omnem hæresim, præcipue eam . . . quæ astruere conatur panem, et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem solummodo sacramentum, et non verum] corpus [et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu] Christi [esse, nec] posse sensualiter, [nisi] in [solo] sacramento manibus sacerdotum tractari, vel frangi, aut fidelium dentibus atteri . . . [ore et corde profiteor . . . scilicet: panem, et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter non solum in sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri.—The Gloss adds: Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incides hæresim, quam ipse habuit: et ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas.]—Decret. par. iii. de Consecrat. Dist. 2. cap. [xlii.] *Ego Berengarius.* Now this recantation was made about the year 1050; and the Council of Lateran was in the year 1215. Between this gross recantation of Berengarius and that Council, the great learned physician and philosopher Averroes lived, and took scandal at the whole body of Christian religion for this. And thus he saith. Mundum peragravi, [multas adeoque omnes regiones circuivi,] varias sectas inveni, sed Christiana deteriorem, aut etiam tam fatuam, quam sata est Christianorum, non reperi, quia Deum suum, quem colunt, dentibus devorant.—[Claud.] Espencæi, [Doct. Paris.] de Eucharist. Adorat. lib. iv. cap. 3. [Op. p. 1134. col. 2. ed. Paris. 1619.]

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Protestants err against the foundation by denying infallible authority to a General Council, for that is in effect to deny infallibility to the whole Catholic Church." No; there is a great deal of difference between a General Council and the whole body of the Church.[c] And when a General Council errs, as the second of Ephesus did, out of that great Catholic body another may be gathered, as was then that of Chalcedon, to do the truth of Christ that right which belongs unto it. Now, if it were all one in effect to say, A General Council can err, and that The whole Church can err, there were no remedy left against a General Council erring; which is your case now at Rome, and which hath thrust the Church of Christ into more straits than any one thing besides.[d] But I know where you would be. A General Council is infallible, if it be confirmed by the pope; and the pope, he is infallible, else he could not make the Council so; and they which deny the Council's infallibility deny the pope's, which confirms it. And then, indeed, the Protestants depart a mighty way from this great "foundation of faith"—the pope's infallibility. But God be thanked, this is only from the foundation of the present Roman faith,—as A. C. and the Jesuit call it,—not from any "foundation" of the Christian faith, to which this infallibility was ever a stranger.

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V.—From answering, A. C. falls to asking questions. I think he means to try whether he can win any thing upon me by the cunning way, *a multis interrogationibus simul*, "by asking many things at once," to see if any one may make me slip into a confession inconvenient. And first, he asks "How Protestants, admitting no infallible rule of faith but Scripture only, can be infallibly sure that they believe the same entire Scripture, and Creed, and the four first General Councils, and in the same uncorrupted sense in which the primitive Church believed?" It is just as I said. Here are many questions in one, and I might easily be caught, would I answer in gross to them all together; but I shall go more distinctly to work. Well, then; I admit no ordinary rule left now in the Church, of divine and infallible verity, and so of faith, but the Scripture. And I believe

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[c] Sect. xxxiii. Consid. 4. No. 1. [ubi supra, p. 266.]

[d] Sect. xxxiii. Consid. 7. No. 4. [ubi supra, p. 285.]

the entire Scripture, first, by the tradition of the Church; then, by all other credible motives, as is before expressed;[e] and last of all, by the light which shines in the Scripture itself, kindled in believers by the Spirit of God. Then, I believe the entire Scripture infallibly, and by a divine infallibility am sure of my object. Then am I as sure of my believing, which is the act of my faith, conversant about this object: for no man believes, but he must needs know in himself whether he believes or no, and wherein and how far he doubts. Then I am infallibly assured of my Creed, the tradition of the Church inducing, and the Scripture confirming it. And I believe both Scripture and Creed, in the same uncorrupted sense which the primitive Church believed them; and am sure that I do so believe them, because I cross not in my belief any thing delivered by the primitive Church. And this, again, I am sure of, because I take the belief of the primitive Church, as it is expressed and delivered by the Councils and ancient Fathers of those times. As for the four Councils, if A. C. ask how I have them, that is, their true and entire copies? I answer, I have them from the Church-tradition only; and that is assurance enough for this. And so I am fully as sure as A. C. is, or can make me. But if he ask, How I know infallibly I believe them in their "true and uncorrupted sense?" then I answer, There is no man of knowledge, but he can understand the plain and simple decision expressed in the canon of the Council, where it is necessary to salvation. And for all other debates in the Council, or decisions of it in things of less moment, it is not necessary that I, or any man else, have infallible assurance of them; though I think it is possible to attain, even in these things, as much infallible assurance of the uncorrupted sense of them, as A. C. or any other Jesuits have.

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VI.—A. C. asks again, "What text of Scripture tells, that Protestants now living do believe all this, or that all this is expressed in those particular Bibles, or in the writings of the Fathers and Councils, which now are in the Protestants' hands?" Good God! Whither will not a strong bias carry even a learned judgment! Why, what consequence is there in this? The Scripture now is the only ordinary

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[e] [Sect. xvi. vide supra, pp. 70—131.]

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infallible rule of divine faith: Therefore the Protestants cannot believe all this before mentioned, unless a particular text of Scripture can be showed for it. Is it not made plain before, how we believe Scripture to be Scripture, and by divine and infallible faith too, and yet we can show no particular text for it? Beside, were a text of Scripture necessary, yet that is for the object and the thing which we are to believe, not for the act of our believing, which is merely from God, and in ourselves, and for which we cannot have any warrant from or by Scripture, more than that we ought to believe—but not that we in our particular do believe. The rest of the question is far more inconsequent: "Whether all this be expressed in the Bibles which are in Protestants' hands?" For, first, We have the same Bibles in our hands, which the Romanists have in theirs; therefore, either we are infallibly sure of ours, or they are not infallibly sure of theirs. For we have the same book, and delivered unto us by the same hands; and all is expressed in ours, that is in theirs. Nor is it of moment in this argument, that we account more apocryphal than they do; for I will acknowledge every "fundamental point of faith" as proveable out of the canon, as we account it, as if the apocryphal were added unto it. Secondly, A. C. is here extremely out of himself, and his way; for his question is, "Whether all this be expressed in the Bibles which we have?" All this? All what? Why, before there is mention of the four General Councils; and in this question here is mention of "the writings of the Fathers and the Councils." And what, will A. C. look that we must show a text of Scripture for all this, and an express one too? I thought, and do so still, it is enough to ground belief upon necessary consequence[f] out of Scripture, as well as upon express text. And this I am sure of, that neither I nor any man else is bound to believe any thing as necessary to salvation, be it found in Councils, or Fathers, or where you will, if it be contrary to "express Scripture," or "necessary consequence" from it.[g] And for

[f] [Prima ratio.] Non potest aliquid certum esse certitudine fidei, nisi aut immediate contineatur in verbo Dei; aut ex verbo Dei per evidentem consequentiam deducatur: [Fides enim non est, nisi verbi divini auctoritate nitatur.] — Bellarmin. de Justificat. lib iii. cap. 8. § 2. [Op., tom. iv. col. 963. B.]

[g] [Sed nunc] nec ego Nicænum nec

the copies of the Councils and Fathers which are in our hands, they are the same that are in the hands of the Romanists, and delivered to posterity by "tradition of the Church," which is abundantly sufficient to warrant that. So we are as infallibly sure of this, as it is possible for any of you to be. Nay, are we not more sure? For we have used no *Index Expurgatorius* upon the writings of the Fathers,[h] as you have done; so that posterity hereafter must thank us for true copies both of Councils and Fathers, and not you. SECTION XXXVIII.

VII.—But A. C. goes on, and asks still, "Whether Protestants be infallibly sure, that they rightly understand the sense of all which is expressed in their books, according to that which was understood by the primitive Church, and the Fathers which were present at the four first General Councils?" A. C. may ask everlastingly, if he will ask the same over and over again. For, I pray, wherein doth this differ from his first[1] question, save only that here Scripture is not named? For there the question was of our "assurance of A.C. p. 69.

[1] [first . . . *mendose carent* Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

tu debes Ariminense, tanquam præjudicaturus, proferre concilium. Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris: Scripturarum auctoritatibus, [non quorumque propriis, sed utrisque communibus testibus,] res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet.—S. Augustin. contra Maximinum [Arianum,] lib. ii. cap. 14. [Op., tom. viii. col. 704. F.]—Testimonia divina in fundamento ponenda sunt. [His words are: De die ultimi judicii Dei . . . eum asserturi adversus impios . . . tamquam in ædificii fundamento prius ponere testimonia divina debemus.]—S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xx. cap. i. [Op., tom. vii. col. 573. A.]—[Ad secundum dicendum, quod argumentari ex auctoritate est maxime proprium hujus doctrinæ, eo quod principia hujus doctrinæ per revelationem habentur. [Et sic oportet, quod credatur auctoritati eorum, quibus revelatio facta est.]—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. i. Q[uæst.] i. A[rtic.] 8. Respons. ad 2.—[Ego enim fateor caritati tuæ,] solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc [timorem] honorem[que] deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. [Ac si aliquid in eis offendero literis, quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud, quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam.] Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt, vel scripserunt.—S. Augustin. [Epist. lxxxii. ad Hieronymum, olim] Epist. xix. [§ 3. Op., tom. ii. col. 190. F.]

[h] [Primum enim toto Christianorum orbe conquiri nefariæ doctrinæ libros, et publice exuri jussisti: deinde expurgari, et emaculari curasti omnia Catholicorum scriptorum, ac præcipue veterum patrum scripta, hæreticorum ætatis nostræ fæcibus contaminata, et venenis infecta. Postremo Catalogum, vel Indicem, edi mandasti auctorum, ac librorum omnium hæretici nominis, qui essent ab ecclesiastica bibliotheca arcendi, et ab omnibus Christianis lectoribus abjiciendi.] — Sixtus Senensis, in Epist. [Dedicat.] ad Pium V. [præfix. Bibliothec. Sanct. p. 1. ed. Paris. 1610.]

[i] Sect. xxxviii. No. 5. [vide supra, p. 366.]

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the incorrupted sense." And therefore, thither I refer you for answer, with this, That it is not required either of us or of them, that there should be had an infallible assurance that we rightly understand the sense of all that is expressed in our books. And I think I may believe without sin, that there are many things expressed in these books, (for they are theirs as well as ours,) which A. C. and his fellows have not "infallible assurance" that they rightly understand in the sense of the primitive Church, or the Fathers present in those Councils. And if they say, Yes, they can, because when a difficulty crosses them, they believe them in the Church's sense; yet that dry shift will not serve. For belief of them in the Church's sense is an implicit faith, but it works nothing distinctly upon the understanding. For by an implicit faith, no man can be infallibly assured that he doth "rightly understand the sense"—which is A. C.'s question—whatever perhaps he may rightly believe. And an implicit faith, and an infallible understanding of the same thing under the same considerations, cannot possibly stand together in the same man at the same time.

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VIII.—A. C. hath not done asking yet; but he would farther know, "Whether Protestants can be infallibly sure that all and only those points, which Protestants account fundamental and necessary to be expressly known by all, were so accounted by the primitive Church?" Truly, "unity in the faith" is very considerable in the Church. And in this the Protestants agree, and as uniformly as you; and have as "infallible assurance" as you can have, of all points which they account fundamental; yea, and of all which were so accounted by the Primitive Church. And these are but the Creed, and some few, and those immediate, deductions from it. And Tertullian [k] and Ruffinus,[l] upon the very clause of the Catholic Church, to decipher it, make a recital only of the fundamental points of faith. And for the first of these, the Creed, you see what the sense of the Primitive Church was, by that famous and known place

[k] [Regula est autem fidei, ut jam hinc quid defendamus profiteamur, illa scilicet qua creditur: Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, &c.]—Tertullian. de præscript. Hæreticor. cap. xiii. &c. [Op., p. 206. D. et seqq. ed. Rigalt.]

[l] Ruffin. in Symbol. [in appendic. ad Op., S. Cypriani, p. ccxxiii. ed. Benedict.]

of Irenæus;[m] where, after he had recited the Creed as the epitome or brief of the faith, he adds, that "none of the governors of the Church, be they never so potent to express themselves, can say *alia ab his*, 'other things from these;' nor none so weak in expression as to diminish this tradition. For since the faith is one and the same, he that can say much of it says no more than he ought, nor doth he diminish it that can say but little." And in this the Protestants all agree. And for the second, the "immediate deductions," they are not "formally fundamental" for all men, but for such[n] as are able to make or understand them. And for others, it is enough if they do not obstinately or schismatically refuse them, after they are once revealed. Indeed, you account many things fundamental, which were never so accounted in any sense by the Primitive Church; such as are all the decrees of General Councils, which may be all true, but can never be all "fundamental in the faith." For it is not in the power of the whole Church,[o]

[m] Et neque qui valde potens est in dicendo ex ecclesiæ præfectis alia ab his dicet, &c. Neque debilis in dicendo hanc traditionem imminuet. Cum enim una et eadem fides sit, neque is, qui multum de ea dicere potest, plusquam oportet, dicit, neque qui parum, ipsam imminuit. [καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ δυνατὸς, κ. τ. λ.] — S. Irenæus, advers. Hæres. lib. i. [cap. 3. ubi sup. p. 33. note °.]—Et, S. Basil. Sermo de Fide, [Op.,] tom. ii. p. 195. ed. Basil. 1505. [φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις, κ. τ. λ. ubi sup. p. 61. note ᵠ.]—Una et immobilis regula, &c.—Tertullian. de Virg. veland. cap. i. [ubi sup. p. 34. note ᵠ.]

[n] Quantum [ergo] ad prima credibilia, quæ sunt articuli fidei, tenetur homo explicite credere, sicut et tenetur habere fidem. Quantum autem ad alia credibilia, non tenetur [homo] explicite credere, [sed solum implicite, vel in præparatione animi, in quantum paratus est credere quicquid divina Scriptura continet: sed tunc solum hujusmodi tenetur explicite credere,] quando hoc ei constiterit in doctrina fidei contineri.—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] ii. A[rtic.] 5. in conclus.—[Ad quartum argumentum quum arguitur, quod si sic infidelitas non foret peccatum nec hæresis: quia assensus ad opposita articulorum posset causari in homine velit nolit per aliquod sophisma. Ad istud potest dici, quod infidelitas est non credere quod ecclesia credit, vel nolle vivere secundum fidem, item secundum præcepta fidei: unde odire fidem mores et ritum Christianorum est peccatum infidelitatis. Non omnis autem error, in his quæ fidei sunt, est peccatum infidelitatis vel hæresis: quia posito quod aliquis in generali velit credere omnia quæ Spiritus Sanctus revelavit ecclesiæ fore credenda, et sub hac fide] credat errando contineri quoddam oppositum alicui articulo subtili, ad cujus fidem explicitam non omnes tenentur.—[Magistri Roberti] Holkot. [super quatuor libros Sententiarum quæstiones, quædam conferentiæ,] in I. Sentent. Q[uæst.] i. Respons. ad 4. K. [ed. Lugd. 1497.]

[o] Resolutio Occham est, quod nec tota ecclesia, nec concilium generale, nec summus pontifex potest facere articulum, quod non fuit articulus.—Almain. in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] unic. [fol. lxxx. ubi supra, p. 33. note ᵖ.]—Articulus enim est ex eo solo, qui a Deo revelatus est. —[ibid. paulo supra.]

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Jude 3.

much less of a General Council, to make any thing "fundamental in the faith," that is not contained in the letter or sense of that "common faith, which was once given," and but once for all, "to the saints." But if it be A. C.'s meaning, to call for an infallible assurance of all such points of faith as are decreed by General Councils, then I must be bold to tell him, all those decrees are not necessary to all men's salvation. Neither do the Romanists themselves agree in all such "determined points of faith," be they determined by Councils or by Popes. For instance: After those books which we account apocryphal were defined to be canonical,[p] and an anathema pronounced in the case, Sixtus Senensis[q] makes scruple of some of them. And after Pope Leo the Tenth had defined the Pope to be above a General Council, yet many Roman Catholics[r] defend the contrary; and so do all the Sorbonists at this very day. Therefore, if these be fundamental in the faith, the Romanists differ one from another in the faith—nay, in the fundamentals of the faith; and therefore cannot have infallible assurance of them. Nor is there that "unity in the faith" amongst them, which they so much and so often boast of. For "what Scripture is canonical," is a great point of faith. And I believe they will not now confess, that the pope's power over a General Council is a small one. And so let A. C. look to his own "infallible assurance" of fundamentals in the faith: for ours, God be thanked, is well. And since he is pleased to call for a "particular text of Scripture," to prove

[p] [Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit. — [Concil. Tridentin. Sess. iv. [Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis.]

[q] [Ex. grat.: de Lib. Esth. Appendic. sic scribit Sixtus Senensis: Sed venit hoc loco in mentem, simul admonere, et adhortari pium ac benevolum lectorem, ne me temeritatis arguat, quod hæc septem postrema capita, a canonicis Scripturis avulsa, in hunc ultimum apocryphorum ordinem redegerim, ac si oblitus sim decreti Sanctæ Synodi Tridentinæ . . . . Est enim Canon ille intelligendus, de veris ac germanis partibus, quæ ad librorum integritatem spectant, non autem de laceris quibusdam appendicibus, et pannosis additamentis, a quovis incognito auctore temere appositis, et utcunque insutis, qualia sane sunt hujusmodi ultima capitula, &c.] — Sixtus Senensis, Biblioth. Sanct. lib. i. [Sect. 3. p. 27. col. 2. D. p. 28. col. 1. A.]

[r] Non est necessario credendum determinatis per sum[mum] pontificem, &c.—Almain. in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxiv. Q[uæst.] unica Conclus. 6. Dub. 6. in fine. [Prop. 4. fol. lxxvii.]

all and every thing of this nature—which is ridiculous in itself, and unreasonable to demand, as hath been showed,[s]—yet when he shall be pleased to bring forth but a particular known tradition, to prove all and every thing of this on their side, it will then be perhaps time for him to call for, and for us to give, farther answer about particular texts of Scripture.

IX.—After all this questioning, A. C. infers: "That I had need seek out some other infallible rule and means, by which I may know these things infallibly; or else that I have no reason to be so confident as to adventure my soul, that one may be saved living and dying in the Protestant faith." How weak this inference is, will easily appear by that which I have already said to the premises; and yet I have somewhat left to say to this inference also. And first: I have lived, and shall, God willing, die, in the faith of Christ, as it was professed in the ancient Primitive Church, and as it is[1] professed in the present Church of England. And for the rule which governs me herein, if I cannot be confident for my soul upon the Scripture, and the Primitive Church expounding and declaring it, I will be confident upon no other. And, secondly, I have all the reason in the world to be confident upon this rule, for this can never deceive me: another, that very other which A. C. proposes, namely, "the faith of the Roman Church," may. Therefore, with A. C.'s leave, I will venture my salvation upon the rule aforesaid, and not trouble myself to seek another of man's making, to the forsaking or weakening of this which God hath given me. For I know they "committed two evils, which forsook the fountain of living waters, to hew out to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." For here is the evil of desertion of that which was right; and the evil of a bad choice—of that which is hewed out with much pains and care, and is after useless and unprofitable. But then, thirdly, I find that a Romanist may make use of an implicit faith at his pleasure, but a Protestant must "know" all these things "infallibly;" that is A. C.'s word, "know these things." Why, but is it not enough to believe them? Now God forbid it should; else,[1] what shall

A. C. p. 69.

[1] [Church, as it was... *male*, Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

A. C. p. 72.

Jer. ii. 13.

[1] [it should; else .... inserted in Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[s] Sect. xxxviii. No. 6. [vide supra, p. 367.]

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become of millions of poor Christians in the world, which cannot "know" all these things, much less know them "infallibly?" Well, I would not have A. C. weaken the belief of poor Christians in this fashion. But for things that may be known as well as believed, nor I, nor any other, shall need forsake the Scripture, to seek another rule to direct either our conscience or our confidence.

A. C. p. 69. X.—In the next place, A. C. observes, "that the Jesuit was as confident for his part, with this difference, that he had sufficient reason of his confidence, but I had not for mine." This is said with the confidence of a Jesuit, but as

A. C. p. 70. yet but said. Therefore he goes on, and tells us, "that the Jesuit had reason of his confidence out of express Scriptures, and Fathers, and the infallible authority of the Church." Now, truly, "express scriptures;" with A. C.'s patience, he hath not named one that is "express," nor can he. And the few scriptures which he hath alleged, I have answered,[t] and so have others. As for "Fathers," he has named very few, and with what success, I leave to the reader's judgment. And for the "authority of the Catholic Church," I hold it[u] as "infallible" as he, and upon better grounds; but not so of a General Council, which he here means, as

A. C. p. 71. appears after. And, for my part, I must yet think, and I doubt A. C. will not be able to disprove it, that "express Scripture," and "Fathers," and the "authority of the Church," will rather be found proofs to warrant my confidence than

A. C. p. 70. his. Yea, but A. C. saith, "that I did not then tax the Jesuit with any rashness." It may be so; nor did he me: so there we parted even. Yea, but he saith again, that I "acknowledge there is but one saving faith, and that the Lady might be saved in the Roman faith, which was all the Jesuit took upon his soul." Why, but if this be all,

Ephes. iv. 5. I will confess it again. The first, That there is but one faith, I confess with S. Paul. And the other, That the Lady might be saved in the Roman faith, or Church,[x] I confess with that charity which S. Paul teacheth me—

[t] Sect. xxv. No. 5. [vide supra, p. 179.] Sect. xxxiii. Consid. iii. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 254.]

[u] Sect. xxi. No. 5. [vide supra, p. 155.]

[x] Sect. xxxv. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 314.]

namely, to leave all men, especially the weaker both sex and sort, which hold the foundation, to "stand or fall to their own Master." And this is no "mistaken charity." As for the inference which you would draw out of it, that is answered at large already.[y] But then A. C. adds, "that I say, but without any proof, that the Romanists have many dangerous errors, but that I neither tell them which they be, nor why I think them dangerous, but that I leave them to look to their own souls; which," he says, "they do, and have no cause to doubt." How much the Jesuit and A. C. have said in this Conference without any solid proof, I again submit to judgment, as also what proofs I have made. If in this very place I have added none, it is because I had made proof enough of the selfsame thing before;[z] where, lest he should want and call for proof again, I have plainly laid together some of the many "dangerous errors" which are charged upon them. So I tell you which, at least some of which, they be; and their very naming will show their danger. And if I did remit you to look to your own souls, I hope there was no offence in that, if you do it, and do it so that you have no cause to doubt. And the reason why you doubt not, A. C. tells us, is, "because you had no new device of your own, or any other men's, nor anything contrary to Scripture, but all most conformable to Scriptures interpreted by unanime[a] consent of Fathers, and definitions of Councils." Indeed, if this were true, you had little cause to doubt in point of your belief. But the truth is, you do hold new devices of your own, which the Primitive Church was never acquainted with; and some of those, so far from being conformable, as that they are little less than contradictory, to Scripture; in which particulars, and divers others, the Scriptures are not interpreted by "unanime consent of Fathers," or "definitions of Councils,"—unless, perhaps, by some late Councils, packed of purpose to do that ill service. I have given instances enough before,[b] yet some you shall

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Rom. xiv. 4.

A. C. p. 70.

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[y] Sect. xxxv. No. 2. [vide supra, p. 317.]

[z] Sect. xxxiii. [Consid. vii.] No. 12. [vide supra, p. 304.] Sect. xxxv. No. 7. [vide supra, p. 337.]

[a] [In the text of all the three Editions, these words as cited, and correctly, by Laud, are "by union, consent of Fathers," &c. but in the table of errata A. C. had corrected the phrase as given in the present text, "unanime consent," &c.]

[b] Sect. xxxiii. [Consid. vii.] No. 12. [vide supra, p. 304.] Sect. xxxv. No. 7. [vide supra, p. 337.]

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have here, lest you should say again that I affirm without proof or instance.[c] I pray, then, whose device was Transubstantiation[d]—and whose, Communion under One Kind—and whose, deposition and unthroning, nay killing, of princes,[e] and the like—if they were not yours? For I dare

[c] Conc. Lateran. [IV.] Can. i. [ubi supra, p. 306. note [e].]

[d] Conc. Constant. Sess. xiii. [ubi supra, p. 290. note [n].]

[e] [Ad hæc, regnum defertur primogenito, et in alia primogenita succeditur eodem ordine ac jure, quo in ipsum regnum: sed] propter hæresim [regis,] non solum rex regno privatur, sed et ejus filii a regni successione pelluntur: [ut noster Lupus (de jure naturæ, part v. § 7.) luculenter probat: ergo primogenita pari ratione confiscari possunt.]—[Jacobi] Simancæ, [Pacensis Episcopi], de Catholicis Institutionibus [lib.] tit. ix. [de bonis hæreticorum,] § 259. [p. 77. ed. Romæ, 1575.]—[Item] absoluti sunt a debito fidelitatis, [dominii et omnis obsequii, quicunque lapsis manifeste in hæresim, aliquo pacto, quacunque firmitate vallato, tenebantur astricti: quemadmodum Gregorius IX. constituit. Unde relinquitur, quod is apud quem hæreticus quippiam deposuerit, non tenebitur post manifestam hæresim depositam rem illi reddere, sed fisco petenti. Præterea,] custodes arcium, [et quicunque vasalli eadem constitutione liberati sunt a vinculo sacramenti, quo dominis fidelitatem promiserant.]—Id. tit. xlvi. [de pœnis,] § 73. [p. 371.]—It was stiffly avowed not long since by ———, That no man could show any one Roman Catholic of note and learning that affirmed it lawful to kill kings upon any pretext whatsoever. Now surely he that says, as Romanists do, that it is lawful to depose a king, says upon the matter it is lawful to kill him; for kings do not use to be long-lived after their deposition; and they seldom stay till grief breaks their hearts; they have assassinates ready to make shorter work. But since he is so confident, I will give him an author of note, and very learned, that speaks it out: [Quæret aliquis, an Joab peccavit exequendo id, quod mandavit David, (i.e. trucidando Uriam.) Respondent Hebræi, dicentes, quod non peccavit, et ad hoc dant regulam, quod quandocunque præcipitur alicui malum facere a persona privata, quod faciens peccat, et non jubens: si autem rex alicui jubeat male facere, non peccat faciens sed ipse rex: sic autem fuit de Joab .... Secunda pars est etiam falsa, nam dato quod rex aliquid jubeat, si manifeste est iniquum, nullus tenetur ei obedire; ut] si juberet colere idola, vel deserere legem Dei: [certum est enim quod non erat sibi obediendum; immo ipse] rex deberet occidi, si ad talia solicitaret populum.—Tostatus, in 2 Sam. [2 Reg.] xi. Quæst. 17. [Op., tom. vi. par. 3. p. 109. D. ed. Col. Agrip. 1613.] And he makes bold with Scripture to prove it. Deut. xiii. [9.] And Emmanuel Sa, in his Aphorisms, (*verb.* Tyrannus,) yet he is so moderate, that he would not have this done till he be sentenced: but then, Quisquis potest fieri executor. [His words are: Tyrannice gubernans juste acquisitum dominium, non potest spoliari sine publico judicio: lata vero sententia, potest quisque fieri executor: potest autem deponi a populo, etiam qui juravit ei obedientiam perpetuam, si monitus non vult corrigi. At occupantem tyrannice potestatem, quisque de populo potest occidere, si aliud non sit remedium; est enim publicus hostis.—Aphorismi Confessariorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti: autore Emanuele Sa, Lusitano, &c. p. 611, ed. Colon. 1615: et p. 308. ed. Antverp. 1599.] Mariana is far worse: for he says it is lawful to kill him, postquam a paucis seditiosis sed doctis cœperit tyrannus appellari. —[Joannis] Marianæ, [His pani,] de Rege et Regis Institutione [libri iii. ad Philippum III. Hispaniæ regem, &c.] Lib. i. cap. 6. [p. 60. ed. (secund.) Francof. (?) 1611. His words are: Equidem in eo consentire tum philosophos tum theologos video, cum principem qui vi et armis rempublicam occupavit, nullo præterea jure, nullo publico civium consensu, perimi a quocunque vita et principatu spoliari posse: cum hostis publicus sit .... (p. 58.) Ita facti quæstio in controversia est, quis merito tyrannus habeatur: juris in

say, and am able to prove, there is none of these but are rather contrary, than conformable, to Scripture. Neither is A. C., or any Jesuit, able to show any Scripture, interpreted by "unanime[f] consent of Fathers of the Primitive Church,"[g] to prove any of these; nor any "definition of ancient Councils," but only Lateran for Transubstantiation,[h] and that of Constance for the Eucharist in One Kind;[i] which two are modern at least, far downward from the Primitive

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aperto, fas fore tyrannum perimere. Neque est periculum ut multi eo exemplo in principum vitam sæviant, quasi tyranni sint; neque enim id in cujusquam privati arbitrio ponimus; non in multorum, nisi publica vox populi adsit, viri eruditi ac graves in consilium adhibeantur . . . . Et tamen salutaris cogitatio, ut sit principibus persuasum, si rempublicam oppresserint, si vitiis et fœditate intolerandi erant, ea conditione vivere, ut non jure tantum, sed cum laude et gloria perimi possint.] Yea, but Mariana was disclaimed for this by the Jesuits. [Cf. Antimariana: ou, Refutation des Propositions de Mariana, &c. par M. Roussel: (this work contains the decree of the Sorbonne against Mariana,) à Paris, 1610.] Yea, but for all that, there was an Apology printed in Italy, an. 1610. permissu superiorum. And there it is said, They were all enemies of the holy name of Jesus, that condemned Mariana for any such doctrine. As for Tostatus, no sentence hath touched upon him at all for it.

[f] [Quoniam verba sacræ scripturæ exponuntur dupliciter, vel proprie, vel metaphorice, primus error circa hoc, *Hoc est corpus meum*, fuit interpretantium hæc Domini verba metaphorice, quem Magister Sentent. in dist. ix. lib. 4. tractat, qui et in hoc articulo reprobatur. Et consistit vis reprobationis in hoc, quod verba Domini intellecta sunt ab ecclesia proprie, et propterea oportet illa verificari proprie. Habemus igitur ex veritate verborum Domini in sensu proprio,] corpus Christi veraciter esse in eucharistia, [et hoc est primum, quod] ex evangelio habemus [circa hoc sacramentum. Alterum autem,] quod evangelium non explicavit expresse, ab ecclesia accepimus, scilicet conversionem panis in corpus Christi. [Hanc enim non solum a priscis doctoribus ecclesiæ habemus, quos habes, *de consecr.* Dist. ii. copiose, et a Magistro Sentent. in tract. *de euch.* diffuse; sed a Conc. Lateranensi sub Innocent III. ut patet *extrav.* de Summa Trin. et fid. cath. *firmiter credimus.*]—Cajetan. in S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ. par.] iii. Quæst. lxxv. artic. 1. [tom. viii. p. 360. ed. Romæ, 1773. Cajetan thus concludes: Unde convenientius cum Aug. et Greg. recitatis a Mag. Sentent. dicimus, ex corpore Christi et accidentibus panis constare unum sacramentum, non præcise, sicut ex signo et signato, sed quodam ineffabili modo, qui a sacro concilio Lateranensi vocatus est ex continente, et contento. quo etiam nomine appellavit eum Magist. Sent. quem modum auctor in hac litera in responsione ad argumenta appellavit spiritualem, et modum proprium huic sacramento.]

[g] [Inter omnes res, de quibus disputamus, nulla est quam (de indulgentiis loquitur) minus aperte sacræ literæ prodiderint, et de qua minus vetusti scriptores dixerint. Neque tamen hac occasione sunt contemnendæ (sc. indulgentiæ) quod earum usus in ecclesia videatur sero receptus: quoniam multa sunt posterioribus nota, quæ vetusti illi scriptores prorsus ignoraverunt. Nam] de transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi rara est in antiquis scriptoribus mentio, [de processione Spiritus Sancti a Filio multo rarior, de purgatorio fere nulla, potissimum apud Græcos scriptores, qua de causa usque in hodiernum diem purgatorium non est a Græcis creditum.]—Alphonsus a Castro, [Minorita,] advers. Hæres. lib. viii. (*verb.* Indulgentiæ,) [fol. cxlii. *v.* E. ed. Colon. 1539.]

[h] Conc. Lateran. Can. i. [ubi supra, p. 306. note [e].]

[i] Conc. Constant. Sess. xiii. [ubi supra, p. 290. note [n].]

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Church; and have done more mischief to the Church by those their determinations, than will be cured, I fear, in many generations. So, whatever A. C. thinks, yet I had reason enough to leave the Jesuit to look to his own soul.

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XI.—But A. C. having, as it seems, little new matter, is at the same again, and over and over it must go: "That there is but one saving faith; that this one faith was once the Roman; and that I granted one might be saved in the Roman faith." To all which I have abundantly answered before.[k] Marry, then he infers, "That he sees not how we can have our souls saved, without we entirely hold this faith, being the Catholic faith, which, S. Athanasius saith, 'unless a man hold entirely, he cannot be saved.'" Now here again is more in the conclusion than in the premises; and so the inference fails. For say there was a time in which the Catholic and the Roman faith were one—and such a time there was, when the Roman faith was catholic, and famous through the world—yet it does not follow, since the Council of Trent hath added a new Creed,[l] that this Roman faith is now the Catholic; for it hath added *extranea*, "things without the foundation," disputable, if not false, conclusions to the faith. So that now a man may believe the whole and entire Catholic faith, even as S. Athanasius requires, and yet justly refuse for dross a great part of that which is now the Roman faith.[m] And Athanasius himself, as if he meant to arm the Catholic faith against all corrupting additions, hath in the beginning of his Creed[n] these words: "This is the Catholic faith," this and no other: this, and no other, then, here follows. And again at the end of his Creed, "This is the

Rom. i. 8.

[k] Sect. xxxv. No. 1. and Sect. xxxviii. No. 10. [vide supra, p. 314, and p. 374.]

[l] Concil. Trident. Bulla Pii IV. super forma juramenti professionis fidei, ad finem Concil. Trident.

[m] And this is so much the more remarkable, if it be true which Thomas hath: [Ad Tertium dicendum, quod] Athanasius non composuit manifestationem fidei per modum *Symboli*, sed [magis] per modum [cujusdam] *doctrinæ*, [ut ex ipso modo loquendi apparet. Sed quia integram fidei veritatem ejus doctrina breviter continebat, auctoritate summi pontificis est recepta, ut quasi regula fidei habeatur.—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] 1. A[rtic.] 10. Respons. ad 3.—[Huic autem] symbolo Apostolorum addita sunt duo alia; scilicet Symbolum Nicæni Concilii et Symbolum Athanasii, ad majorem fidei explanationem, [et hæresum confutationem. Athanasii ordinatum contra errorem Arrii.]—[Gab.] Biel. in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] unic. A[rtic.] 1. [Not. 1.] D.

[n] S. Athanas. in Symbol.

Catholic faith;" [o] this, and no more[p] than [1] is here delivered, (always presupposing the Apostles' Creed as Athanasius did,) and this is the largest of all Creeds. So that if A. C. would wipe his eyes from the mist which rises about Tiber, he might see how our souls may be saved, believing the Catholic faith, and that entire, without the addition of Roman leaven. But if he cannot, or, I doubt, will not see it, it is enough that, by God's grace, we see it: and therefore once more I leave him and his to look to their own souls.

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[1] [then . . . *male* Edit. 1639.]

XII.—After this, A. C. is busy in unfolding the meaning of this great Father of the Church, S. Athanasius. And he tells us, "that he says in his Creed, that 'without doubt every man shall perish that holds not the Catholic faith entire,' (that is," saith A. C. "in every point of it,) 'and inviolate,' (that is, in the right sense, and for the true formal reason of Divine revelation, sufficiently applied to our understanding by the infallible authority of the Catholic Church proposing to us by her pastors this revelation)." Well, we shall not differ much from A. C. in expounding the meaning of S. Athanasius; yet some few things I shall here observe. And, first, I agree, that he which hopes for salvation, must believe the Catholic faith whole and entire in every point. Next, I agree, that he must likewise hold it inviolate, if to believe it in the right sense be to hold it inviolate. But, by A. C.'s leave, the believing of the Creed in the right sense is comprehended in the first branch—"the keeping of it whole and entire." For no man can properly be said to believe the whole Creed, that believes not the whole sense as well as the letter of it, and as entirely. But, thirdly, for the word "inviolate," it is, indeed, used by him that translated Athanasius; but the Father's own words are: "that he that will be saved must keep the faith *ὑγιῆ καὶ ἄμωμον*." Now *ὑγιὴς* is the "sound and entire" faith. And it cannot be a sound faith, unless the sense be as whole and entire as the letter of the Creed. And *ἄμωμος* is compounded of the privative particle *ἀ*, and *μῶμος*, which is, "reproach" or "infamy:" so that *ἄμωμος*

A. C. p. 70.

[o] And yet the Council of Trent having added twelve new articles, says thus of them also: Hæc est vera Catholica fides, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, &c.—Bulla Pii IV. super forma juramenti professionis fidei, in fine Concil. Trident.

[p] Integram fidei veritatem ejus doctrina breviter continet.—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] 1. A[rtic.] 10. [Respons.] ad 3. [ubi supra, note [m].]

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signifies the holding of the entire faith in such holiness of life and conversation, as is "without all infamy and reproach." That is, as our English renders that Creed exceeding well: "Which faith unless a man do keep whole and undefiled," [q] even with such a life as Momus himself shall not be able to carp at. So Athanasius,—who certainly was passing able to express himself in his own language,—in the beginning of that his Creed requires, that we keep it "entire," without diminution: and "undefiled," without blame: and at the end, that we believe it "faithfully," without wavering. But "inviolate" is the mistaken word of the old interpreter, and with no great knowledge made use of by A. C. And then, fourthly, though this be true divinity, That he which hopes for salvation must believe the whole Creed—and in the right sense, too, if he be able to comprehend it,—yet I take the true and first meaning of "inviolate,"—could Athanasius's word ἄμωμος have signified so,—not to be the holding of the true sense, but not to offer violence, or a forced sense or meaning, upon the Creed, which every man doth not that yet believes it not in a true sense; for, not to believe the true sense of the Creed is one thing, but it is quite another to force a wrong sense upon it. Fifthly: a reason would be given also why A. C. is so earnest for "the whole faith," and balks the word which goes with it, which is "holy or undefiled;" for Athanasius doth alike exclude from salvation those which keep not the Catholic faith "holy," as well as these which keep it not "whole." I doubt this was to spare many of his "holy fathers, the popes," [r] who were as far as any—the very lewdest among men without exception—from keeping the Catholic faith holy. Sixthly: I agree to the next part of his exposition, "That a man that will be saved must believe the whole Creed for the true formal reason of Divine revelation;" for upon the truth of God, thus revealed by Himself, lies the "infallible certainty" of the Christian faith. But I do not grant that this is within the compass of S. Athanasius's word ἄμωμος, nor of the word "inviolate;"

[q] Sic Ecclesia dicitur ἄμωμος, Eph. v. 27; et in veteri Glossario, ἄμωμος, immaculatus.—[Four Greek versions—or forms—of the Athanasian Creed are preserved in the Benedictine edition of S. Athan. Op., tom. ii. pp. 728—731. The respective readings of this clause, are, (1.) ἣν εἰ μή τις ὑγιῆ καὶ ἄμωμον· (2.) ἀκεραίον καὶ ἀπαράθραυστον· (3.) σῶον καὶ ἀμώμητον· (4.) ἀμόλυντον καὶ ἄφθορον·]

[r] Sect. xxxiii. [Consid. vii.] No. 7. [vide supra, p. 293.]

but in that respect it is a mere strain of A. C. And then, lastly, though the whole Catholic Church be sufficient in applying this to us and our belief, not our understanding, which A. C. is at again, yet "infallible" she is not, in the proposal of this revelation to us by every of her pastors; some whereof amongst you, as well as others, neglect, or forget at least, to feed Christ's sheep as Christ and His Church hath fed them. SECTION XXXVIII. A. C. p. 70

XIII.—But now that A. C. hath taught us, as you see, the meaning of S. Athanasius, in the next place he tells us, "That if we did believe any one article, we, finding the same formal reason in all, and applied sufficiently by the same means to all, would easily believe all." Why, surely, we do not believe any one article only, but all the articles of the Christian faith; and we believe them for the same formal reason in all—namely, Because they are revealed from and by God, and sufficiently applied in His word, and by His Church's ministration. "But so long as they do not believe all in this sort," saith A. C. Look you; he tells us we do not believe all, when we profess we do. Is this man become as God, that he can better tell what we believe than we ourselves? Surely we do believe all, and in that sort too; though, I believe, were S. Athanasius himself alive again, and a plain man should come to him and tell him he believed his Creed in all and every particular, he would admit him for a good Catholic Christian, though he were not able to express to him the formal reason of that his belief. "Yea, but," saith A. C., "while they will, as all heretics do, make choice of what they will, and what they will not, believe, without relying upon the infallible authority of the Catholic Church, they cannot have that one saving faith in any one article." Why, but whatsoever heretics do, we are not such, nor do we so; for they which believe all the articles—as once again I tell you we do—make no choice; and we do rely upon the infallible authority of the word of God, and the whole Catholic Church; and therefore we both can have, and have, that "one saving faith" which believes all the articles entirely, though we cannot believe that any particular Church is infallible. A. C. p. 70. A. C. p. 70. A. C. p. 70.

XIV.—And yet, again, A. C. will not thus be satisfied, A. C. p. 71.

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but on he goes, and adds: "That although we believe the same truth which other good Catholics do in some articles, yet not believing them for the same formal reason of Divine revelation, sufficiently applied by infallible Church authority, &c. we cannot be said to have one and the same infallible and Divine faith which other good Catholic Christians have, who believe the articles for this formal reason, sufficiently made known to them, not by their own fancy, nor the fallible authority of human deductions, but by the infallible authority of the Church of God." If A. C. will still say the same thing, I must still give the same answer. First, he confesses we believe the same truth in "some articles,"—I pray, mark his phrase,—the same truth in some articles with "other good Catholic Christians." So far his pen hath told truth against his will: for he doth not, I wot well, intend to call us Catholics, and yet his pen, being truer than himself, hath let it fall; for the word "other" cannot be so used as here it is, but that we, as well as they, must be good Catholics: for he that shall say the old Romans were valiant as well as other men, supposes the Romans to be valiant men; and he that shall say the Protestants believe some articles as well as "other good Catholics," must, in propriety of speech, suppose them to be good Catholics. Secondly: as we do believe those "some articles," so do we believe them, and all other articles of faith, "for the same formal reason, and so applied," as but just before I have expressed.[s] Nor do we believe any one article of faith by our own "fancy," or by "fallible authority" of human deductions; but, next to the infallible authority of God's word, we are guided by His Church. But then A. C. steps into a conclusion whither we cannot follow him; for he says, "that the articles to be believed must be sufficiently made known unto us by the infallible authority of the Church of God—that is, of men infallibly assisted by the Spirit of God, as all lawfully called, continued, and confirmed General Councils are assisted." That the whole Church of God is infallibly assisted by the Spirit of God,[t] so that it cannot by any error fall away totally from Christ the foun-

A. C. p. 71.

[s] Sect. xxxviii. No. 13. [vide supra, p. 381.]

[t] Sect. xxi. No. 5. [vide supra p. 155.]

dation, I make no doubt; for if it could, "the gates of hell" had "prevailed against it:" which, our Saviour assures me, they shall never be able to do. But that all General Councils, be they never so "lawfully called, continued, and confirmed," have "infallible assistance," I utterly deny. It is true that a General Council *de post facto*, "after it is ended," and admitted by the whole Church, is then infallible; for it cannot err in that which it hath already clearly and truly determined without error. But that a General Council, *a parte ante*, when it first sits down and continues to deliberate, may truly be said to be infallible in all its after-determinations, whatsoever they shall be, I utterly deny. And it may be it was not without cunning that A. C. shuffled these words together—"called," "continued," and "confirmed;" for, be it never so lawfully "called" and "continued," it may err. But after it is "confirmed," that is, admitted by the whole Church, then, being found true, it is also infallible; that is, it deceives no man. For so all truth is, and is to us, when it is once known to be truth; but then many times that truth, which being known is necessary and infallible, was before both contingent and fallible in the way of proving it, and to us. And so here, a General Council is a most probable, but yet a fallible, way of inducing truth, though the truth once induced may be, after it is found, necessary and infallible. And so likewise the very Council itself, for that particular in which it hath concluded truth. But A. C. must both speak and mean of a Council set down to deliberate, or else he says nothing.

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Matt. xvi. 18.

XV.—Now hence A. C. gathers, "That though every thing defined to be a Divine truth, in General Councils, is not absolutely necessary to be expressly known and actually believed," as some other truths are, "by all sorts: yet no man may," after knowledge that they are thus defined, "doubt deliberately, much less obstinately deny the truth of any thing so defined." Well, in this collection of A. C., first, we have this granted, That every thing defined in General Councils is not absolutely necessary to be expressly known and actually believed by all sorts of men. And this no Protestant, that I know, denies. Secondly, it is affirmed, that, after knowledge that these truths are thus defined,

A. C. p. 71.

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no man may "doubt deliberately," much less "obstinately deny" any of them. Truly, "obstinately," as the word is now in common use, carries a fault along with it. And it ought to be far from the temper of a Christian to be "obstinate" against the definitions of a General Council. But that he may not upon very probable grounds, in an humble and peaceable manner, "deliberately doubt," yea, and upon demonstrative grounds, "constantly deny," even "such definitions," yet submitting himself and his grounds to the Church in that or another Council, is that which was never till now imposed upon believers. For it is one thing for a man deliberately to doubt, and modestly to propose his doubt for satisfaction, which was ever lawful, and is many times necessary; and quite another thing for a man, upon the pride of his own judgment, to refuse external obedience to the Council,[u] which to do was never lawful, nor can ever stand with any government: for there is all the reason in the world the Council should be heard for itself, as well as any such recusant whatsoever, and that before a judge as good as itself at least. And to what end did S. Augustine say, "that one General Council might be amended by another, the former by the later,"[x] if men might neither "deny," nor so much as "deliberately doubt" of, any of these truths defined in a General Council? And A. C. should have done well to have named but one ancient Father of the Primitive Church that ever affirmed this. For the assistance which God gives to the whole Church in general,[y] is but in things simply necessary to eternal salvation; therefore more than this cannot be given to a General Council, no, nor so much. But then, if a General Council shall forget itself, and take upon it to define things not absolutely necessary to be expressly known or actually believed, (which are the things which A. C. here speaks of,) in these, as neither General Council nor the whole Church have infallible assistance, so have Christians liberty, modestly and peaceably, and upon just grounds, both deliberately to doubt and constantly to deny such the Council's definitions. For instance: the Council

[u] Sect. xxxii. No. 5. [vide supra, p. 250.]

[x] Ipsaque plenaria, sæpe priora a posterioribus emendari.—S. Augustin. de Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. ii. cap. 3. [ubi supra, p. 267. note f.]

[y] Sect. xxi. No. 5. [vide supra, p. 155.]

of Florence first defined purgatory to be believed as a divine truth, and matter of faith—if that Council had "consent" enough so to define it.[z] This was afterwards deliberately doubted of by the Protestants; after this, as constantly denied; then confirmed by the Council of Trent,[a] and an anathema set upon the head of every man that denies it: and yet scarce any Father within the first three hundred years ever thought of it.

XVI.—I know Bellarmine affirms it boldly, "That all the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, did constantly teach purgatory, from the very Apostles' times."[b] And where he brings his proofs out of the Fathers for this point, he divides them into two ranks. In the first, he reckons them which affirm prayer for the dead—as if that must necessarily infer purgatory.[c] Whereas, most certain it is that the ancients had, and gave, other reasons of prayer for the dead than freeing them out of any purgatory. And this is very learnedly and at large set down by the now learned Primate of Armagh.[d] But then, in the second, he says, there are "most manifest places in the Fathers, in which they affirm purgatory."[e] And

[z] I know the Greeks subscribed that Council. [Sæpius de purgatorio dubitatum est;] et illi Græca Ecclesia in Concilio Florentino diu restitit.—Pet. Martyr. Loc. Commun. Class. iii. cap. ix. § 13. [p. 437. col. 2. B. ed. Genev. 1624.]—Et in ultima sessione istius Concilii Græci dixerunt, se, sine auctoritate totius Ecclesiæ Orientalis, quæstionem aliam tractare non posse, præter illam de processione Sp. Sancti. Postea vero, consentiente imperatore, tractarunt de aliis, &c.—Florent. Concil. sess. ult. apud Nicolinum, tom. iv. p. 894, &c. [*χρὴ τελειῶσαι καὶ τὰ ἑπόμενα. . . τὸ τῆς καθαρτηρίου . . . ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς·* (sc. Græci) *Ἡμεῖς ἄδειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς συνόδου ἀποκριθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἰδίως ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπολογούμεθα, κ.τ.λ.*—Concil. Florentin. in Sess. xxv. apud Concil. tom. xiii. col. 496. E.] This savours of some art to bring in the Greeks. Howsoever this shows enough against Bellarmine, that all the Greeks did not constantly teach purgatory, as he affirms: de Purgatorio, lib. i. cap. 15. § 14. [vide infra, note [b].]

[a] Conc. Trid. Sess. xxv. et in Bulla Pii IV. super forma Juramenti Professionis Fidei.

[b] De tertio modo, [perspicuum est ex eo, quod non invenimus initium hujus dogmatis, sed] omnes veteres Græci et Latini ab ipso tempore Apostolorum constanter docuerunt purgatorium esse.—Bellarmin. de Purgatorio, lib. i. cap. 15. § 14. [Op., tom. ii. col. 625. C.]

[c] [Primus ex patribus, Clemens, lib. viii. Constitut. cap. 47. longam orationem describit pro defunctis fieri solitam.]—Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. i. cap. 10. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 604. B.]

[d] ["Our Romanists indeed do commonly take it for granted, that 'Purgatory and Prayer for the Dead be so closely linked together, that the one doth necessarily follow the other': but in so doing, they reckon without their host, and greatly mistake the matter . . . they shall never be able to show, that the commemoration and prayers for the dead, used by the ancient Church, had any relation unto their purgatory," &c.—Jacob. Ussher, Armachan. [Archiepis.] in his Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit, [W. Malone,] chap. vii. p. 194. [Works, vol. iii. p. 198. ed. 1847.]

[e] [Deinde] sunt apertissima loca in

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he names there no fewer than two-and-twenty of the Fathers. A great jury, certainly, did they give their verdict with him. But, first, within the three hundred years after Christ, he names none but Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen. And Tertullian speaks expressly of hell, not of purgatory;[f] S. Cyprian, of a purging to amendment, which cannot be after this life.[g] As for Origen, he, I think indeed, was the first founder of purgatory, but of such an one as I believe Bellarmine dares not affirm; for he "thought there was no punishment after this life but purgatory; and that not only the most impious men, but even the devils themselves, should be saved after they had suffered and been purged enough;"[h] which is

patribus, ubi asserunt purgatorium.—Bellarmin. de Purgat. lib. i. cap. 10. § 20. [Op., tom. ii. col. 607. B.]

[f] [Pactus es enim renuntiare ipsi (sc. diabolo), et pompæ, et angelis ejus. Convenit inter vos de isto. Hæc erit amicitia observatione sponsionis, ne quid ejus postea resumas ex his quæ ejerasti, quæ illi reddidisti, ne te ut fraudatorem, ut pacti transgressorem judici Deo objiciat, sicut eum legimus alibi sanctorum criminatorem, et de ipso etiam nomine delatorem, et judex te tradat angelo executionis, et ille te in carcerem mandet] infernum, [unde non dimittaris, nisi modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso.]—Tertullian. lib. de Anima, cap. xvii. [cap. xxxv. p. 291. B. ed. Rigalt.]

[g] [Aliud est ad veniam stare, aliud ad gloriam pervenire, aliud missum in carcerem non exire inde donec solvat novissimum quadrantem, aliud statim fidei et virtutis accipere mercedem, aliud pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum] emundari [et purgari diu] igne, [aliud peccata omnia passione purgasse, aliud denique pendere in diem judicii ad sententiam Domini, aliud statim a Domino coronari. (Bellarmine's reading is: pro peccatis longo *tempore* cruciatum.)] — S. Cyprian. [Epist. lii. ad Antonianum de Concilio et Novatiano, olim] lib. iv. Epist. 2. [p. 72. ed. Benedict.]

[h] [The passage quoted by Bellarmine from Origen in favour of purgatory is: Veniendum est ergo omnibus ad ignem, veniendum est ad conflatorium. Sedet enim Dominus, et conflat, et purgat filios Judæ. (Malach. iii. 3.) Sed et illuc cum venitur, si quis multa opera bona, et parum aliquid iniquitatis attulerit, illud parum tanquam plumbum igni resolvitur ac purgatur, et totum remanet aurum purum.—Origen. in Exod. Homil. vi. § 4. Op., tom. ii. p. 148. col. 2. B.—The passage alluded to by Laud in the text is: Interim tam in his quæ videntur, et temporalibus sæculis, quam in illis quæ non videntur et æterna sunt, omnes isti pro ordine, pro ratione, pro modo et meritorum dignitatibus dispensantur: ut alii in primis, alii in secundis, nonnulli etiam in ultimis temporibus, et per majora ac graviora supplicia, necnon et diuturna, ac multis, ut ita dicam, sæculis tolerata asperioribus emendationibus reparati et restituti eruditionibus primo angelicis, tum deinde etiam superiorum graduum virtutibus, et sic per singula ad superiora provecti usque ad ea quæ sunt invisibilia et æterna perveniant, singulis videlicet quibusque cœlestium virtutum officiis quadam eruditionum specie peragratis. Ex quo, ut opinor, hoc consequentia ipsa videtur ostendere, unamquamque rationabilem naturam posse ab uno in alterum ordinem transeuntem per singulos in omnes, et ab omnibus in singulos pervenire, dum accessus profectuum defectuumve varios pro motibus vel conatibus propriis unusquisque pro liberi arbitrii facultate perpetitur.]—Orig. περὶ ἀρχῶν, lib. i. cap. 6. [§ 3. Op., tom. i. p. 70. col. 2. D.]—[Hoc sancta Scriptura non dicit: et evertit penitus timorem Dei, dum facile homines labuntur ad vitia: putantes etiam diabolum, qui auctor malorum est, et omnium peccatorum fons, acta pœnitentia posse salvari, de nostris mentibus abjiciatur . . . . Alioquin si omnes rationabiles creaturæ æquales

directly contrary to the word of God expounded by his Church. In the fourth and fifth, the great and learned ages of the Church, he names more, as S. Ambrose.[i] But S. Ambrose says, that some shall be saved *quasi per ignem*, "as it were by fire;" leaving it as doubtful what was meant by that "fire," as the place itself doth whence it is taken.[k] S. Jerome, indeed, names a "purging by fire,"[l] but it is not very plain that he means it after this life. And, howsoever, this is most plain, that S. Jerome is at *credimus*, "we believe" eternal punishment; but he goes no farther than *arbitramur*, "we think" there is a purging. So with him it was arbitrary, and therefore, sure, no matter of faith then. And, again, he saith, "that some Christians may be saved, *post pœnas*, 'after some punishments endured,' but he neither tells us where nor when.[m] S. Basil names, indeed, "purgatory-

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1 Cor. iii. 15.

sunt; et vel ex virtutibus, vel ex vitiis sponte propria aut sursum eriguntur, aut in ima merguntur; et longo post circuitu atque infinitis sæculis, omnium rerum restitutio fiet, et una dignitas militantium, quæ distantia erit inter virginem et prostibulum? . . . Finge quod libet, annos et tempora duplica; et infinitas ætates congere cruciatibus: si finis omnium similis est, præteritum omne pro nihilo est: quia non quærimus quid aliquando fuerimus, sed quid semper futuri simus.]—S. Hieronym. in Jonæ Proph. cap. iii. [Op., tom. iii. col. 1488.]—Porro non [defuerunt, qui adeo purgatorium probarint, ut nullas pœnas, nisi purgatorias, post hanc vitam agnoverint. Ita Origenes sensit &c.]—Bellarmin. de Purgatorio, lib. ii. cap. 2. § 12. [Op., tom. ii. col. 573. C.]—[Qua in re misericordior profecto fuit Origenes, qui et ipsum diabolum atque angelos ejus post graviora pro meritis et diuturniora supplicia ex illis cruciatibus eruendos atque sociandos sanctis angelis credidit. Sed illum, et propter hoc, et propter alia . . . non immerito reprobavit Ecclesia, &c.]—S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 17. [Op., tom. vii. col. 637. B.]

[i] S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 17. [ubi sup.]

[k] [Væ mihi si opus meum arserit, et laboris hujus patiar detrimentum! Etsi salvos faciet Dominus servos suos, salvi erimus per fidem, sic tamen salvi quasi per ignem: et si non exurimur, tamen uremur. Quomodo tamen alii remaneant in igne, alii pertranseant, alio loco nos docet Scriptura divina. Nempe in mare rubrum demersus populus est Ægyptiorum, transivit autem populus Hebræorum: Moyses pertransivit, præcipitatus est Pharao; quoniam graviora eum peccata merserunt. Eo modo præcipitabuntur sacrilegi in lacum ignis ardentis, qui superba in Deum jactavere convicia. Sequamur ergo hic positi columnam ignis, &c.]—S. Ambros. [Enarratio] in Psal. xxxvi. 14. [§ 26. Op., tom. i. col. 790. A.]

[l] [Et sicut diaboli et omnium negatorum atque impiorum, qui dixerunt in corde suo, Non est Deus, credimus æterna tormenta: sic peccatorum atque impiorum et tamen Christianorum, quorum opera in igne probanda sunt atque purganda, moderatam arbitramur et mixtam clementiæ sententiam judicis.]—S. Hieronym. in Isaiæ Proph. cap. lxvi. in fine. [Op., tom. iii. col. 515.]

[m] [Si autem Origenes omnes rationabiles creaturas dicit non esse perdendas, et diabolo tribuit pœnitentiam, quid ad nos, qui et diabolum et satellites ejus omnesque impios et prævaricatores dicimus perire perpetuo: et Christianos, si in peccato præventi fuerint, salvandos esse post pœnas?]—S. Hieronym. Dialog. adversus Pelagianos, lib. i. (ultra medium.) [Op. tom. iv. par. 2. col. 502.]

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fire," but he relates as uncertainly to that in 1 Cor. iii. [15.] as S. Ambrose doth.[n] As for Paulinus, he speaks for prayer for the dead, but not a word of purgatory.[o] And the place in S. Gregory Nazianzen[p] is far from a manifest place; for he speaks there of "baptism by fire," which is no usual phrase to signify purgatory.[q] But yet, say that here he doth, there is a τυχὸν, a *fortassis*, a "peradventure" in the words, which Bellarmine cunningly leaves out. And if it be a "peradventure ye shall then be baptized with fire," why then it is at a "peradventure" too that ye shall not. Now such casual stuff as this—peradventure you shall, and peradventure you shall not—is no expression for things which are valued to be *de fide*, and to be believed as "matters of faith." Bellarmine goes on with Lactantius,[r] but with no better success. For he says, indeed, that some men *perstringentur igne*, "shall be sharply touched by fire;" but he speaks of such, *quorum peccata prævaluerint*, "whose sins have prevailed:" and they, in Bellarmine's doctrine, are for hell, not purgatory. As for S. Hilary,[s] he will not

[n] [Itaque si peccatum detexerimus... purgatorius ignis. ἐὰν οὖν γυμνώσωμεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν διὰ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως, ἐποιήσαμεν αὐτὴν ξηρὰν ἄγρωστιν, ἀξίαν τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθαρτικοῦ πυρὸς καταβρωθῆναι. Et paulo post: Non exitium comminatur &c. οὐκ ἀφανισμὸν ἀπειλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ὑποφαίνει, κατὰ τὸ παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ εἰρημένον, ὅτι εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον, κ.τ.λ.—Pseudo-]S. Basil. in Esaiam Proph. cap ix. [§ 230. Op., in App. ad tom. i. p. 553. E. et, § 231. ibid. p. 554. B.]

[o] [Ob hoc impense rogamus, ut quasi frater, quod nobis in Domino esse dignaris, unanimos fratres juvans, et hanc meritis fidei tuæ mercedem accumules, ut pro eo infirmitati nostræ compatiaris, et orandi labore conspires; ut misericors Deus... refrigeret animam ejus stillicidiis misericordiæ suæ per orationes vestras.]—S. Paulini, Epist. 1. [ad Amandum, id est, Epist. xxxvi. al. xx. § 2. Op., tom. i. p. 224. ed. Paris. 1685.]

[p] [In altero ævo igni &c. absumit. τυχὸν ἐκεῖ τῷ πυρὶ βαπτισθήσονται, τῷ τελευταίῳ βαπτίσματι, τῷ ἐπιπονωτέρῳ τε καὶ μακροτέρῳ, ὃ ἐσθίει ὡς χόρτον τὴν ὕλην, καὶ δαπανᾷ πάσης κακίας κουφότητα.] — S. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xxxix. [(in sancta lumina,) § 19.] in fine, [Op., tom. i. p. 690. D.]

[q] I think the first that ever used that phrase, "baptism by fire," was Origen. And he used it for martyrdom, as clearly appears by a passage of his in Euseb. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 4. ed. Græc.-Lat. Coloniæ Allobrog. 1612.[1] [The passage is: καὶ γυναικῶν δὲ Ἡραΐς ἔτι κατηχουμένη, τὸ βάπτισμα, ὥς που φησὶν αὐτὸς, τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα, τὸν βίον ἐξελήλυθεν·—Apud Eccles. Histor. Scriptor. ed. Reading. tom. i. p. 262.]

[r] [Sed et justos cum judicaverit, etiam in igni eos examinabit. Tum quorum peccata vel pondere, vel numero, prævaluerint, perstringentur igni atque amburentur.] — Lactant. [Divin. Institut.] lib. vii. cap. 21. [de Cruciatibus et Pœnis Animarum, Op., tom. i. p. 574. ed. Lebrun et Dufresnoy, Paris. 1748.]

[s] [An cum ex omni otioso verbo rationem simus præstituri, diem judicii concupiscemus, in quo nobis est ille indefessus ignis subeundus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia?]—S. Hilar. [Tract.] in Ps. cxviii. [Lit. iii.] vers. 20. [Op., col. 261. A.]

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[1] [This note was added in Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

come home neither. It is true he speaks of a fire too, and one that must be endured; but he tells us it is a punishment *expiandæ a peccatis animæ*, "to purge the soul from sins." Now this will not serve Bellarmine's turn. For they of Rome teach, That the sins are forgiven here, and that the temporal punishment only remains to be satisfied in purgatory: and what need is there then of purging of sins? Lest there should not be Fathers enough, he reckons in Boetius[t] too. But he, though not long before a convert, yet was so well seen in this point, that he goes no farther than *puto*, "I think" that, after death, some souls are exercised *purgatoria clementia*, "with a purgative clemency." But *puto*, "I think" it is so, is no expression for "matter of faith." The two pregnant authorities which seem to come home, are those of S. Gregory Nyssen and Theodoret. But for Theodoret, *in Scholiis Græcis*,[u] which is the place Bellarmine quotes, I can find no such thing; and manifest it is, Bellarmine[x] himself took it but upon trust. And for S. Gregory Nyssen,[y] it is true, some places in him seem plain; but then they are made so doubtful by other places in him, that I dare not say simply and roundly what his

[t] [P. Sed ne illud quidem, ait, quisquam negabit, bonum esse omne, quod justum est, contraque quod injustum est, malum liquet esse. B. Tum ego: Ista quidem consequentia sunt. Sed quæso, inquam, te, nullane animarum supplicia post defunctum morte corpus relinquis? P. Et magna quidem, inquit, quorum alia pœnali acerbitate, alia vero purgatoria clementia exerceri puto.]—Boetius, [de Consolatione Philosophiæ,] lib. iv. Prosa 4. [Op., p. 1079. ed. Basil. 1570.]

[u] [The passage quoted as from] Theodoret, in 1 Cor. iii., [by Bellarmine, (de Purgator. cap. x. &c. Op., tom. ii. col. 608. C.) is: Hunc ipsum ignem purgatorium credimus, in quo animæ defunctorum probantur, et repurgantur, sicut aurum in conflatorio. But nothing like it is extant in the place referred to: Op., tom. iii. p. 134. C. ed. Paris. 1642.]

[x] [Adducit etiam B. Thomas in opusculo primo contra Græcos, (sc. in fin. apud S. Thom. Opusc., fol. 9. I. ed. Morelles, Antv. 1612.) Theodoretum explicantem hunc locum, (sc. 1 Cor. iii. 15.) his verbis: Hunc credimus ignem purgatorium, quo purgantur animæ, ut aurum in conflatorio. Gagneius vero eandem sententiam ex Græcorum Scholiis Græcis verbis ita citat: *τοῦτο τὸ πῦρ πιστεύομεν καθαρτήριον, ἐν ᾧ καθαρίζονται αἱ ψυχαὶ, καθάπερ χρυσίον ἐν τῷ χωνευτηρίῳ.*]—Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. i. cap. 5. § antepenult. [Op., tom. ii. col. 591. B.]

[y] [Vel in præsenti vita precibus . . . felicitatem. *πρὸς τὴν πρώτην μακαριότητα . . . . ἤτοι κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν,*] *διὰ προσευχῆς τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐκκαθαρθεὶς, ἢ μετὰ τὴν* [*ἐνθένδε μετανάστασιν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ καθαρσίου πυρὸς χωνείας.*]—S. Gregor. Nyssen. Orat. de Mortuis, [Op.,] tom. ii. p. 1066. ed. Paris. 1615. [tom. iii. p. 634. D. ed. Paris. 1638.—Et infra: *ἐν τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι μετασχεῖν τῆς θειότητος, μὴ τοῦ καθαρσίου πυρὸς*] *τὸν ἐμμιχθέντα τῇ ψυχῇ ῥύπον* [*ἀποκαθήραντος.*]—[Ibid.] p. 1067. [p. 635. D.—Et infra: *τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν διὰ τῆς εἰς ὕστερον ἀγωγῆς*] *ἐν τῷ καθαρσίῳ πυρὶ ἀποβαλλόντων* [*τὴν πρὸς τὴν ὕλην προσπάθειαν·*]—Ibid. p. 1068. [p. 636. A.]

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judgment was. For he says, "Men must be purged from perturbations, and either by prayers and philosophy, or the study of wisdom, or by the furnace of purgatory-fire after this life." And again, "That a man cannot be partaker (*θειότητος*) of the Divine nature, unless the purging fire doth take away the stains that are in his soul." And again, "That after this life, a purgatory-fire takes away the blots and propensity to evil." And, I deny not, divers other like places are in him. But first, this is quite another thing from the Roman purgatory. For S. Gregory tells us here, that the purgatory he means, purges "perturbations," and "stains," and "blots," and "propensity to evil:" whereas the purgatory which Rome now teaches, purges not "sin, but is only satisfactory by way of punishment for sins already forgiven, but for which satisfaction was not made before their death."[z] Secondly, S. Gregory Nyssen himself seems not obscurely to relate to some other fire.[a] For he says expressly, "That the soul is to be punished, till the vitiosity of it be consumed *purgatorio igne*"—so the translation renders it; but in the original it is *τῷ ἀκοιμήτῳ πυρὶ*, that is, "in a fire that sleeps not," which, for aught appears, may be understood of a fire that is eternal: whereas the fire assigned to purgatory shall cease. Besides, S. Gregory says plainly, "the soul cannot suffer by fire but in the body; and the body cannot be with it till the resurrection." Therefore he must needs speak of a fire after the resurrection,[b]

[z] Item definimus, si vere pœnitentes in Dei caritate decesserint, antequam dignis pœnitentiæ fructibus de commissis satisfecerint et omissis, [eorum animas] pœnis purgatoriis post mortem purgari, [et ut a pœnis hujusmodi releventur, prodesse eis fidelium vivorum suffragia, missarum scilicet sacrificia, orationes et eleemosynas, et alia pietatis officia, quæ a fidelibus pro aliis fidelibus fieri consueverunt, ... illas etiam, quæ post contractam peccati maculam, vel in suis corporibus, vel eisdem exutæ corporibus, prout superius dictum est, sunt purgatæ, in cœlum mox recipi, et intueri etiam ipsum Deum trinum et unum, &c.]—Concil. Florentin. [in definit.] circa princip. per Binium, ed. Colon. 1618. [Concil. tom. xiii. col. 515. B.]

[a] [*καὶ ὥσπερ τὴν ἐμμιχθεῖσαν τῷ χρυσίῳ ὕλην οἱ διὰ πυρὸς ἐκκαθαροῦντες, οὐ μόνον τὸ νόθον τῷ πυρὶ τήκουσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσαν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τῷ κιβδήλῳ συγκατατήκεται, κἀκείνου δε δαπανωμένου τοῦτο μένει, οὕτω καὶ τῆς κακίας τῷ ἀκοιμήτῳ πυρὶ δαπανωμένης, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ τὴν ἐνωθεῖσαν αὐτῇ ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ πυρὶ εἶναι, ὡς ἂν τὸ κατεσπαρμένον νόθον καὶ ὑλωδες καὶ κίβδηλον ἀπαναλωθῇ τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ δαπανώμενον·*]—S. Gregor. Nyssen. de Anima et Resurrect. [Op.,] tom. ii. p. 658. [tom. iii. p. 226. C.]

[b] [*ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς ἀκούω λεγούσης, ὅτι τοῖς κατεγνωσμένοις ἐπιτεθήσονται δίκαιαι τιμωρίαι, πῦρ καὶ σκότος, καὶ σκώληξ· ἃ πάντα τῶν συνθέτων καὶ ὑλικῶν σωμάτων κολάσεις εἰσὶν· ψυχῆς δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὔποτ' ἂν ἅψαιτο πῦρ· κ. τ. λ.*] — S. Gregor. [Nyssen.] in Christi Resurrection. Orat. iii. [Op., tom. iii. p. 434. A.]

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which must be either the fire of the general conflagration, or hell: purgatory he cannot mean, where, according to the Romish tenet, the soul suffers without the body. The truth is, divers of the ancients,[1] especially Greeks, which were a little too much acquainted with Plato's school,[c] philosophized and disputed upon this and some other points with much obscurity, and as little certainty. So, upon the whole matter, in the fourth and fifth hundred year, you see here is none that constantly and perspicuously affirm it. And as for S. Augustine, he said,[d] and unsaid[e] it, and at the last, left it doubtful;[f] which, had it then been re-

[1] [ancient.. *male* Edit. 1639.]

[c] Non expedit philosophari altius, &c.—Orig. cont. Celsum, lib. vi. [The first twenty-one sections of the sixth book against Celsus are occupied by Origen in a discussion of the Platonic philosophy, together with a proof of its inferiority to Christian doctrine.]

[d] Constat animas purgari post hanc vitam.—S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 24. [§ 2. Op., tom. vii. col. 641. F. (not. [d].) This passage is thus cited by Bellarmine, de Purgatorio, lib. i. cap. 10. (Op., tom. ii. col. 607. D.,) from whom Laud seems to have taken it: Tales, (sc. adultos levioribus peccatis maculatos) constat ante judicii diem per pœnas temporales, quas eorum spiritus patiuntur, purgatos, (receptis corporibus) æterni ignis suppliciis non tradendos. It occurs in the edition of Erasmus, but is abandoned by the Benedictine editors, on the ground that minime reperitur in aliis libris, neque cum antecedentibus et subsequentibus verbis satis cohæret.]

[e] [Si igitur mortuo corpore] ad paradisum anima mox vocatur .... non initium mœroris mors ista, sed finis est:] nec incipiunt post hanc justorum flagella, sed desinunt.—[Pseudo-] S. Augustin. contra Felicianum [Arianum, de unitate Trinitatis,] cap. xv. [apud Op., S. Augustin. tom. viii. in Appen. col. 48. C. This work is adjudged to be spurious.]—Et duo tantum loca esse, [ait] S. Augustinus, [Serm. clxxxviii. olim] Serm. xix. de verbis Apostoli, [Tit. i.] cap. 3. [Op., tom. v. col. 850. B. The passage seems to be: Quibus autem (Deus) non est daturus regnum cœlorum, quid eis restat, nisi pœna gehennarum?]—Et, [S. Augustin.] de Civitate Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 16. in fin. negat, nisi sit ignis ille in consummatione sæculi. [His words are: Quisquis igitur cupit pœnas evadere sempiternas, non solum baptizetur, verum etiam justificetur in Christo, ac si vere transeat a diabolo ad Christum. Purgatorias autem pœnas nullas futuras opinetur, nisi ante illud ultimum tremendumque judicium. Nequaquam tamen negandum est, etiam ipsum æternum ignem pro diversitate meritorum, quamvis malorum, aliis leviorem, aliis futurum esse graviorem, sive ipsius vis atque ardor pro pœna digna cujusque varietur, sive ipse æqualiter ardeat, sed non æquali molestia sentiatur.—Op., tom. vii. col. 636. F.]

[f] [Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri, incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit,] quæri potest: [et aut inveniri, aut latere, nonnullos fideles per ignem quemdam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusque salvari; non tamen tales de quibus dictum est, quod Regnum Dei non possidebunt, nisi convenienter pœnitentibus eadem crimina remittantur.] — S. Augustin. in Enchiridion [de Fide, Spe, et Caritate,] cap. lxix. [Op., tom. vi. col. 222. F.]—[Post istius sane corporis mortem, donec ad illum veniatur, qui post resurrectionem corporum futurus est damnationis et remunerationis ultimus dies, si hoc temporis intervallo spiritus defunctorum ejusmodi ignem dicuntur perpeti, quem non sentiant illi qui non habuerunt tales mores et amores in hujus corporis vita, ut eorum ligna, fœnum, stipula consumantur; alii vero sentiant qui ejusmodi secum ædificia portaverunt, sive ibi tantum, sive et hic et ibi, sive ideo hic ut non ibi,

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ceived as a point of faith, he durst not have done. Indeed, then, in S. Gregory the Great's time, in the beginning of the sixth age, purgatory was grown to some perfection. For S. Gregory [g] himself is at *scio*—(it was but at *puto* a little before)—"I know that some shall be expiated in purgatory flames." And therefore I will easily give Bellarmine all that follow; for, after this time, purgatory was found too warm a business to be suffered to cool again; and in the after-ages more were frighted, than led by proof, into the belief of it.

XVII.—Now by this we see also, that it could not be a tradition; for then we might have traced it by the smoke to the Apostles' times. Indeed Bellarmine would have it such a tradition; for he tells us out of S. Augustine, "That that is rightly believed to be delivered by apostolical authority, which the whole Church holds, and hath ever held, and yet is not instituted by any council." [h] And he adds, "That Purgatory is such a tradition, so constantly held in the

sæcularia, quamvis a damnatione venialia concremantem ignem transitoriæ tribulationis inveniant, non redarguo, quia] forsitan verum est. [Potest quippe ad istam tribulationem pertinere etiam ipsa mors carnis, quæ de peccati primi perpetratione concepta est, ut secundum cujusque ædificium tempus quod eam sequitur ab unoquoque sentiatur.]—S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 26. [§ 4. Op., tom. vii. col. 649. A.]—Quid S. Paulus senserit 1 Cor. iii. de igne illo, malo intelligentiores, et doctiores audire.—S. Augustin. lib. de Fide et Operibus, cap. xvi. [§ 27. Op., tom. vi. col. 180. B. His words are: Hic a me fortasse quæratur, de ipsa Pauli Apostoli sententia quid ego sentiam, et quonam modo intelligendam putem. Fateor, hinc mallem audire intelligentiores atque doctiores, qui sic eam exponant, ut illa omnia vera et inconcussa permaneant, quæ supra commemoravi, et quæcunque alia non commemoravi, quibus apertissime Scriptura testatur, nihil prodesse fidem, nisi eam quam definivit Apostolus, id est, quæ per dilectionem operatur; sine operibus autem salvare non posse, neque præter ignem, neque per ignem: quia si per ignem salvat, ipsa utique salvat.]

[g] [Domine ne in furore, &c. Quasi dicat: Scio futurum esse, ut post hujus vitæ exitum alii flammis expientur purgatoriis, alii sententiam æternæ subeant damnationis. Sed quia illum transitorium ignem omni tribulatione præsenti æstimo intolerabiliorem, non solum in furore æternæ damnationis opto non argui, sed etiam in ira traseuntis timeo correptionis purgari.]—S. Gregor. [Magn.] in Psalm. iii. pœnitentialem, in princip. [§ 1. Op., tom. iii. par. 2. col. 481. E.]

[h] [Et si quisquam in hac re auctoritatem divinam quærat, quamquam] quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur, &c.—S. Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. iv. cap. 24. [Op., tom. ix. col. 140. C.]—Nec ad summos pontifices referri potest, addit Melch. Canus, de Locis [Theolog.] lib. iii. [de tradit. Apostol.] cap. 4. in princip. [His words are: Prima via ab Augustino aperitur cum aliis locis, tum lib. iv. contra Donatist. in hæc verba: Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, &c. (ut sup.) Est autem ratio hujus in promptu. Si enim consuetudinis cujusquam diu in tota ecclesia observatæ, originem et principium, nec ad summos pontifices, nec ad concilia Episcoporum referre possumus, sed ea consuetudo ad apostolorum usque tempora retro trahitur, conficitur plane illam ab apostolis esse profectam.—pp. 189, 190. ed. Lovan. 1569.]

whole Church, Greek and Latin;" and "that we do not find any beginning of this belief."[i] Where I shall take the boldness to observe these three things: First, That the doctrine of Purgatory was not held ever in the whole Catholic Church of Christ; and this appears by the proofs of Bellarmine himself produced,[k] and I have before examined;[l] for there it is manifest, that scarce two Fathers directly affirm the belief of Purgatory for full six hundred years after Christ. Therefore Purgatory is no matter of faith, nor to be believed as descending from "apostolical authority," by S. Augustine's rule. Secondly, That we can find a "beginning" of this doctrine, and a beginner too—namely, Origen: and neither Bellarmine nor any other is able to show any one Father of the Church that said it before him; therefore Purgatory is not to be believed as a doctrine delivered by "apostolical authority," by Bellarmine's own rule, for it hath a "beginning." Thirdly, I observe, too, that Bellarmine cannot well tell where to lay the foundation of Purgatory, that it may be safe: for, first, he labours to found it upon Scripture. To that end he brings no fewer than ten places out of the Old Testament, and nine out of the New,[m] to prove it; and yet, fearing lest these places be strained, as indeed they are, and so too weak to be laid under such a vast pile of building as Purgatory is, he flies to unwritten tradition;[n] and by this "word of God unwritten," he says, "it is manifest that the doctrine of Purgatory was delivered by the Apostles." Sure, if nineteen places of Scripture cannot prove it, I would be loth to fly to tradition; and if recourse to tradition be necessary, then certainly those places of Scripture made not the proof they were brought for. And, once more, How can Bellarmine say here, that we find not the "beginning" *hujus dogmatis*, "of this article," when he had said before, that he had found it in nineteen places of Scripture? For if in these places he

[i] Non invenimus initium hujus dogmatis, sed omnes veteres Græci et Latini, &c.—Bellarmin. de Purgat. lib. i. cap. 15. § 14. [vide supra, p. 385. note [b].]

[k] [Id.] de Purgat. lib. i. cap. 10. [vide supra, p. 385. note [e].]

[l] Sect. xxxviii. No. 16. [vide supra, p. 385.]

[m] Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. i. capp. 3, 4. [Op., tom. ii. col. 574—581.]

[n] De tertio modo perspicuum est, &c.—Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. i. cap. 15. § 10. et § 14. [Op., tom. ii. col. 625. B, C. ubi supra, p. 385.] note [b].

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could not find the beginning of the doctrine of Purgatory, he is false while he says he did; and if he did find it there, then he is false here in saying we find no beginning of it. And for all his brags of "*omnes veteres*,[o] 'all the ancient' Greek and Latin do constantly teach Purgatory;" yet Alphonsus a Castro deals honestly and plainly, and tells us, "That the mention of Purgatory in ancient writers is *fere nulla*, 'almost none at all,' especially in the Greeks."[p] And he adds, "That hereupon Purgatory is not believed by the Grecians to this very day." And what now, I pray, after all this, may I not so much as "deliberately doubt" of this, because it is now defined, and but now in a manner, and thus? No, sure. So A. C. tells you. Doubt? No. For when you had fooled the Archbishop of Spalato back to Rome, there you either made him say, or said it for him, —for in print it is, and under his name,—"That since it is now defined by the Church, a man is as much bound to believe there is a Purgatory, as that there is a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead."[q] How far comes this short of blasphemy, to make the Trinity and Purgatory things alike, and equally credible?

A. C. p. 71.

XVIII.—Yea, but A. C. will give you a reason why no man may "deliberately doubt," much less deny, anything that is defined by a General Council: and his reason is, "because every such doubt and denial is a breach from the one saving faith." This is a very good reason, if it be true. But how appears it to be true? How? Why, "it takes away," saith A. C. "infallible credit from the Church; and so, the Divine revelation being not sufficiently applied, it cannot, according

[o] Omnes veteres Græci et Latini, &c.—Bellarmin. de Purgat. lib. i. cap. 15. § 14. [ubi supra, p. 385. note [b].]

[p] De purgatorio in antiquis scriptoribus potissimum Græcis fere nulla mentio est. Qua de causa usque in hodiernum diem Purgatorium non est a Græcis creditum.—Alphon. a Castro, advers. Hæres. lib. viii. *verb.* Indulgentiæ, [ubi sup. p. 377. note [g].]

[q] Purgatorium nullum esse, ... [hi et similes errores, ac] manifestæ hæreses . . . [scopuli sunt miserabiles, &c.]—M. Anton. de Dominis, sui reditus ex Anglia consilium exponit, ed. Paris. 1623. p. 17.—Merita, Indulgentiæ, et reliqua, quæ superius ut in ecclesia definita, commemoravi, sunt omnes articuli fundamentales, quia non minus nituntur revelationi, quam priora de Trinitate. — Ibid. p. 32.—And so much A. C. himself says of all points in which, in the doctrine of the faith, Protestants differ from them.—In his "Relation of the first Conference," p. 28. [The passage to which Laud probably alludes is: "M. Fisher replied, saying, first, that if time permitted, he could prove all points of divine faith to be fundamental, supposing they were points generally held, or defined by full authority of the Church," p. 18.]

to the ordinary course of God's providence, breed infallible belief in us." Why, but "deliberately to doubt" and "constantly to deny," upon the grounds and in the manner aforesaid,[r] doth not take away "infallible credit" from the whole Church, but only from the definition of a General Council, some way or other misled; and that in things not absolutely necessary to all men's salvation, for of such things A. C. here speaks expressly.[s] Now, to take away "infallible credit" from some definitions of General Councils, in things not absolutely necessary to salvation, is no breach upon the "one saving faith" which is necessary, nor upon the credit of the Catholic Church of Christ in things absolutely necessary, for which only it had infallible assistance promised; so that no breach being made upon the faith, nor no credit, which ever it had, being taken from the Church, the Divine revelation may be, and is, as sufficiently applied as ever it was; and, in the ordinary course of God's providence, may breed as infallible belief in things necessary to salvation as ever it did.

SECTION XXXVIII.

A. C. p. 71.

XIX.—But A. C. will prove his reason before given, and therefore he asks us out of S. Paul, "'How shall men believe unless they hear? how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach' to wit, infallibly, 'unless they be sent,'—that is, from God, and infallibly assisted by His Spirit?" Here is that which I have twice, at least, spoken to already; namely, That A. C. by this will make every priest in the Church of Rome that hath learning enough to preach, and dissents not from that Church, an infallible preacher; which no Father of the Primitive Church did ever assume to himself, nor the Church give him. And yet the Fathers of the Primitive Church were sent, and from God; were assisted, and by God; and did sufficiently propose to men the divine revelation, and did by it beget and breed up faith, saving faith, in the souls of men; though no one among them since the Apostles was an infallible preacher.[t] And A. C. should

A. C. p. 71. Rom. x. 14, 15.

[r] Sect. xxxviii. No. 5. [vide supra, p. 366.]

[s] "Though everything defined to be a divine truth in General Councils is not absolutely necessary to be expressly known, and actually believed by all sorts," &c.—A. C. p. 71.

[t] [Et inde est, quod etiam auctoritatibus philosophorum sacra doctrina utitur, ubi per rationem naturalem veritatem cognoscere potuerunt .... Sed tamen sacra doctrina hujusmodi auctoritatibus utitur quasi extraneis argumentis et probabilibus. Auc-

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have done very well here to have made it manifest, that this Scripture, "'How shall they preach?' (to wit, infallibly,)" is so interpreted by "unanime consent of fathers, and defi-

A. C. p. 70.

nitions of Councils," as he bragged before, that they use to interpret Scripture; for I do not find "'How shall they preach?' (to wit, infallibly,)"[u] to be the comment of any one

toritatibus autem canonicæ scripturæ utitur proprie ex necessitate argumentando. Auctoritatibus autem aliorum doctorum ecclesiæ, quasi arguendo ex propriis, sed probabiliter. Innititur enim fides nostra revelationi Apostolis et prophetis factæ, qui canonicos libros scripserunt . . . . Unde dicit Augustinus in Epistola ad Hieronym.: Solis enim scripturarum libris, qui canonici appellantur, didici hunc (timorem) honorem(que) deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem in scribendo errasse aliquid firmissime credam.] Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quod ipsi ita senserunt, vel scripserunt. —S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] par. 1. Q[uæst.] i. A[rtic.] 8. [Respons.] ad 2. ex S. Augustin. Epist. [lxxxii. ad Hieronym.olim] xix. [apud Op., tom. ii. col. 190. F.]—Mihi non credas, nisi demonstrationem accipias ex sacris literis. [δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν· καὶ μὴ ἁπλῶς πιθανότησι καὶ λόγων κατασκευαῖς παραφέρεσθαι· μηδὲ ἐμοὶ τῷ ταῦτά σοι λέγοντι, ἁπλῶς πιστεύσῃς· ἐὰν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν καταγγελλομένων ἀπὸ τῶν θείων μὴ λάβῃς γραφῶν.] —S. Cyril. Hierosolym. Cateches. iv. [cap. 17. col. 60. A. ed. Benedict.]

[u] Verba hæc Apostoli non possunt intelligi de fide infusa, illa enim immediate a Deo creata est, et non ex auditu ut hæc. Apertissime colligitur ex [Gabr.] Biel. in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] 2. A[rtic.] 2. Conclus. 1. [I.]—Ergo fides acquisita necessaria est.—Ibid. [The whole passage runs thus:—Quantum ad secundum articulum est prima conclusio: Fides acquisita ad credendum fidei articulos est necessaria: probatur illa conclusio auctoritate apostoli ad Rom. x. Fides ex auditu est, &c. Et promisit: Quomodo credent ei, &c. . . . . non possunt intelligi de fide infusa quod non est ex auditu prædicationis; sed immediate creata a Deo.] —Sed præter [fidem] *acquisitam*, quod requiratur *fides infusa*, non solum propter intentionem actus, sed etiam propter assensum, et certitudinem, [patet,] quia [hoc] non potest esse a fide acquisita, scilicet firmus assensus: quia fide acquisita nullus credit alicui, nisi quem scit posse falli, et fallere, licet credat ipsum non velle fallere.—[Duns] Scotus in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxiii. Q[uæst.] unic. [Schol. 15. Op., tom. vii. p. 469.] Therefore, in the judgment of your own School, your preachers can both deceive and be deceived; and therefore certainly are not infallible. And M[elchior] Canus very expressly makes this but an introduction to infallible faith: Primum ergo id statuo, juxta communem legem aliqua exteriora et humana incitamenta necessaria esse, quibus ad evangelii fidem inducamur. Quomodo enim credent ei, quem non audierunt?—[Melch.] Canus, de Locis Theologicis, lib. iv. cap. 8. § 6. [p. 51.]—Et iterum: Si *fides infusa* ita *fidei acquisitæ* niteretur, tanquam suo fundamento; ipsum fundamentum fidei nostræ non esset *divina* sed *humana veritas*.—Ibid. § 8. [p. 54. His words are: Eorum hic errorem dissimulare non possum, qui asserunt, fidem nostram eo, tanquam in ultimam credendi causam, reducendam esse, ut credamus ecclesiam esse veracem: cui prius, inquiunt, assentimur per fidem acquisitam quam per infusam. Quod si verum esset, prima ratio formalis infusæ fidei, non esset veritas increata, sed creata. Quare fides nostra non inniteretur tanquam suo fundamento divinæ veritati, sed humanæ. Deinde cum assensus conclusionis non sit certior principiorum assensu . . . . si fides infusa fidei acquisitæ niteretur, tunc Deum esse trinum, cui assentimur per infusam fidem, non esset nobis, aut firmius, aut certius, quam ecclesiam esse veracem: cui juxta horum sensum assentimur per fidem acquisitam, et per humanarum causarum incitamenta.] Therefore surely A. C. abuses this place of the Apostle very boldly.

of the Fathers, or any other approved author: and let him show it if he can. SECTION XXXVIII.

XX.—After this—for I see the good man is troubled, and forward and backward he goes—he falls immediately upon this question: "If a whole General Council defining what is divine truth, be not believed to be sent and assisted by God's Spirit, and consequently of infallible credit, what man in the world can be said to be of infallible credit?" A. C. p. 71. Well, first, A. C. hath very ill luck in fitting his conclusion to his premises, and his consequent to his antecedent; and so it is here with him. For a General Council may be assisted by God's Spirit, and in a great measure too, and in a greater than any private man not inspired, and yet not "consequently be of infallible credit," for all assistance of God's Spirit reaches not up to infallibity. I hope the ancient Bishops and Fathers of the Primitive Church were assisted by God's Spirit, and in a plentiful measure, too; and yet A.C. himself will not say they were infallible. And, secondly, for the question itself: "If a General Council be not, what man in the world can be said to be, of infallible credit?" Truly, I will make you a ready answer: No man. Not the pope himself? No. "Let God and His word be true, and every man a liar;" for so, more or less, every man will be found to be: and this is neither damage to the Church, nor wrong to the person of any. Rom. iii. 4.

XXI.—But then A. C. asks a shrewder question than this: A. C. p. 71. "If such a Council, lawfully called, continued, and confirmed, may err in defining any one divine truth, how can we be infallibly certain of any other truth defined by it? For if it may err in one, why not in another, and another, and so in all?"[x] It is most true, if such a Council may err in one, it may in another, and another, and so in all of like nature. I say, in all of like nature: and A. C. may remember he expressed himself a little before, to speak of "the defining of such divine truths as are not absolutely necessary to be expressly known and actually believed of all sorts of men." A. C. p. 71. Now there is, there can be, no necessity of an "infallible certainty" in the whole Catholic Church, and much less in a General Council, of things "not absolutely necessary" in

[x] Sect. x. No. 15. [vide supra, p. 44.]

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themselves.[y] For Christ did not intend to leave an "infallible certainty" in His Church to satisfy either contentious, or curious, or presumptuous spirits; and therefore, in things not fundamental, not necessary, it is no matter if Councils err in one, and another, and a third, the "whole Church" having power and means enough to see that no Council err in necessary things: and this is certainty enough for the Church to have, or for Christians to expect; especially since the foundation is so strongly and so plainly laid down in Scripture and the Creed, that a modest man might justly wonder why any man should run to any later Council, at least for any "infallible certainty."

A. C. p. 72. XXII.—Yet A. C. hath more questions to ask; and his next is, "How we can, according to the ordinary course, be infallibly assured that it errs in one, and not in another, when it equally, by one and the same authority, defines both to be divine truth?" A. C., taking here upon him to defend M. Fisher the Jesuit, could not but see what I had formerly written concerning this difficult question about General Councils; and to all that, being large, he replied little or nothing. Now, when he thinks that may be forgotten, or as if it did not at all lie in his way, he here turns questionist, to disturb that business, and indeed the Church, as much as he can. But to this question also I answer again, If any General Council do now err, either it errs in things absolutely necessary to salvation, or in things not necessary. If it err in things necessary, we can be infallibly assured by the Scripture, the Creeds, the four first Councils, and the whole Church, where it errs in one and not in another. If it be *in non necessariis*, "in things not necessary," it is not requisite that we should have for them an infallible assurance. As for that which follows, it is notoriously both cunning and false. It is false, to suppose that a General Council defining two things for divine truths, and erring in one but not erring in another, doth define both equally "by one and the same authority:" and it is cunning, because these words, "by the same authority," are equivocal, and must be distinguished, that the truth, which A. C. would hide, may appear. Thus, then, suppose a General Council erring in

[y] Sect. xxv. No. 5. [vide supra, pp. 183, 184.]

one point, and not in another; it doth define both, and equally by the same delegated authority which that Council hath received from the Catholic Church. But it doth not define both, and much less equally, "by the same authority of the Scripture," which must be the Council's rule as well as private men's; no, nor by the same authority of the whole Catholic Church, who did not intentionally give them equal power to define truth, and error for truth. And I hope A. C. dares not say the Scripture (according to which all Councils that will uphold divine truth must determine) doth equally give either ground or power to define error and truth. SECTION XXXVIII.

XXIII.—To his former questions A. C. adds, "That if we leave this to be examined by any private man, this examination, not being infallible, had need to be examined by another, and this by another, without end, or ever coming to infallible certainty necessarily required in that one faith which is necessary to salvation, and to that peace and unity which ought to be in the Church." Will this inculcating the same thing never be left? I told the Jesuit before,[z] that I give no way to any private man to be judge of a General Council; and there also I showed the way how an erring Council might be rectified, and the peace of the Church either preserved or restored, without lifting any private spirit above a Council, and without this process *in infinitum*, which A. C. so much urges, and which is so much declined in all sciences.[a] For as the understanding of a man must always have somewhat to rest upon, so must his faith; but a "private man,"[b] first for his own satisfaction, and after for the Church's, if he have just cause, may consider of and examine, by the "judgment of discretion"[c] though not of A. C. p. 72.

[z] Sect. xxxii. No. 5; Sect. xxxiii. Consid. vii. No. 4. [vide supra, p. 250. et p. 285.]

[a] [κατὰ μὲν οὖν δόξαν συλλογιζομένοις καὶ μόνον διαλεκτικῶς, δῆλον, ὅτι τοῦτο μόνον σκεπτέον, εἰ ἐξ ὧν ἐνδέχεται ἐνδοξοτάτων γίνεται ὁ συλλογισμός . . . . ἆρ' οὖν τοῦτο ἀνάγκη στῆναι, ἢ ἐνδέχεται εἰς ἄπειρον ἰέναι;]—Aristot. [Analyt.] Post. lib. i. [cap. 19. § 4. et seqq. et cap. 20. Op., tom. i. p. 209. ed. Bekker.] —Et, [εἴτε γὰρ μὴ ἔστι τι παρὰ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα ἄπειρα, τῶν δ' ἀπείρων πῶς ἐνδέχεται λαβεῖν ἐπιστήμην;]—Aristot. Metaphys. lib. ii. [cap. 4. § 1. Op., tom. viii. p. 48. ed. Bekker.]

[b] Sect. xxxviii. No. 15. [vide supra, p. 384.]

[c] [Investigandum est, an ad papam, vel ad ecclesiam, seu concilium eam repræsentans, ultima eorum quæ sunt de fide decisio ac determinatio spectet.] Hic [enim] non loquimur de decisione, seu determinatione doctrinali, quæ ad unumquemque virum peritum spectare dignoscitur; sed de authoritativa et judiciali, &c.—Jac. Al-

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power, even the definitions of a General Council. But A. C. concludes well, "that an infallible certainty is necessary for that one faith which is necessary to salvation:" and of that, as I expressed before,[d] a most "infallible certainty" we have already in the Scripture, the Creeds, and the four first General Councils, to which, for things "necessary and fundamental in the faith," we need no assistance from other General Councils. And some of your own,[e] very honest and very learned, were of the same opinion with me. And for the "peace and unity of the Church in things absolutely necessary," we have the same infallible direction that we have for "faith:" but in "things not necessary," though they be divine truths also, if about them Christian men do differ, it is no more than they have done, more or less, in all ages of the Church; and they may differ, and yet preserve the "one necessary faith,"[f] and charity,[g] too, entire, if they be so well minded. I confess it were heartily to be wished, that in these things also men might be "all of one mind and one judgment," to which the Apostle exhorts. But this cannot be hoped for till the Church be triumphant over

1 Cor. i. 10. Phil. ii. 2.

main. libell. de Authoritate Ecclesiæ, &c. cap. x. in princip. [apud Opuscula Aurea Jac. Almain. fol. lvi. ed. Paris. 1517. Et apud Gersoni Op., tom. ii. col. 1001. ed. Dupin.]

[d] Sect. xxxviii. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 361.]

[e] Sunt [tamen] qui nescio qua ducti ratione, [contrarium] sentiant, [dicentes,] non esse opus Generali Concilio (de Constantiensi loquitur) dicentes, omnia bene a patribus nostris ordinata ac constituta, modo ab omnibus legitime ac fideliter servarentur. Fatemur equidem id ipsum esse verissimum. Attamen cum eorum [ferme] omnium servetur nihil, &c.—Pet. de Alliaco, [Card. Cameracensis,] libell. de Reformatione Ecclesiæ, [oblat. in Concil. Constant.] in fin. [These words are not those of the Cardinal himself, but are to be found in an editorial conclusion ad Lectorem, appended to an edition of the above tract, by the editor Orthuinus Gratius, apud Fasicul. Rerum Expetendarum, &c. fol. ccviii. *r*.—Cf. p. 147. note [z].] —So that after-Councils are rather to decree for observance, than to make any new determinations of the faith.

[f] Non omnis [autem] error, in his quæ fidei sunt, est [peccatum] infidelitatis vel hæresis.—Holkot. in I. Sentent. Q[uæst.] i. [Respons.] ad 4. K. [ubi sup. p. 371. note [n].]

[g] [Cæterum] scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter collegas pacis et concordiæ vinculo, quædam propria quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, &c.—S. Cyprian. [Epist. lxxii. ad Stephanum de Concilio,] olim lib. ii. Epist. i. [in fine. Op., p. 129.]—Concordia, quæ est caritatis effectus, est unio voluntatum, non [unio] opinionum.—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] xxxvii. A[rtic.] 1. in conclus.—Dissensio de minimis et de opinionibus, repugnat quidem paci perfectæ, in qua plene veritas cognoscetur, et omnis appetitus complebitur: non tamen repugnat paci imperfectæ, qualis habetur in via.—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] xxix. A[rtic.] 3. [Respons.] ad 2.

all human frailties, which here hang thick and close about her; the want both of "unity and peace" proceeding too often, even where religion is pretended, from men and their humours, rather than from things, and errors to be found in them. SECTION XXXVIII.

XXIV.—And so A. C. tells me, "That it is not, therefore," as I would persuade, "the fault of Councils' definitions, but the pride of such as will prefer, and not submit their private judgments, that lost, and continues the loss of, peace and unity of the Church, and the want of certainty in that one aforesaid soul-saving faith." Once again I am bold to tell A. C. that there is no want of certainty, most infallible certainty, of "that one soul-saving faith." And if for other opinions, which flutter about it, there be a difference, a dangerous difference, as at this day there is, yet necessary it is not that therefore, or for prevention thereof, there should be such a "certainty," an "infallible certainty," in these things. For he understood himself well, that said *Oportet esse hæreses;* "There must, there will be heresies." And wheresoever that necessity lies, it is, out of doubt, enough to prove that Christ never left such an infallible assurance as is able to prevent them, or such a mastering power in His Church as is able to overawe them; but they come with their *oportet* about them, and they rise and spring in all ages very strangely. But, in particular, for that which first caused, and now continues the loss of, unity in the Church of Christ, as I make no doubt but that the pride of men is one cause, so yet can I not think that pride is the adequate and sole cause thereof. But in part pride caused it, and pride on all sides: pride in some that would not at first, nor will not since, submit their private judgments, where with good conscience they may and ought; and pride in others, that would not first, nor will not yet, mend manifest, great, and dangerous errors, which with all good conscience they ought to do. But it is not pride, not to submit to known and gross errors; and the definitions of some Councils—perhaps the Lateran, Constance, and Trent,—have been greater and more urgent causes of breach of unity than the pride of men hath been, which yet I shall never excuse, wherever it is.

A. C. p. 72.

1 Cor. xi. 19.

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XXV.—How far this "one soul-saving faith" extends, A. C. tells me I have confessed it "not a work for my pen;" "but," he says, "it is to be learned from that one, holy, A. C. p. 72. Catholic, Apostolic, always visible, and infallible Roman Church, of which the Lady, once doubting, is now fully satisfied," &c. Indeed, though A. C. sets this down with some scorn, which I can easily pass over, it is true that thus I said: "There is a latitude in faith, especially in reference to different men's salvation; but to set a bound to this, and strictly to define it—Just thus far you must believe in every particular, or incur damnation—is no work for my pen." [h] Thus I said, and thus I say still; for though the foundation be one and the same in all, yet a "latitude" there is, and a large one too, when you come to consider, not the foundation common to all, but things necessary to many particular men's salvation.[i] For "to whomsoever God hath given more, of him shall more be required," as well in belief as in obedience and performance.[k] And the gifts of God, both ordinary and extraordinary, to particular men are so various, as that for my part I hold it impossible for the ablest pen that is to express it. And in this respect I said it with humility and reason, That to set these bounds was no work for my pen.[l] Nor will I ever take upon me to express that tenet or opinion, the denial of the foundation only excepted, which may shut any Christian, the meanest, out of heaven. And, A. C., I believe you know very well to what a narrow scantling some learned of your own side bring the very foundation itself, rather than they will lose any that lay hold

Luke xii. 48.

[h] Sect. xxxviii. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 361.]

[i] Sect. xxxviii. No. 8. [vide supra, p. 370.]

[k] Unicuique secundum proportionem suam, secundum differentiam scientiæ et ignorantiæ, &c.—Et postea: Extenditur doctrina hæc, non solum ad donum scientiæ, [sed ad quodcunque donum.]—Cajetan. in S. Luc. cap. xii. [48. a Thom. de Vio, Card. Caietan. Comment. &c. tom. iv. pp. 231, 232.]—Ecce quod scientia aggravat culpam. Unde Gregorius: [Ubi donum majoris scientiæ, ibi transgressor majori subjacet culpæ.]—[Nicolai] Gorrani, [Ordin. Dominic.] in S. Luc. cap. xii. [48. In IV. Evangel. Comment. p. 673. col. 2. ed. Antverp. 1617.] Therefore many things may be necessary for a knowing man's salvation, which are not so for a poor ignorant soul. Si quis de antecessoribus nostris vel ignoranter, vel simpliciter non hoc observavit, et tenuit, quod nos Dominus facere exemplo et magisterio suo docuit, potest simplicitati ejus de indulgentia Domini venia concedi. Nobis vero non poterit ignosci, qui nunc a Domino admoniti et instructi sumus, &c.—S. Cyprian. [Epist. lxii. ad Cæcilium, olim] lib. ii. Epist. 3. [Op., p. 109.]

[l] Sect. xxxviii. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 361.]

on Christ, the Son of God, and Redeemer of the world.[m] And as Christ epitomizes the whole law of obedience into these two great commandments—the love of God and our neighbour; so the Apostle epitomizes the whole law of belief into these two great assents: "That God is; and that He is a rewarder of them that seek Him;"—that seek Him in Christ. And S. Peter was full of the Holy Ghost when he expressed it, that "there is no salvation to them that seek it in or by another name." SECTION XXXVIII. Matt. xxii. 37. Heb. xi. 6. Acts iv. 12.

XXVI. But since this is no work for my pen, it seems A. C. will not say it is a work for his.[n] But he tells us, "It is to be learned of the one, holy, Catholic, Apostolic, always visible and infallible, Roman Church." Titles enough given to the Roman Church; and I wish she deserved them all, for then we should have peace. But it is far otherwise. "One" she is as a particular Church, but not "the one." "Holy" she would be counted; but the world may see, if it will not blind itself, of what value holiness is in that court and country. "Catholic" she is not, in any sense of the word, for she is not the universal,[o] and so not catholic in extent. Nor is she sound in doctrine, and in things which come near upon the foundation too; so not catholic in belief.[p] A. C. p. 72.

[m] [RESPONDEO dicendum, quod ita se habent in doctrina fidei,] articuli fidei, sicut principia per se nota [in doctrina, quæ per rationem naturalem habetur: in quibus principiis ordo quidam invenitur, ut quædam in aliis implicite contineantur: sicut omnia principia reducuntur ad hoc sicut ad primum, impossibile est simul affirmare et negare . . .] Et similiter omnes articuli implicite continentur in aliquibus primis credibilibus, [scilicet ut credatur Deus esse et providentiam habere circa hominum salutem:] secundum illud ad Hebr. xi. [Accedentem ad Deum &c. In esse enim Divino includuntur omnia, quæ credimus in Deo æternaliter existere, &c.]—S. Thom. [Aquin. Summ.] Secund. Secund. Q[uæst.] 1. A[rtic.] 7. in Conclus.—In absoluto nobis ac facili est æternitas: Jesum et suscitatum a mortuis per Deum credere, et ipsum esse Dominum confiteri. [Nemo itaque ea, quæ ob ignorationem nostram dicta sunt, ad occasionem irreligiositatis usurpet.]—S. Hilar. de Trinitate, lib. x. [§ 70.] in fin. [Op., col. 1080. E.]

[n] And yet before in this Conference, et apud A. C. p. 42, the Jesuit, whom he defends, hath said it expressly, "That all those points [1] are fundamental which are necessary to salvation."

[o] Romana ecclesia particularis.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 4. § 1. [in tit. Op., tom. i. col. 811. D.]—Catholica autem est illa quæ diffusa est per universum orbem. [*καθολικὴ μὲν οὖν καλεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο, κατὰ πᾶσης εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἕως περάτων.*]—S. Cyril. Hierosolym. Cateches. xviii. [cap. 23. Op., p. 296. A.]

[p] Catholica enim dicitur Ecclesia illa quæ universaliter docet sine ullo defectu, vel differentia dogmatum. [*καθολικὴ μὲν οὖν καλεῖται . . . καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλειπῶς ἅπαντα τὰ εἰς γνῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν ὀφείλοντα δόγματα, περὶ τε ὁρατῶν, κ.τ.λ.*]—S. Cyril. Hierosolym. Cateches. xviii. [cap. 23. Op., p. 296. B.]—Unde Augustinus subscripsit

[1] [points . . . *carent* Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

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Nor is she the "prime mother Church" of Christianity; Jerusalem was that,[q] and so not catholic as a fountain or original, or as the head or root of the Catholic.

XXVII. — And because many Romanists object here, though A. C. doth it not, that S. Cyprian called the Roman Church, "the root and matrix of the Catholic Church of Christ,"[r] I hope I shall have leave to explain that difficult place also. First, then, S. Cyprian names not Rome. That stands only in the margin, and was placed there as his particular judgment led "him that set out S. Cyprian."[s] Secondly, the true story of that epistle, and that which led S. Cyprian into this expression, was this: Cornelius, then chosen pope, expostulates with S. Cyprian, that his letters to Rome were directed only to the clergy there, and not to him; and takes it ill, as if S. Cyprian had thereby

se Episcopum ecclesiæ catholicæ Hipponeregiensis. — De Actis cum Felice Manichæo, lib. i. cap. 20. [Op., tom. viii. col. 486. C.] — Et, [ibid.] lib. ii. cap. 1. [col. 485. D.]—Et, Catholica Alexandrinorum. [Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς, τῇ καθολικῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ· χαίρετε, κ. τ. λ.] — Socratis Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. 9. [apud Eccles. Histor. Scriptor. ed. Reading. tom. ii. p. 30.]—Et, [. . . τῷ λαῷ τῆς καθολικῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας.— Ibid.] lib. ii. cap. 3. [p. 81.] And so every particular Church is or may be called Catholic, and that truly, so long as it teaches Catholic doctrine. In which sense the particular Roman Church was called Catholic, so long as it taught all and only those things to be *de fide*, which the CatholicChurch itself maintained. But now Rome doth not so.

[q] [Vide] supra, Sect. xxxv. No. 9. [p. 346.] OtherChurches beside the Roman are called *matres* and *originales Ecclesiæ*, as in Tertullian. de præscript. Hæreticorum, cap. xxi. [Op., p. 209. A. The passage is: Quid autem prædicaverint, id est, quid illis Christus revelaverit, et hic præscribam non aliter probari debere, nisi per easdem ecclesias, quas ipsi Apostoli condiderunt, ipsi eis prædicando, tam viva, quod aiunt, voce, quam per epistolas postea. Si hæc ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandam, &c.]—Et, Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ, quæ aliarum omnium mater, &c. τῆς δέ γε μητρὸς [ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, κ. τ. λ.]— Theodoret. Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. v. cap. 9. ex libello Synodico a Concil. Constantinop. II. transmisso ad Concilium sub Damaso tum Romæ coactum, [apud Eccles. Histor. Scriptor. ed. Reading. tom. iii. p. 207.]—Et, *Constantinopolitana* Ecclesia dicitur omnium aliarum caput.—Cod. [Justinian.] lib. i. tit. 2. [de sacrosanctis Ecclesiis,] leg. 24. [ἡ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησία πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ κεφαλή.]—That is, not simply of all Churches, but of all in that patriarchate. And so Rome is the head of all in the Roman patriarchate.

[r] [Nos enim singulis navigantibus, ne cum scandalo ullo navigarent, rationem reddentes, scimus nos hortatos eos esse] ut ecclesiæ Catholicæ radicem et matricem agnoscerent ac tenerent.—S. Cyprian. [Epist. xlv. ad Cornelium, olim] lib. iv. Epist. 8. [Op., p. 59.]

[s] Ed. Basil. 1530 And Simancas also applies this speech of S. Cyprian to Rome: [Cyprianus quoque . . . . lib. iv. fatetur, Ecclesiam Romanam esse matricem et radicem ecclesiæ Catholicæ. — De Catholic. Institut.] Tit. xxiv. § 17. [p. 171.] — And so also Pamelius upon this place of S. Cyprian. [Romanam Ecclesiam haud dubie intelligit, quam digno elogio ecclesiæ catholicæ radicem et matricem dicit, &c.—Annot. Pamelii in loc. Op., p. 86. ed. Paris. 1616.] But they wrong him.

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seemed to disapprove his election. S. Cyprian replies, That by reason of the schism moved then by Novatian, it was uncertain, in Africa, which of the two had the more "canonical right to the see of Rome;" and that therefore he named him not; but yet, that during this uncertainty, he exhorted all that sailed thither, *ut Ecclesiæ Catholicæ radicem et matricem agnoscerent et tenerent,* "that in all their carriage they should acknowledge, and so hold themselves unto, the unity of the Catholic Church, which is the root and matrix of it," and the only way to avoid participation in the schism. And that this must be S. Cyprian's meaning, I shall thus prove: First, Because this could not be his meaning or intention, "That the see of Rome was the root or matrix of the Catholic Church:" for if he had told them so, he had left them in as great or greater difficulty than he found them. For there was then an open and an apparent schism in the Church of Rome; two bishops, Cornelius and Novatian; two congregations, which respectively attended and observed them. So that a perplexed question must needs have divided their thoughts, Which of these two had been that root and matrix of the Catholic Church. Therefore, had S. Cyprian meant to pronounce Rome the root and matrix of the Catholic Church, he would never have done it at such a time, when Rome itself was in schism. Whereas, in the other sense, the counsel is good and plain; namely, That they should hold themselves to the "unity and communion of the Catholic Church," which is the root of it. And then necessarily they were to suspend their communion there, till they saw how the Catholic Church did incline, to approve or disapprove the election of the one or the other. And thus S. Cyprian frees himself to Cornelius from the very least touch of schism. Secondly, Because this sense comes home to Baronius.[t] For he

[t] [Inter hæc autem accidit, ut audita Carthagine electione Cornelii, ebortoque in eum schismate, quod ea de re anceps esset multorum sententia, et a cujus partibus starent, mutarent permulti: ad dimovendam omnem a trepidantium animis dubitationem, visum est Cypriano, atque collegis ejus nonnullis in unum coeuntibus, episcopos duos legatos Romam mittere, qui dissidentes conciliarent, si possent: si non possent, cujusnam essent potiora jura, in Africam scriberent; ut communicationem, quam interea suspenderant, cuinam impertituri forent, cunctis liquido innotesceret. Hæc itaque de missa legatione, idem Cyprianus ad Cornelium scribens, testatur his verbis: (Epist. xlv.) Cum statuissemus, &c.]—Baron. Annal. ccliv. No. 61. where he cites this epistle.

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affirms, That S. Cyprian and his colleagues, the African bishops, did *communionem suspendere*, "suspend their communion," until they heard, by Caldonius and Fortunatus, whose the undoubted right was. So, it seems, S. Cyprian gave that counsel to these travellers, which himself followed. For if Rome, during the schism, and in so great uncertainty, had yet been *radix Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, "root of the Catholic Church of Christ," I would fain know how S. Cyprian, so great and famous an asserter of the Church's unity, durst once so much as think of "suspending communion with her." Thirdly, Because this sense will be plain also by other passages out of other epistles of S. Cyprian. For, writing to Jubaianus, an African bishop, against the Novatians, who then infested those parts, and durst rebaptize Catholic Christians,—he saith thus: "But we who hold the head and root of one Church, do know for certain, and believe, that nothing of this is lawful out of the Catholic Church; and that of baptism, which is but one, we are the head, where he himself was at first baptized, when he held the ground and verity of Divine Unity."[u] Now, I conceive it is all one, or at least as argumentative to all purposes, to be *caput* or *radix baptismatis*, "head" or "root of baptism," as head or root of the Church. For there is but one baptism, as well as but one Church, and that is the entrance into this. And S. Cyprian affirms, and includes himself, *nos esse caput*, "that we are the head of baptism." Where yet, I pray observe it, he cannot by *nos*, "we," mean his own person, though, if he did, he were the more opposite to Rome; much less can he mean the Roman Church, as it is a particular, and stands separate from others. For then how could he say, *nos esse caput*, "that we are the head?" Therefore he must needs mean the unity and society of the

[u] Nos autem, qui ecclesiæ unius caput et radicem tenemus, pro certo scimus, et fidimus, nihil [illic] extra Ecclesiam licere, et baptismatis, quod est unum, caput nos esse, ubi et ipse baptizatus prius fuerat, quando divinæ unitatis, et rationem et veritatem tenebat.—S. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaianum, [p. 182. col. 2.] ed Pamelii, [Paris. 1616. In the Benedictine edition, (p. 130.) this passage is: Nos autem . . . . nihil illi extra ecclesiam licere, et baptisma, quod est unum, apud nos esse, ubi, &c.—Pamelius observes that the passage is obscure. S. Augustine in one place, contra Cresconium, lib. ii. cap. 33. (Op, tom. ix. p. 431. A.), seems to doubt the authenticity of the epistle; but in other places he admits that it is S. Cyprian's. Cf. the note by the Benedictine editor, p. 499.]

Church Catholic, which the Novatians had then left, and whereof he and his Church were still members. Besides, most manifest it is, that he calls that Church *caput baptismatis,* "the head of baptism," where Novatian was baptized; (they are his own words;) and probable it is that was Rome, because that schismatic was a Roman priest. And yet for all this S. Cyprian says, *nos esse caput baptismatis,* "that we are the head of baptism," though he were at Carthage. By which it is plain, that as *caput* is parallel to *radix* and *matrix;* so also that by *caput,* "the head" of baptism, he includes together with Rome all the other members of the Church universal. Again, S. Cyprian writes to Cornelius, and censures the schismatical carriage of the Novatians at Rome; and tells him farther, that he had sent Caldonius and Fortunatus "to labour peace in that Church, that so they might be reduced to and composed in the unity of the Catholic Church. But, because the obstinate and inflexible pertinacy of the other party had not only refused *radicis et matris sinum,* 'the bosom of their mother and embracings of their root,' but the schism increasing and growing raw to the worse, hath set up a bishop to itself," &c.[x] Where it is observable, and I think plain, that S. Cyprian employed his legates, not to bring the Catholic Church to the communion of Rome, but Rome to the Catholic Church; or to bring the Novatians not only to communicate with Cornelius, but with the Church universal; which was therefore "head and root," in S. Cyprian's judgment, even to Rome itself, as well as to all other great, ancient, or even Apostolical, Churches. And this is yet more plain by the sequel. For when those his legates had laboured to bring those schismatics to the unity of the Catholic Church, yet he complains their labour was lost. And why? Why, because

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[x] [Miseramus nuper collegas nostros Caldonium et Fortunatum ut non tantum persuasione literarum nostrarum, sed præsentia sua et consilio omnium vestrum eniterentur quantum possent et] elaborarent, ut ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem scissi corporis membra componerent, et Christianæ caritatis vinculo copularent. Sed quoniam diversæ partis obstinata et inflexibilis pertinacia non tantum radicis et matris sinum atque complexum recusavit, sed etiam gliscente et in pejus recrudescente discordia, episcopum sibi constituit, [et contra sacramentum semel traditum divinæ dispositionis et catholicæ unitatis adulterum et contrarium caput extra ecclesiam fecit, acceptis literis tam tuis, quam collegarum, &c.] —S. Cyprian. [Epist. xlii. ad Cornelium, olim] lib. ii. Epist. 10. [Op., p. 56.]

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recusabant radicis et matris sinum, "they refused the bosom of the root and the mother." Therefore it must needs be, that, in S. Cyprian's sense, these two, *unitas Catholicæ Ecclesiæ,* "the unity of the Catholic Church," and *radicis* or *matricis sinus* or *complexus,* the "bosom" or "embracing of the root" or the "mother," are all one. And then *radix* and *matrix* are not words by which he expresses the Roman see in particular, but he denotes by them the "unity of the Church Catholic." Fourthly, Because Tertullian [y] seems to me to agree in the same sense: for, saith he, "these so many and great Churches founded by the Apostles," taken all of them together, "are that one Church from the Apostles, out of which are all. So all are first, and all apostolic, while they all allow and prove *unam unitatem,* 'one unity.'" Nor can any possibly understand this of any particular Church, but subordinately. As S. Gregory Nazianzen says, the Church of Cæsarea was *mater,* "the mother, of almost all Churches;" [z] which must needs be understood of some neighbouring churches, not of the whole Catholic Church. And where Pamelius speaks [a] of "original" and "mother" Churches, he names six, "and others," and Rome in the last place. Therefore certainly no particular Church

[y] [Itaque] tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ, una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, et omnes Apostolicæ, dum unam omnes probant unitatem. — Tertullian. de præscript. advers. Hær. cap. xx. [The last clause in this passage is in Rigalt's edition: Sic omnes prima, et Apostolicæ, dum una omnes probant unitatem.—Op., p. 209. A.]—[. . . Apostolos primum institutis per Judæam ecclesiis, in orbem deinde profectos, apud unamquamque civitatem ecclesias condidisse, quæ vocatæ sint Apostolicæ, a quibus cæteræ mutuo sumpserint doctrinam.] Porro unam esse primam Apostolicam, a qua reliquæ. *Hanc* nulli loco affigit.—B[eatus] Rhenanus, Annotat. in Argument. [præfix.] Tertullian. lib. de præscriptione [Hæret. Op., p. 67. D. ed. De la Barre, Paris 1582.] *Nulli loco;* therefore not at Rome. But these words, "Hanc nulli loco affigit," *deleantur,* says the Spanish inquisition upon Rhenanus, printed at Madrid, an. 1584. [Repeated also in the Index Expurgatorius of Madrid, ed. 1667. p. 94. col. 1.]

[z] S. Gregory Nazianzen says the Church of Cæsarea was mater prope omnium Ecclesiarum. — [S. Gregor. Nazianzen.] Epist. xviii. [nunc xli. *al.* xxii ad Cæsarienses. Op., tom. ii. p. 36. A. πάσης μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίας φροντιστέον, ὡς Χριστοῦ σώματος, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας, ἣ μητὴρ σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἥν τε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ νῦν ἐστι, καὶ νομίζεται, καὶ πρὸς ἣν τὸ κοινὸν βλέπει, ὡς κέντρῳ κύκλος περιγραφόμενος, κ. τ. λ.]

[a] [Quod huc autem solum pertineat, *Ecclesiæ matrices fidei* vocantur, unde fides Christi primum venit ad nos: et *originales fidei,* a quibus diffusa per orbem fides originem sumpsit. Exemplaria veræ fidei scilicet, ut fuit Hierosolymitana, Antiochena, Corinthia, Philippensis, Ephesina, Romana, et aliæ.]—Pamel. [Annotat.] in Tertullian. lib. de præscript. adversus Hæreticos, cap. xxi. No. 129. [apud Op., Tertullian. p. 254. col. 1. C. ed. Colon. 1617.]

can be the root or matrix of the Catholic; but she is rooted in her own unity, down from the Apostles, and no where else *extra Deum*. And this is farther manifest by the irreligious act of the Emperor Adrian; for he, intending to root out the faith of Christ, took this course: he consecrated *simulacrum Jovis*, "the image of Jupiter," in the very place where Christ suffered; and profaned Bethlehem with the temple of Adonis—"to this end, that the root, as it were, and the foundation of the Church might be taken away, if in those places idols might be worshipped in which Christ Himself was born, and suffered,"[b] &c. By which it is most evident, that either Jerusalem was the root of the Catholic Church, if any particular Church were so; or rather, that Adrian was deceived, as being an heathen he well might, in that he thought the Universal Church had any particular or local root of its being; or that he could destroy it all, by laying it waste in any one place whatsoever. And S. Augustine, I think, is full for this, That the Catholic Church must have a Catholic "root," or "matrix," too. For he tells us, "That all heresies whatsoever went out *de illa*, 'out of the Catholic Church.'"[c] For *de illa*, there, can be out of no other; for "all heresies" did not go out of any one particular Church. He goes on: "They were cut off *de vite*, 'from this Catholic vine' still, as unprofitable branches; *ipsa autem*, 'but this' Catholic Church remains *in radice sua*, 'in its own root,' in its own vine, in its own charity," which must needs be as ample and as catholic as itself; or else, were it any particular, "all heretical branches" could not be cut off from one "root." And S. Augustine says again, "That the Donatists did not consider that they were cut off from the root of the Eastern Churches:"[d] where you see again it is still but

[b] [Nam Hadrianus Imperator existimans se fidem Christianam loci injuria peremturum, in loco passionis simulacrum Jovis consecravit: et Bethlehem Adonidis fano profanata est:] ut quasi radix et fundamentum Ecclesiæ tolleretur, si in iis locis idola colerentur, in quibus Christus natus est [ut pateretur, passus est ut resurgeret, surrexit ut regnaret, judicatus ut judicaret.] — S. Paulinus, Epist. (xi. ad Severum,) [xxxi. § 3. Op., tom. i. p. 194.]

[c] Hæreses omnes de illa exierunt, tanquam sarmenta inutilia de vite præcisa: ipsa autem manet in radice sua, [in vite sua, in caritate sua.]— S. Augustin. de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, lib. i. cap. 6. [Op., tom. vi. col. 554. E.]

[d] Pars [autem] Donati [in solis Africis calumniatur orbi terrarum, et] non considerat [ea sterilitate, qua fructus pacis et caritatis noluit afferre,] ab illa radice orientalium ecclesiarum se esse præcisam, [unde

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"one root" of many Churches; and that if any man will have a "particular root" of the Catholic Church, he must have it in the East, not in the West at Rome. And now, lastly, besides this out of S. Cyprian, to prove his own meaning—and sure he is the best interpreter of himself,—and other assisting proofs, it is most evident that in the prime and principal sense, the Catholic Church and her unity is the "head, root, or matrix" of Rome, and all other particular Churches, and not Rome, or any other particular, the head, root, or matrix of it. For there is a double root of the Church, as there is of all things else: that is, *radix essentiæ*, the "root, head, or matrix of its essence;" and this is the prime sense; for essence and being is first in all things: and then there is *radix existentiæ*, "the root of its existence" and formal being; which always presupposes being, and is therefore a sense less principal. Now to apply this. The Catholic or Universal Church is, and must needs be, the root of essence and being to Rome, and all other particulars; and this is the principal root, head, or matrix, that gives being: and Rome, but with all other particular Churches, and no more than other patriarchal Churches, was and is *radix existentiæ*, the "root of the Church's existence." And this agrees with that known and received rule in art, "That universals give essence to their particulars, and particulars supply their universals with existence." For as Socrates, and every particular man, borrow their essence from the species and definition of a man, which is universal; but this universal nature and being of man hath no actual existence but in Socrates and all other particular men; so the Church of Rome, and every other particular Church in the world, receive their very essence and being of a church from the definition of the Catholic Universal Church of Christ; but this universal nature and being of the Church hath no actual existence but in Rome and all other particular Churches, and equal existence in all her particulars. And should all the particular Churches in the world fall away from Christ, save only one,—which God forbid!—yet the nature, essence, and being of the Universal Church

evangelium in Africam venit.] — S. Augustin. Epist. [lii. ad Severinum, olim] clxx. § 2. [Op., tom. ii. col. 119. B.]

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would both exist and subsist in that one particular. Out of all which to me most clear it is, That for the Church's being, the Catholic Church, and that in unity, (for *ens* and *unum*, "being," and "being one," are convertible,) is *radix*, the "root, head, matrix, fountain, or original," call it what you will, of Rome, and all other particular Churches; but Rome is[1] no more than other Churches the root or matrix of the Catholic Church's existence, or place of her actual residence: and this I say for her existence only, not the purity or form of her existence, which is not here considered. But if the Catholic she be not, nor the "root" of the Catholic Church, yet "Apostolic" I hope she is. Indeed, Apostolic she is, as being the see of one, and he a prime, Apostle;[e] but then not Apostolic, as the Church is called in the Creed, from all the Apostles—no, nor the "only Apostolic."[f] "Visible,"

[1] [is .... added in Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

[e] Not as Bellarmine would have it, with a Hinc dicitur Apostolica, quia in ea successio episcoporum ab apostolis deducta est usque ad nos.—Bellarmin. de Notis Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 8. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 178. D.] For, by this reason, neither Jerusalem nor Antioch were in their times Apostolic Churches; because succession of bishops hath not succeeded in them to this day. [Neque enim de presbyteris, aut diaconis, aut inferioris ordinis clericis, sed] de collegis agebatur, qui possent [aliorum collegarum] judicio, [præsertim] *apostolicarum ecclesiarum*, causam suam integram reservare.—S. Augustin. Epist. [xliii. ad Glorium et Eleusium, olim] clxii. [§ 7. Op., tom. ii. col. 91. F.]—Johann. de Turrecremata enumerat sex verbi hujus significationes. Quarum prima est *apostolica*; dicitur quia in apostolis, &c. initiata est. Hos enim instituit quasi fundamentum ecclesiæ, &c.—Johann. de Turrecremat. Summ. de Eccles. lib. i. cap. 18.—Et quia originem sumpsit ab apostolis, &c.—ibid.—Ubi dicit etiam S. Patres apposuisse hanc vocem (*apostolicam*) in symbolo suo, supra symbolum apostolorum.—ibid. [The whole passage is: Apposuerunt autem sancti patres in symbolo suo supra symbolum apostolorum, quod ecclesia esset apostolica: et hoc profecto, ut dicit Albertus Magnus, ad ostensionem auctoritatis et antiquitatis ecclesiæ ..... Dicitur autem ecclesia apostolica ratione multiplici. Tum primo: quia in apostolis, qui fuerunt primi qui adhæserunt Christo ... ecclesia initiata est: et sui esse secundum tempus gratiæ revelata suscepit originem ... Primum apostolos elegit, quos quasi fundamenta ecclesiæ instituit, quorum prædicatione de eadem plebe multi ad eum conversi in se ipsis originem ecclesiæ præstiterunt.]

[f] [Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo] Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ [census suos deferunt: sic]ut Smyrnæorum [ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: sicut Romanorum, Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem: proinde utique et [cæteræ exhibent quos ab Apostolis in episcopatum constitutos [Apostolici seminis traduces habeant.]—Tertullian. de præscript. advers. Hæreticos, cap. xxxii. [Op., p. 213. B.]—[Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ,] percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, [apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsident ..... Proxima est tibi Achaia?] habes Corinthum. [Si non longa es a Macedonia, habes] Philippos, [habes] Thessalonicenses. [Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes] Ephesum. [Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes]

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I may not deny, God hath hitherto preserved her, but for a better end, doubtless, than they turn it to. But "infallible" she was never. Yet if that Lady did, as the Jesuit in his close avows, or others will, rest satisfied with it, who can help it? Sure, none but God. And, by A. C.'s leave, this, which I said is no work for my pen, cannot be learned—no, not of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, much less of the Roman. For though the foundation be one and the same, and sufficiently known by Scripture and the Creeds, yet for the building upon the foundation, the adding to it, the detracting from it, the joining other things with it, the grating upon it, each[1] of these may be damnable to some, and not to others, according to the knowledge, wisdom, means of information, which some have and others want; and according to the ignorance, simplicity, and want of information, which some others have, and cannot help; and according to the negligence, contempt, wilfulness, and malice, with obstinacy, which some have against the known truth; and all or some of these in different degrees in every particular man: and that in the whole latitude of mankind, from the most wise and learned in the school of Christ, to the simplest idiot, that hath been so happy as to be initiated into the faith by baptism. Now, the Church hath not this knowledge of all particulars, men, and conditions, nor can she apply the conditions to the men; and therefore cannot teach just how far every man must believe, as it relates to the possibility or impossibility of his salvation, in every particular. And that which the Church cannot teach, men cannot learn of her. She can teach the foundation, and men were happy if they would learn it, and the Church more happy would she teach nothing but that, as necessary to salvation; for certainly nothing but that is necessary. Now then, whereas, after all this, the Jesuit tells us that

[1] [it, and each . . . *male* Edit. 1639.]

Romam, [unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est.]—ibid. cap. xxxvi. [p. 215. A.]—Et Pamelius enumerat Hierosolymitanam, Antiochenam, Corinthiam, Philippensem, Ephesinam, Romanam.—Pamel. ibid. cap. xxi. No. 129. [ubi sup. p. 408. note [a].] And it may be observed, that so long ago Tertullian, and so lately Pamelius, should reckon Rome last. [. . . dehinc in orbem profecti, (sc. Apostoli) eandem doctrinam ejusdem fidei nationibus promulgaverunt, et proinde ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ,] cæteræ [exinde] ecclesiæ [mutuatæ sunt, et quotidie mutuantur ut ecclesiæ fiant: ac] per hoc et ipsæ Apostolicæ deputantur, ut soboles Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum.—Tertullian. ibid. cap. xx. [p. 208. D.]

SECTION XXXIX.

[A.C. p. 72.]

℣. Upon this and the precedent Conferences,[1] the lady rested in judgment fully satisfied [in her judgment,] as she told a confident[2] friend, of the truth of the Roman Church's faith. Yet upon frailty, and fear to offend the King, she yielded to go to church;* for which she was after very sorry, as some of her friends can testify.

[1] [Conference.... A. C.]

[2] [confident ... *caret* A. C.]

* [The Chaplain upon this last clause saith, that he is sure she will be better able to answer for her coming to Church, than for her leaving the Church of England, and following the superstitions and errors of the Church of Rome. But he neither proveth, nor can prove, that it is lawful for one, persuaded especially as the lady is, to go to the Protestant Church, which were to halt on both sides, to serve two masters, to dissemble with God and the world, to profess outwardly a religion in conscience known to be false; neither doth he, nor can he, prove any superstition or error to be in Roman religion, but by presuming with intolerable pride to make himself, or some of his fellows, judge of controversies, and by taking authority to censure all to be superstition and error, which suiteth not with his fancy, although it be generally held or practised by the Universal Church; which, in S. Augustine's judgment, is "most insolent madness."

I beseech sweet Jesus to give grace to every one that offendeth in this sort, to see, repent, and get pardon of their faults past, and light of true faith in time to come; for obtaining whereof they had need to pray to God for it, and with a great desire to seek after it, and with humility to submit their will and judgment to those whom God hath appointed to teach it; to wit, such doctors and pastors as, by a visible continual succession, have without change brought it from Christ and His Apostles, even until these our days, and shall by a like succession carry it along even until the end of the world. The which succession not being found in any other Church differing in doctrine from the Roman Church, I wish the Chaplain and his lord, and every other man, carefully to consider, whether it be not more Christian, and less brain-sick, to think that the Pope, being S. Peter's successor, with a General Council, should be judge of controversies, and that the pastoral judgment of him, upon whom as upon a firm rock Christ did build His Church, (Ephes. iv. 11.) and for whose faith Christ prayed, (Matth. xvi. 18.) enjoining him to confirm his brethren, (Luke xxii. 32.) and to whose care and government Christ committed His whole flock of lambs and sheep, (John xxi. 15—17.) should be accounted infallible, rather than to make every man that can read Scripture, interpreter of Scriptures, decider of controversies, controller of General Councils, and judge of his judges; or to have no judge of controversies of faith, to permit every man to believe as he list—as if there were no infallible certainty of faith to be expected on earth; the which were to induce, instead of "one saving faith," a Babylonical confusion of so many faiths as fantasies, or no true Christian faith at all. From which evils, sweet Jesus, deliver us. Amen.—FINIS.—A. C. marg. note to p. 73.]

§ 39.

℟. I.—This is all personal. And how that honourable Lady was then settled "in conscience," how "in judgment," I know not. This, I think, is made clear enough, That that which you said in this and the precedent Conferences could settle neither, unless in some that were settled or settling before. As little do I know what she "told any confident friend" of her approving the Roman cause; no more whether

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it were "frailty" or "fear," or other motive, that made her yield to go to church; nor how sorry she was for it, nor who can testify that sorrow. This I am sure of: if she repent, and God forgive her other sins, she will more easily be able to answer for her "coming to church," than for her "leaving of the Church of England," and following the superstitions and errors which the Roman Church hath added in point of faith and the worship of God. For the lady was then living, when I answered thus.

II.—Now, whereas I said the Lady would far more easily be able to answer for her coming to church than for her

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leaving the Church of England: to this A. C. excepts, and says, "that I neither prove, nor can prove, that it is lawful for one, persuaded especially as the Lady was, to go to the Protestant church." There is a great deal of cunning, and as much malice, in this passage, but I shall easily pluck the sting out of the tail of this wasp. And, first, I have proved it already, through this whole discourse, and therefore can prove it, that the Church of England is an orthodox Church; and therefore with the same labour it is proved that men may lawfully go unto it, and communicate with it—for so a man not only may but ought to do with an orthodox Church: and a Romanist may communicate with the Church of England without any offence in the nature of the thing thereby incurred; but if his conscience, through misinformation, check at it, he should do well in that case rather to inform his conscience, than forsake any orthodox Church whatsoever. Secondly, A. C. tells me plainly, "that I cannot prove, that a man, so persuaded as the Lady was, may go to the Protestant church;" that is, that a Roman Catholic may not go to the Protestant church. Why, I never went about to prove that a Roman Catholic, being and continuing such, might, against his conscience, go to the Protestant church; for these words, "a man persuaded as the Lady is," are A. C.'s words, they are not mine. Mine are not simply that the Lady might, or that she might not; but comparative they are: "That she might more easily answer to God for coming to, than for going from, the Church of England." And that is every way most true: for in this doubtful time of hers, when, upon my reasons given, she went again to

church; when yet soon after, as you say at least, she was sorry for it;—I say, at this time she was in heart and resolution a Roman Catholic, or she was not: if she were not, as it seems by her doubting she was not then fully resolved, then my speech is most true, that she might more easily answer God for coming to service in the Church of England than for leaving it; for a Protestant she had been, and, for aught I knew, at the end of this Conference so she was; and then it was no sin in itself to come to an orthodox Church, nor no sin against her conscience, she continuing a Protestant, for aught which then appeared to me:—but if she then were a Roman Catholic, as the Jesuit and A. C. seem confident she was, yet my speech is true too; for then she might more easily answer to[1] God for coming to the Church of England, which is orthodox, and leaving the Church of Rome, which is superstitious, than, by leaving the Church of England, communicate with all the superstitions of Rome. Now, the cunning and the malignity of A.C. lies in this: he would fain have the world think that I am so indifferent in religion as that I did maintain, the Lady, being conscientiously persuaded of the truth of the Romish doctrine, might yet, against both her conscience, and against open and avowed profession, come to the Protestant church.

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[1] [to . . . *caret* Edit. 1639.]

III.—Nevertheless, in hope his cunning malice would not be discovered, against this,—his own sense, that is, and not mine,—he brings divers reasons. As, first, It is not lawful for one affected as that lady was—that is, for one that is resolved of the truth of the Roman Church—to go to the Church of England, there and in that manner to serve and worship God; "because," saith A. C., "that were to halt on both sides, to serve two masters, and to dissemble with God and the world." Truly, I say the same thing with him; and that therefore neither may a Protestant, that is resolved in conscience that the profession of the true faith is in the Church of England, go to the Romish church, there and in that manner to serve and worship God. Neither need I give other answer, because A. C. urges this against his own fiction, not my assertion. Yet, since he will so do, I shall give a particular answer to each of them. And to this first reason of his I say thus: That to believe religion after one sort, and

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to practise it after another, and that in the main points of worship, the Sacrament and Invocation, is to halt on both sides, to serve two masters, and to dissemble with God and the world. And other than this I never taught, nor ever said that which might infer the contrary. But, A. C., give me leave to tell you, your fellow-Jesuit Azorius[g] affirms this in express terms. And what do you think, can he prove it? Nay, not Azorius only, but other priests and Jesuits here in England, either teach some of their proselytes, or else some of them learn it without teaching, that though they be persuaded as this lady was—that is, though they be Roman Catholics—yet, either to gain honour or save their purse, they may go to the Protestant Church, just as the Jesuit here says "the Lady did, out of frailty, and fear to offend the King." Therefore I pray, A. C., if this be gross dissimulation both with God and the world, speak to your fellows to leave persuading or practising of it, and leave men in the profession of religion to be as they seem, or to seem and appear as

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they are; let us have no mask worn here. A. C.'s second reason why one so persuaded as that Lady was might not go to the Protestant Church, is, "because that were outwardly to profess a religion in conscience known to be false." To this I answer, first, That if this reason be true, it concerns all men, as well as those that be persuaded as the Lady was. For no man may outwardly profess a religion in conscience

Rom. x. 10.

known to be false; "for with the heart man believeth to

[g] Quinto quæritur, An ubi Catholici una cum hæreticis versantur, licitum sit Catholico adire templa, ad quæ hæretici conveniunt, eorum interesse conventibus, [atque concionibus?] Respondeo: Si rei naturam spectemus, id non esse per se malum, cum sit res suapte natura indifferens, &c.—Et postea: Si princeps hæresi laboret, et jubeat cives, tum Catholicos, tum hæreticos templa adire, atque etiam frequentare, in quibus publici hæreticorum conventus celebrantur, et conciones habentur, et id imperat princeps constituta pœna publicationis bonorum, vel mortis? Respondeo: Si id princeps jubeat, quoniam vult, ut suo mandato omnes obediant, id esse licitum Catholicis facere: nam in eo solum obedientiæ officium principi debitum præstant. Si tamen id præcipiat, ut eo tanquam religionis symbolo pravitatem hæreticam simul profiteantur, et ut Catholici discernantur ab hæreticis, nequaquam esse licitum parere his principis jussis; quoniam cæteri proculdubio Catholici offenderentur: deinde eo ipso tacite hæreticam perfidiam, seu pravitatem profiterentur. Quæres, an tunc liceat Catholico suo principi obedire, publice asseverendo se id solum efficere, ut suo principi pareat, non autem ut sectam hæreticam profiteatur? Quidam id licere arbitrantur, ne ejus bona publicentur, et ne ei vita auferatur: quod sane probabiliter dici videtur.—[R. P. Joannis] Azorii, [Lorcitani, S. J.] Institutiones Morales, par. 1. lib. viii. cap. 27. p. 1299. ed. Paris. 1616. [p. 574. col. 1. ed. Colon. 1613.]

righteousness, and with the mouth he confesseth to salvation." Now, to his own salvation no man can confess a known false religion. Secondly, If the religion of the Protestants be in conscience a known false religion, then the Romanists' religion is so too, for their religion is the same; nor do the Church of Rome and the Protestants set up a different religion, for the Christian religion is the same to both; but they differ in the same religion, and the difference is in certain gross corruptions, to the very endangering of salvation—which each side says the other is guilty of. Thirdly, The reason given is most untrue; for it may appear by all the former discourse, to any indifferent reader, that religion, as it is professed in the Church of England, is nearest of any Church now in being to the Primitive Church, and therefore not a religion known to be false. And this I both do and can prove, were not the "deafness of the asp" upon the ears of seduced Christians in all human and divided parties whatsoever. SECTION XXXIX. Ps. lviii. 4.

IV.—After these reasons thus given by him, A. C. tells me, "that I neither do, nor can, prove any superstition or error to be in the Roman religion." [h] What, none at all? Now truly I would to God from my heart this were true, and that the Church of Rome were so happy, and the whole Catholic Church thereby blessed with truth and peace; for I am confident such truth as that would soon either command peace, or confound peace-breakers.[i] But is there no superstition in adoration of images? None in invocation of saints? None in adoration of the sacrament? Is there no error in breaking Christ's own institution of the sacrament, by giving it but in one kind? None about purgatory? About common prayer in an unknown tongue, none? These and many more are in the "Roman religion," if you will needs call A. C. p. 73.

[h] I would A. C. would call it the "Roman persuasion," as some understanding Romanists do.

[i] For though I spare their names, yet can I not agree in judgment with him that says in print, "God be praised for the disagreement in religion;" nor in devotion with him that prayed in the pulpit, "that God would tear the rent of religion wider." But of S. Gregory Nazianzen's opinion I am: οὔτε εἰρηνεύομεν [κατὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑφιέντές τι διὰ δόξαν ἐπιεικείας· οὐ γὰρ κακῶς τὸ καλὸν θηρεύομεν· καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν ἐννόμως μαχόμενοι, κ. τ. λ.] Non studemus paci in detrimentum veræ doctrinæ, ut facilitatis et mansuetudinis famam colligamus.—Et rursum: Pacem colimus legitime pugnantes, &c.—[S. Gregor. Nazianzen.] Orat. [xlii. olim] xxxii. [cap. 13. Op., tom. i. p. 757. B.]

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it so. And it is no hard work to prove every of these to be "error," or "superstition," or both. But if A. C. think so meanly of me, that though this be no hard work in itself, yet that I, such is my weakness, cannot prove it, I shall leave him to enjoy that opinion of me, or whatever else he shall be pleased to entertain, and am far better content with this his opinion of my weakness than with that which follows of my pride;

A. C. p 73. for he adds, "That I cannot prove any error or superstition to be in the Roman religion, but by presuming, with intolerable pride, to make myself, or some of my fellows, to be judge of controversies, and by taking authority to censure all to be superstition and error, too, which suits not with my fancy, although it be generally held or practised by the universal Church; which," saith he, "in S. Augustine's judgment, is most insolent madness." What, not prove any "superstition," any "error" at Rome, but by "pride," and that "intolerable?" Truly, I would to God A. C. saw my heart, and all the pride that lodges therein. But wherein doth this pride appear, that he censures me so deeply? Why, first, in this, "That I cannot prove any error or superstition to be in the Roman religion, unless I make myself or some of my fellows judge of controversies." Indeed, if I took this upon me, I were guilty of great pride. But A. C. knows well that before, in this Conference, which he undertakes to answer, I am so far from making myself or any of my fellows "judge of controversies," that I absolutely make a lawful and free General Council judge of controversies, by and according to the Scriptures.[k] And this I learned from S. Augustine, with this, "That ever the Scripture is to have the prerogative above the Council."[l] Nay, A. C. should remember here, that

A. C. p. 63. he himself taxes me for giving too much power to a General Council, and binding men to a strict obedience to it, even in case of error.[m] And therefore, sure, most innocent I am of the intolerable pride which he is pleased to charge upon me;

A. C. p. 73. and he, of all men, most unfit to charge it. Secondly, A. C. will have my "pride" appear in this, "that I take authority

[k] Sect. xxxiii. [vide supra, pp. 252—313.] Sect. xxvi. No. 1—11. [vide supra, pp. 214—225.]

[l] Præponitur Scriptura, &c.—S. Augustin. de Bapt. contra Donat. lib. ii. cap. 3. [Op., tom. ix. col. 98. A. ubi sup. p. 224. note f.]

[m] Sect. xxxii. No. 5. [vide supra, p. 250.]

to censure all for error and superstition, which suits not with my own fancy." But how can this possibly be, since I submit my judgment in all humility to the Scripture, interpreted by the Primitive Church, and, upon new and necessary doubts, to the judgment of a "lawful and free General Council?" And this I do from my very heart, and do abhor, in matters of religion, that my own, or any private man's, fancy should take any place, and least of all against things generally held or practised by the Universal Church; which to oppose in such things, is certainly, as S. Augustine calls it, *insolentissimæ insaniæ*,[n] an attempt of "most insolent madness." But those things which the Church of England charges upon the Roman party to be superstitious and erroneous, are not held, or practised, in or by the Universal Church generally, either for time or place. And now I would have A. C. consider how justly all this may be turned upon himself. For he has nothing to pretend that there are not gross superstitions and errors in the Roman persuasion, unless by "intolerable pride" he will make himself and his party "judge of controversies"—as in effect he doth, for he will be judged by none but the pope, and a Council of his ordering—or unless he will take authority to free from superstition and error "whatsoever suits with his fancy," though it be even superstition itself; and run cross to what hath been generally held in the Catholic Church of Christ, yea, though to do so be, in S. Augustine's judgment, "most insolent madness." And A. C. spake in this most properly, when he called it "taking of authority;" for the Bishop and Church of Rome have in this particular, of judging controversies, indeed taken that authority to themselves, which neither Christ nor His Church Catholic did ever give them. Here the Conference ended with this conclusion.

V.—And as I hope God hath given that Lady mercy, so I heartily pray that He will be pleased to give all of you a light of His truth, and a love to it, that you may no longer be made instruments of the pope's boundless ambition, and this most unchristian, brain-sick[o] device, "That in all

[n] S. Augustin. Epist. [liv. ad Januarium, olim] cxviii. cap. 5. [Op., tom. ii. col. 126. C. ubi sup. p. 154. note [i].]

[o] Sect. xxxiii. No. 6. [vide supra, p. 277.]

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controversies of the faith he is infallible, and that by way of inspiration and prophecy in the conclusion which he gives." To the due consideration of which, and God's mercy in Christ, I leave you.

VI.—To this conclusion of the Conference between me and the Jesuit, A. C. says not much: but that which he doth say is either the self-same which he hath said already, or else is quite mistaken in the business. That which he hath

A. C. p. 73. said already is this: "That in matters of faith we are to submit our judgments to such doctors and pastors as, by visible continual succession without change, brought the faith down from Christ and His Apostles to these our days, and shall so carry it to the end of the world. And that this succession is not found in any other Church differing in doctrine from the Roman Church." Now to this I have given a full answer already,[p] and therefore will not trouble the reader with needless and troublesome repetition. Then he brings certain places of Scripture to prove the pope's infallibility. But to all these places I have likewise answered before;[q] and therefore A. C. needed not to repeat them again, as if they had been unanswerable.

VII.—One place of Scripture only A. C. had not urged before, either for proof of this "continued visible succession,"

A. C. p. 73. or for the Pope's infallibility. Nor doth A. C. distinctly set down by which of the two he will prove it. The place is

Ephes. iv. 11. Ephes. iv.: "Christ ascending, gave some to be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, &c. for the edification of the Church." Now if he do mean to prove the Pope's infallibility by this place, in his pastoral judgment, truly I do not see how this can possibly be collected thence:—Christ gave some to be apostles for the edification of His Church:[r] Therefore S. Peter and all his

[p] Sect. xxxvii. Nos. 3, 4. [vide supra, p. 354.]

[q] Sect. xxv. No. 5. [vide supra, p. 179.]

[r] [Respondeo,] Pontificatum summum diserte positum ab Apostolo in illis verbis, Eph. iv. 11: et in illis clarioribus, 1 Cor. xii. 28: Ipse posuit in Ecclesia primum Apostolos.—Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 9. § 45. [Op., tom. i. col. 537. D. ubi sup. p. 186. note r.] And he gives an excellent reason for it: Si quidem summa potestas ecclesiastica non solum data est Petro, sed etiam aliis Apostolis.—Ibid. So belike by this reason the Apostle doth clearly express the Popedom, because all the rest of the Apostles had as much ecclesiastical power as S. Peter had. But then Bellarmine would salve it up with this, That this power is given Petro, ut ordinario pastori, cui [perpetuo] succederetur, aliis vero, tanquam

successors are infallible in their pastoral judgment. And if he mean to prove the "continued visible succession, which," he saith, "is to be found in no Church but the Roman," there is a little more show, but to no more purpose. A little more show: because it is added, "That the apostles and prophets, &c. shall continue at their work," and that must needs be by succession, "till we all meet in unity and perfection of Christ." But to no more[1] purpose: for it is not said that they, or their successors, should continue at this their work in a "personal, uninterrupted succession," in any one particular Church, Roman or other: nor ever will A. C. be able to prove that such a succession is necessary in any one particular place. And if he could, yet his own words tell us, the personal succession is nothing, "if the faith be not brought down without change from Christ and His Apostles to this day, and so to the end of the world." Now here is a piece of cunning too, "The faith brought down unchanged." For if A. C. mean by "the faith," the Creed, and that in letter; it is true, the Church of Rome hath received, and brought down, the faith unchanged from Christ and His Apostles to these our days. But then it is apparently false, That no Church differing from the Roman in doctrine, hath kept that faith unchanged, and that by a visible and continued succession. For the Greek Church differs from the Roman in doctrine, and yet hath so kept that faith unchanged. But if he mean by "the faith unchanged, and yet brought down in a continual visible succession," not only the Creed in letter, but in sense too—and not that only, but all the doctrinal points about the faith, which have been determined in all such Councils as the present Church of Rome allows—as most certainly he doth so mean,[s] and it is the controversy between us;—then it is most certain, and most apparent to any understanding man, that reads antiquity with an impartial eye, that a visible continual succession of doctors and pastors have not brought

SECTION XXXIX.

Ephes. iv. 13.

[1] [more ... *caret* Edit. 1686.]

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delegatis, quibus non succederetur.—Ibid. But this is mere begging of the question, and will never be granted unto him. And in the mean time, we have his absolute confession for the other, That the "supreme ecclesiastical power" was not in S. Peter alone, but in "all the Apostles."

[s] And so also Bellarmine, Sexta nota est conspiratio in doctrina cum ecclesia antiqua.—De Notis Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 9. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 184. C.]

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down the faith, in this sense, from Christ and His Apostles to these days of ours, in the Roman Church. And that I may not be thought to say and not to prove, I give instance. And with this, that if A. C., or any Jesuit, can prove, That by a "visible continued succession" from Christ and His Apostles to this day, either transubstantiation in the eucharist, or the eucharist in one kind, or purgatory, or worship of images, or the intention of the priest of necessity in baptism, or the power of the pope over a General Council, or his infallibility with or without it, or his power to depose princes, or the public prayers of the Church in an unknown tongue —with divers other points,—have been so taught, I, for my part, will give the cause. Besides, for succession, in the general, I shall say this: It is a great happiness where it may be had "visible" and "continued," and a great conquest over the mutability of this present world. But I do not find any one of the ancient Fathers, that makes "local, personal, visible," and "continued succession," a "necessary sign," or "mark" of the "true Church" in any one place. And where Vincentius Lirinensis calls for "antiquity, universality," and "consent," as great notes of truth,[t] he hath not one word of "succession." And for that great place in Irenæus, where that ancient Father reckons the succession of the Bishops of Rome to Eleutherius, who sat in his time, and saith, "That this is a most full and ample proof or ostension, *vivificatricem fidem*, 'that the living and life-giving faith,' is from the Apostles to this day conserved and delivered in truth,"[u]—"and of which place Bellarmine[x]

[t] [In ipsa item Catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneatur, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est: hoc est etenim vere proprieque catholicum, quod ipsa vis nominis ratioque declarat, quæ omnia vere Universaliter comprehendit, sed hoc ita demum fit; si sequamur Universitatem, Antiquitatem, Consensionem.]—Vin. Lirinens. contra Hæreses, cap. iii. [p. 6.]

[u] Hac ordinatione et successione, ea quæ est ab Apostolis in ecclesia traditio, et veritatis præconiatio pervenit usque ad nos. Et est plenissima hæc ostensio, unam et eandem vivificatricem fidem esse, quæ in ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata, et tradita in veritate.—S. Iren. advers. Hær. lib. iii. cap. 3. [§ 3. Op., p. 176. ed. Benedict. et p. 203. ed. Grabe. The second clause of this passage is not extant in the Greek: the first is: τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδαχῇ, (*al.* διαδοχῇ) ἥτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς.]

[x] [Ac propterea omnes veteres hac successione, tanquam argumento evidentissimo, usi sunt ad veram Ecclesiam ostendendam. Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. 3. enumerat Episcopos Romanos a Petro usque ad Eleutherium, qui suo tempore sedebat, ac dicit,] Per hanc

boasts so much,—most manifest it is in the very same place, that Irenæus stood as much upon the succession of the Churches then in Asia, and of Smyrna—though that no prime Apostolical Church—where Polycarpus sat bishop, as of the succession at Rome."[y] By which it is most manifest, that it is not "personal succession" only, and that tied to one place, that the Fathers meant; but they thought that the faith was delivered over by "succession," in "some places or other," still to their present time; and so doubtless shall be, till time be no more. I say, "the faith," but not every opinion, true or false, that in tract of time shall cleave to the faith. And to the faith itself, and all its fundamentals, we can show as good and full a succession as you; and we pretend no otherwise to it than you do, save that we take in the Greeks, which you do not: only we reject your gross superstitions, to which you can show no succession from the Apostles, either at Rome or elsewhere, much less any one uninterrupted. And therefore he might have held his peace that says, "It is evident that the Roman Catholic [A.C. p. 6.] Church only hath had a constant and uninterrupted suc-

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successionem confundi omnes hæreticos.—Bellarmin. de Notis Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 8. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 178. D.] There is no such word found in Irenæus, as "per hanc successionem," or, "hac successione," in the Church of Rome only, which is Bellarmine's sense; but by succession in general, in other Churches, as well as in Rome.[1] [The passage to which Bellarmine alludes, occurs previously in the chapter: Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ, et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sibi placentia, (*al.* placentiam) vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt. — S. Irenæus, ibid. § 2. Op., p. 175. ed. Benedict. et p. 201. ed. Grabe, ubi sup. p. 202. note ".]

[y] Testimonium his perhibent quæ sunt in Asia ecclesiæ omnes, et qui usque adhuc successerunt Polycarpo. —S. Irenæus adversus Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 3. [§ 4. Op., p. 177. ed. Benedict. et p. 203. ed. Grabe. μαρτυροῦσιν τούτοις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι, καὶ οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον.]—Constat [proinde] omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandam. — Tertullian. de præscript. adversus Hæret. cap. xxi. [ubi sup. p. 404. note q.]—[Ad hanc itaque formam probabuntur ab illis Ecclesiis, quæ licet nullum ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis, auctorem suum proferant, ut multo] posteriores, [quæ denique quotidie instituuntur: tamen in eadem fide conspirantes,] non minus Apostolicæ deputantur, pro consanguinitate doctrinæ.—Tertullian. ibid. cap. xxxii. [Op., p. 213. C.]—Ecclesia non in parietibus consistit, &c. Ecclesia autem ibi est, ubi fides vera est. — [Pseudo-] S. Hieronym. [Breviar.] in Ps. cxxxiii. [ubi sup. p. 336. note t.]

[1] [This last clause, "as . . . Rome," is added in Editt. 1673, and 1686.]

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cession of pastors, and doctors, and tradition of doctrine from age to age;" for most evident it is, that the tradition of doctrine hath received both addition and alteration since the first five hundred years, in which Bellarmine [z] confesses, and Bishop Jewell maintains, the Church's doctrine was apostolical.

VIII.—And once more, before I leave this point: most evident it is, That the "succession" which the Fathers meant, is not tied to place or person, but it is tied to the "verity of doctrine." For so Tertullian expressly: "Beside the order of bishops running down" in succession "from the beginning, there is required *consanguinitas doctrinæ*, 'that the doctrine be allied in blood' to that of Christ and His Apostles." [a] So that if the doctrine be no kin to Christ, all the "succession" become strangers, what nearness soever they pretend. And Irenæus speaks plainer than he: "We are to obey those presbyters, which, together with the succession of their bishoprics, have received *charisma veritatis*, 'the gift of truth.'" [b] Now Stapleton, being pressed hard with these two authorities, first confesses expressly, "that succession, as it is a note of the true Church, is neither a succession in place only, nor of persons only,[1] but it must be of true and sound doctrine also." [c] And had he stayed here, no man could have said better; but then he saw well he

[1] [nor of person only .... Edit. 1673. nor person only .... Edit. 1686.]

[z] [Certum autem est] antiquam ecclesiam primis quingentis annis veram ecclesiam fuisse, et proinde apostolicam doctrinam retinuisse.—Bellarmin. de Notis Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 9. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 184. C.]

[a] Ad hanc [itaque] formam probabuntur ab illis Ecclesiis, quæ licet nullum ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis auctorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quæ denique quotidie instituuntur: tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus Apostolicæ deputantur, pro consanguinitate doctrinæ. — Tertullian. de præscript. adversus Hæret. cap. xxxii. [ubi sup. note y.]

[b] Illis presbyteris obediendum est, qui cum episcopatus successione charisma acceperunt veritatis. — S. Irenæus, [adv. Hæres.] lib. iv. cap. 43. [The whole passage is: Qui vero crediti quidem sunt a multis esse presbyteri, serviunt autem suis voluptatibus .... ab omnibus talibus abstinere oportet; adhærere vero his, qui et Apostolorum, sicut prædiximus, doctrinam custodiunt, et cum presbyterii ordine sermonem sanum, et conversationem sine offensa præstant ... tales presbyteros nutrit ecclesia .... ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem, apud quos est ea quæ est ab Apostolis ecclesiæ successio, et id quod est sanum et irreprobabile conversationis, et inadulteratum et incorruptibile sermonis constat.—§ 3, 4, 5. Op., pp. 262, 263. ed. Benedict. et capp. 44, 45. pp. 344, 345. ed. Grabe.]

[c] [Primum, notabimus quod] successio, [de qua hic agitur,] nec locorum tantum est, nec personarum, sed etiam veræ atque sanæ doctrinæ [successio.]—Stapleton. Relect. Controver. [Controv. i. de Ecclesia in se,] [Quæst.] iv. A[rtic.] 2. Notabile 1. [Op., tom. i. p. 563. B.]

must quit his great "note" of the "Church succession:" that he durst not do; therefore he begins to cast about how he may answer these Fathers, and yet maintain "succession." Secondly, therefore, he tells us, that that which these Fathers say do nothing weaken "succession," but that it shall still be a main "note" of the "true Church," and in that sense which he would have it; and his reason is: "Because sound doctrine is indivisible from true and lawful succession."[d] Where you shall see this great clerk—for so he was—not able to stand to himself, when he hath forsaken truth. For it is not long after that he tells us, "That the people are led along, and judge the doctrine, by the pastors; but when the Church comes to examine, she judges the pastors by their doctrine." And this, he says, is necessary, "because a man may become, of a pastor, a wolf."[e] Now, then, let Stapleton take his choice. For either a pastor in this succession cannot become a wolf, and then this proposition is false; or else, if he can, then sound doctrine is not inseparable from true and legitimate succession, and then the former proposition is false:—as indeed it is; for that a good pastor may become a wolf, is no news in the ancient story of the Church, in which are registered the change of many great men into heretics,[f] (I spare their names;) and since Judas changed from an Apostle to a devil, it is no wonder to see others change from shepherds into wolves. I doubt the Church is not empty of such changelings at this day. Yea, but Stapleton will help all this; for he adds, "That suppose the pastors do forsake true doctrine, yet succession shall still be a true note of the Church; yet not every succession, but that which is legitimate and true."

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John vi. 70.

[d] [Neque tamen successionis notam hoc infirmat. Ratio est,] quia doctrina sana est ab ipsa vera et legitima successione [prorsus] indivulsa; [ideoque data successione legitima, indubitate sequitur vera doctrina.] — Stapleton. ibid.

[e] [Notabimus quarto, judicium de doctrina duplex esse, ut intelligamus quatenus aliquando ipsa doctrina possit esse nota doctoris. Doctrina igitur fidei innotescit dupliciter. Subjecto populo, infirmis et turbis innotescit doctrina per doctorem et pastorem; nec judicandus ab illis, sed audiendus tantum, pastor est. At vero toti ecclesiæ ceu superiori suo innotescit verus pastor et doctor orthodoxus, non per personam quam gerit,] nam e pastore lupus fieri potest, [sed per doctrinam quam docet.]—Stapleton. ibid. Notabile 4. [p. 563. D.]

[f] Vincent. Lirinens. contra Hæres. capp. xxiii. xxiv. [pp. 49—55. Origen and Tertullian are especially alluded to.]

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Well; and what is that? Why, "That succession is lawful, which is of those pastors which hold entire the unity and the faith."[g] Where you may see this Samson's hair cut off again; for at his word I will take him: and if that only be a legitimate succession, which holds the unity and the faith entire, then the succession of pastors in the Roman Church is illegitimate, for they have had more schisms amongst them than any other Church,[h]—therefore they have not kept the unity of the Church; and they have brought in gross superstition,—therefore they have not kept the faith entire. Now, if A. C. have any mind to it, he may do well to help Stapleton out of these briars, upon which he hath torn his credit,[1] and I doubt his conscience too, to uphold the corruptions of the see of Rome.

[1] [creed ... *male* Edit. 1686.]

IX.—As for that in which he is quite mistaken, it is his inference, which is this: "That I should therefore consider carefully, whether it be not more Christian, and less brain-sick, to think that the pope, being S. Peter's successor, with a General Council, should be judge of controversies, &c., and that the pastoral judgment of him should be accounted infallible, rather than to make every man that can read the Scripture interpreter of Scripture, decider of controversies, controller of General Councils, and judge of his judges: or to have no judge at all of controversies of faith, but permit every man to believe as he list; as if there were no infallible certainty of faith to be expected on earth; which were, instead of one saving faith, to induce a Babylonical confusion of so many faiths as fancies, or no true Christian faith at all. From which evils, sweet Jesus, deliver us!" I have considered of this very carefully; but this inference supposes that which I never granted, nor any Protestant that I yet know—namely, that if I deny the pope to be judge of controversies, I must by and by either leave this supreme judicature in the hands

[g] [Notabimus quinto, etsi pastores deserere possunt veram doctrinam, non tamen propterea successionis vel filum abrumpi, vel notam infirmari aut incertam reddi. Non enim quævis, sed legitima et vera, successio est ecclesiæ nota.] Est [autem] illorum pastorum legitima successio, qui [cum suis antecessoribus, a quibus ordinati sunt,] unitatem tenent; et a fide, [in qua ordinati sunt, postea] non recedunt. [Hæc duo faciunt successionem certam, legitimam, et indubitatam.—Stapleton. ibid. Notabile 5. [p. 564. A.]

[h] In their own chronologer, Onuphrius, there are thirty acknowledged. [cf. Onuphrii Panvinii, Veronensis, Fasti, &c. appended to Platinæ Vit. Pontific.]

and power of every private man, that can but read the Scripture, or else allow no judge at all, and so let in all manner of confusion. No, God forbid I should grant either: for I have expressly declared, "That the Scripture, interpreted by the Primitive Church, and a lawful and free General Council determining according to these, is judge of controversies: and that no private man whatsoever is or can be judge of these."[i] Therefore A. C. is quite mistaken—and I pray God it be not wilfully, to beguile poor Ladies, and other their weak adherents, with seeming to say somewhat—I say, quite mistaken, to infer that I am either for "a private judge," or for "no judge;" for I utterly disclaim both, and that as much if not more than he, or any Romanist, whoever he be. But these things in this passage I cannot swallow: First, "That the Pope with a General Council should be judge;" for the Pope in ancient Councils never had more power than any the other patriarchs: precedency, perhaps for order's sake and other respects, he had. Nor had the Pope any negative voice against the rest in point of difference. No, nor was he held superior to the Council:[k] therefore the ancient Church never accounted or admitted him a judge; no, not with a Council, much less without it. Secondly, it will not down with me that his "pastoral judgment" should be "infallible;" especially since some of them have been as ignorant as many that can but read the Scripture.[l]

[i] Sect. xxvi. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 214.]

[k] Patrum et avorum nostrorum tempore, pauci audebant dicere, Papam esse supra Concilium.—Æneas Sylvius, seu Pius II. de Gestis Concil. Basil. lib. i.—Et, Illudque in primis cupio notum, quia Romanum papam, omnes qui aliquo numero sunt, Concilio subjiciunt.—Ibid. apud Fasciculum Rerum expetendarum [ac fugiendarum, per Orthuinum Gratium collect.] fol. v. [F. ed. Colon. 1535.]—[Tertia] propositio: Summus pontifex [simpliciter et absolute] est supra ecclesiam universam, et supra concilium generale, [ita ut nullum in terris supra se judicium agnoscat.] Hæc [etiam] est *fere de fide*, [et probatur, &c.]—Bellarmin. de Concil. auctoritat. lib. ii. cap. 17. § 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 95. B.]

[l] [Sed] cum hoc tempore Romæ nullus [pene] sit, ut fama est, qui sacras (*caret* Baron.) literas didicerit, [sine quibus, ut scriptum est, vix ostiarius efficitur]: qua fronte aliquis docere audebit, quod minime didicit? —Arnulph. [Episcop. Aurelian. seu forsan Gerberti, contra Arnulph. Episcop. Rhemensem Oratio,] apud Concil. Rhemense, [Baron. Annal. an. 992. n°. xxv. Cf. Concil. tom. ix. coll. 737, 738. et ibid. notas Binii.]—Nam cum constet plures eorum adeo illiteratos esse, ut grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit ut sacras literas interpretari possint? — Alphons. a Castro, advers. Hæres. lib. i. cap. 4. versus medium, ed. Paris. 1534. For both that at Antwerp, an. 1556, and that at Paris, an. 1571, have been in purgatory. [Cf. p. 294. et ibid. note r.]—And such an ignorant as these was Pope John XXIV. [Joannes capitur, et in carcerem

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Thirdly, I cannot admit this neither—though he do most cunningly thereby abuse his readers—that any thing hath been said by me, out of which it can justly be inferred, "That there is no infallible certainty of faith to be expected on earth;" for there is most infallible certainty of it—that is, of the foundations of it—in Scripture and the Creeds: and it is so clearly delivered there, as that it needs no judge at all to sit upon it, for the articles themselves. And so entire a body is this one faith in itself, as that the whole Church, much less the Pope, hath not power to add one article to it, nor leave to detract any one the least from it.[m] But when controversies arise about the meaning of the articles, or superstructures upon them—which are doctrines about the faith, not the faith itself, unless where they be immediate consequences—then, both in and of these, a lawful and free General Council,[n] determining according to Scripture, is the best judge on earth. But then, suppose uncertainty in some of these superstructures, it can never be thence concluded, that there is no infallible certainty of the faith itself.

But it is time to end, especially for me, that have so many things of weight lying upon me and disabling me from these polemic discourses, beside the burden of sixty-five years

conjicitur . . . . Causam fugæ disquirere concilium tum cœpit, certosque judices viros gravissimos et doctissimos delegit, qui crimina Joanni objecta discuterent . . . Ad quadraginta capitula et eo amplius contra hominem probata sunt: quorum aliqua cum in eo minime immutari possent, adeo erant inveterata, contra fidem judicata sunt, aliqua vero Christianis omnibus, si non damnarentur, scandalum paritura . . . Joannes merito e pontificatu dejectus.]—Platina in vita ejus, [p. 285.]—Et [vide supra,] Sect. xxxiii. Consid. vii. No. 7. [p. 293.]

[m] Resolutio Occham est, quod nec tota ecclesia, nec concilium generale, nec summus pontifex potest facere articulum, quod non fuit articulus. Sed Ecclesia bene determinat de propositionibus Catholicis, de quibus erat dubium, &c.—Jacob. Almain. in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] unica. Dub. 3. [fol. lxxx. ubi sup. p. 33. note p.]—Sicut ad ea quæ spectant ad fidem nostram, et nequaquam ex voluntate humana dependent, non potest summus pontifex, nec Ecclesia de assertione non vera, veram: nec de non falsa, falsam facere: ita non potest de non Catholica, Catholicam facere: nec de non hæretica, hæreticam. Et ideo non potest novum articulum facere, nec articulum fidei tollere. Quoniam sicut veritates Catholicæ absque omni approbatione Ecclesiæ ex natura rei sunt immutabiles, et immutabiliter veræ, ita sunt immutabiliter Catholicæ reputandæ. Similiter sicut hæreses absque omni reprobatione et damnatione sunt falsæ, ita absque omni reprobatione sunt hæreses reputandæ, &c.—[Gabr.] Biel. in III. Sentent. D[istinct.] xxv. Q[uæst.] unica, Art. 3. Dub. 3. vers. finem. [S.]—Et postea: Patet ergo quod nulla veritas est Catholica ex approbatione ecclesiæ vel papæ. [Sed Ecclesia aut papa, per suam approbationem, aliquam veritatem fuisse, aut esse, Catholicam cognoscit ac definit.—Ibid.]

[n] Sect. xxvi. No. 1. [vide supra, p. 214.]

complete, which draws on apace to the period set by the prophet David,[o] and to the time that I must go, and give God and Christ an account of the "talent" committed to my charge. In which God, for Christ Jesus' sake, be merciful to me, Who knows that however in many weaknesses, yet I have with a faithful and single heart—bound to His free grace for it—laboured the meeting, the blessed meeting, of "truth and peace" in His Church; and which God, in His own good time, will, I hope, effect. To Him be all honour and praise for ever. AMEN.

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Psal. xc. 10.

Ps. lxxxv. 10.

[o] [The Puritan answer to Laud, "A Replie to a Relation of the Conference between William Laude and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite: by a Witnesse of Jesus Christ. (Imprinted, anno 1640,") characteristically observes: "And you say, 'it draws on apace to the period set by the prophet David,' (Ps. xc.) You mistake the penman; for it was Moses. But to let that pass, as a common mistake: and as a law which it seems you have imposed upon yourself, and observed throughout your book, not to cite any scripture without perverting of it."]

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